Engrav'd for
MORTIMER's
History of England

S. Wale delin.t

C. Grignion sculp.t

HENRY, V.

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HENRY, V.

A NEW

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE

EARLIEST ACCOUNTS of BRITAIN,

TO THE

RATIFICATION of the PEACE of VERSAILLES, 1763.

HUMBLY INSCRIBED TO THE QUEEN.

By THOMAS MORTIMER, Esq.
His MAJESTY'S VICE-CONSUL for the AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS.

Orationi et carmini est parva gratia, nisi eloquentia sit summa: historia quoquo modo scripta delectat.
PLINY, jun.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

FROM

The Acceſſion of King HENRY V. to the Death of King HENRY VII.

PART VIII.

HENRY V. ſurnamed Of MONMOUTH, the ſecond King of ENGLAND of the Houſe of LANCASTER. A.D. 1413.

THE reader muſt now prepare himſelf for a ſcene of amazing revolutions, in which the wiſdom of Providence, and the vanity of human precautions, will be alike conſpicuous; teaching this neceſſary leſſon to the great ones of the earth, that policy founded on injury, and power ſupported by injuſtice, however they may be for a while attended with ſucceſs, will in the end prove ſhallow and precarious, and revert to the confuſion of thoſe who put their truſt in them.

Henry of Monmouth was about twenty-five years of age when he ſucceeded to the crown of England, by the conſent of the parliament, who made no difficulty of placing the royal diadem upon him, though he could not be ſuppoſed to poſſeſs a better title than his father, and though the earl of Marche, the lineal heir, was ſtill living: in which the great aſſembly of the nation ſeems to have preferred the general happineſs and welfare to any private conſideration of hereditary right; a right which we have frequently ſeen rejected, to make place for the advantage of the whole body of the people.

Nor had Henry's ſubjects any reaſon, on this occaſion, to repent their conduct, ſince their new ſovereign ſucceeded to royalty with every merit that could adorn it. He began his reign on the twentieth of March, 1413; and on the twenty-fourth of the ſame month, both houſes of parliament met, in purſuance of a ſummons under the late king, after ſeveral adjournments. The ceremony of young Henry's coronation was performed on the ninth of April following, by Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, with great ſolemnity, and amidſt the unfeigned acclamations of all preſent.

The new king had no ſooner aſſumed the reins of government, than he increaſed the good opinion the people already conceived of his reign, by many acts of juſtice and popularity. His firſt ſtep was to publiſh a general amneſty or pardon for all crimes, rape and murder excepted: he diſmiſſed all the old companions of his former irregularities: he choſe a new council, compoſed of the wiſeſt and beſt men of the kingdom: he ſhewed a reſolution of reſtoring purity to the courts of juſtice, by diſplacing many judges, and others who had undeſervedly held poſts of power and profit under his father: he received all petitions, without exception of perſon, time, or place; and none departed from him without redreſs, or juſtice done them: and, as an earneſt of the favour men of integrity might expect under his rule, even the chief-juſtice Gaſcoygne, who had committed him, when prince of Wales, to priſon, and who, on that account, trembled to approach the royal preſence, was received with the utmoſt cordiality and friendſhip; and Henry, inſtead of reproaching him with his paſt conduct, applauded his ſtrict and impartial execution of the laws, and continued him in his poſt, with a ſtrong exhortation that he would perſevere in the ſame noble conduct. Farther to manifeſt to the world how ſuperior he was to all party conſiderations, he cauſed the corpſe of the unhappy Richard II. to be removed from Langley abbey, where it had been buried in an obſcure manner, to Weſtminſter, in which place it was reinterred near the remains of his queen, Anne of Luxembourg, with royal ceremony and generous

donations, after the manner of thoſe times, for the honour and ſalvation of the deceaſed *.

But notwithſtanding theſe endeavours of Henry to conciliate the affections of all his ſubjects to his government and perſon, there was ſtill a party in the kingdom that could not behold with patient eyes any of the line of Lancaſter in poſſeſſion of the regal dignity. This party had abettors of very high diſtinction: Edmund, duke of York, the ſame who, in the time of king Richard the ſecond, had been created duke of Albemarle, was ſtill alive, had vaſt riches and influence, and was at this time conſtable of the Tower; not caring, however, to appear perſonally in rebellion againſt Henry, who had given ſeveral generous proofs of his friendſhip and confidence, he privately ſet to work one Wightlock to propagate a ſtory that king Richard was ſtill alive in Scotland. This fellow proved indefatigable in the buſineſs he was employed about, and papers were poſted up on the gates of Weſtminſter abbey, in ſeveral parts of London, and on the doors of ſeveral churches, in which it was affirmed, with the moſt dreadful aſſeverations, that Richard was ſtill alive. Wightlock being in a ſhort time ſeized, and committed to the Tower, the duke his patron favoured his eſcape, for which he was diſmiſſed his place as conſtable, and one of the warders was tried and executed as a traitor for having contrived the criminal's eſcape: and thus this embryo of a conſpiracy periſhed almoſt in its conception, without any cruel or rigorous examples being made, Henry treating the whole with a contempt that ſeemed ſuperior to revenge.

Matters were in this ſituation when a new parliament met, on the fifteenth day of May. It was opened by a ſpeech from the biſhop of Wincheſter (Henry Beaufort), the king's uncle, who aſſured them of Henry's zeal to promote the intereſt of church and ſtate. The commons having choſen a ſpeaker, preſented an addreſs, deſiring that the laws might be duly executed: then they petitioned his majeſty that he would provide for the defence of Ireland, Wales, the Marches of Scotland, Calais, and Guienne: they complained loudly of the clergy's exacting pecuniary fines of the people, by way of commuting for the ſins of the fleſh; and ſeveral other abuſes: all which the king promiſed to ſpeak to the biſhops to reform; and that if they neglected, he would take order to do it himſelf. Several ſtatutes were enacted for the better preſervation of the public peace, and the maintenance of the people's privileges; and one in particular for preventing frauds and falſe returns in the election of members for parliament.

While the parliament was thus providing for ſecuring civil liberty, the clergy were as induſtrious in deſtroying religious. Notwithſtanding all the ſeverities againſt the Lollards, and notwithſtanding all the power of the clergy, and their zeal to ſuppreſs them, they increaſed in ſuch a manner as not only to threaten the deſtruction of the power of the church, as exerciſed in England under the biſhop of Rome, but alſo, as the generality of theſe ſectaries were hot and ignorant, the government began to grow apprehenſive of diſagreeable conſequences to the ſtate, from their frequent and numerous meetings: this, added to the neceſſity Henry found himſelf under of keeping well with the clergy, made him reſolve to come into all their violent meaſures; and, on the twenty-firſt of Auguſt, he publiſhed a proclamation againſt the conventicles of the Lollards, forbidding ſuch on pain of impriſonment, and inhibiting all perſons from embracing their opinions, favouring their perſons, or attending their preachings, without a licence from the biſhop of the dioceſe.

The ſect was highly irritated at this proclamation, and, in the heat of their blind reſentment, went ſo far as to poſt up papers in ſeveral public places, threatening the government that they were ready to bring an hundred thouſand men into the field, againſt any who ſhould go about to perſecute thoſe who had embraced their faith. The chief of their party was ſir John Oldcaſtle †, of Cowling, in Kent, ſtyled, in right of his wife, lord Cobham: he was a man of eminent parts, courage, and experience in military affairs, which had recommended him to Henry's favour. Thomas Arundel, who was ſtill archbiſhop of Canterbury, and was extremely incenſed againſt the Lollards, thought that the ſureſt method of ſuppreſſing the ſect, was to attack their principal protector, and accordingly a proceſs was ordered in convocation to be begun againſt him as an heretic; but as Oldcaſtle was, as we have obſerved, in favour with the king, it was thought that this method might give offence, unleſs the king was made acquainted with it before hand, and his leave deſired to proſecute the heretical knight. The archbiſhop accordingly waited upon Henry, who then reſided at Kennington, to inform him of the clergy's intention; but the affection Henry had for ſir John, made him deſire to have ſome conference with him before he gave leave to the convocation to proceed further againſt him. The knight was accordingly ſent for, but Henry found him ſo firmly determined in his principles, that he gave leave for the clergy to proceed againſt him to the utmoſt extremity in their courts.

In conſequence of this licence from the king, Oldcaſtle was cited to appear before the archbiſhop on the ſecond of September; but contemning the citation, was excommunicated, and thereupon arreſted by the civil power, and brought by the lieutenant of the Tower, on the twenty-third or twenty-fifth of that month, to give an a account of his faith with regard to the ſacraments. Being preſſed too cloſe upon the points of tranſubſtantiation, the worſhip of the croſs, and the authority of the biſhop of Rome, he did not anſwer to the ſatisfaction of the archbiſhop and his three aſſiſtant ſuffragans, the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and St. David's, and they agreed to pronounce ſentence upon him as an heretic convict, and to deliver him over to the ſecular arm. Forty or fifty days being generally allowed, according to the tenor of the law of England, for any perſon under eccleſiaſtical cenſures to repent and make ſatisfaction to the

* He ordered that two tapers ſhould ſtand burning day and night by his tomb, a dirge to be ſung one day in the week, and the next morning a maſs of Requiem; and when that was ended, eleven ſhillings and eight pence, to be given to the poor; and, laſtly, upon the day of his anniverſary, twenty pounds, in pence, to be diſtributed yearly for his ſoul. And, by way of atonement for his father's uſurpation, he founded three monaſteries, near Shene, in Surry, where prayers were alſo continually ſaid for the ſoul of Richard. Goodwin's Henry V. p. 3.

† Walſingham.

church

church, before the civil authority interpoſed with its coercive power, ſir John was recommitted to the Tower, but made his eſcape before the term was expired. He was no ſooner at liberty, than he ſent for his friends to make ready for the field, and repair to the neighbourhood of London upon the firſt notice they ſhould receive from him; and, from the concurrent teſtimony of all cotemporary writers, even Ball himſelf, the great favourer of this nobleman, it appears more than probable that the ſtate as well as the church was threatened by theſe fanatics with ſome dreadful ſtroke, if it had not been averted by the king's great vigilance.

Henry was then at Eltham, keeping his Chriſtmas holidays; but upon receiving intelligence of the intended meeting of the Lollards, he haſtened up to Weſtminſter. The condemnation of ſo great a man as ſir John Oldcaſtle gave the meaner ſort to underſtand what they were to expect, if they ſhould fall under the like cenſures; accordingly, upon the firſt ſummons from their favourite hero, they flocked from all parts of England, to the number of twenty thouſand (as Oldcaſtle's indictment ſets forth), ſcarce any knowing what they were to do, but all ready to obey his orders. The rendezvous was appointed, before day, on the ſixth of January, 1414, in St. Giles's Fields, that had hitherto been the ſcene of their devotion when driven from the churches, but now deſtined to be the field of their rebellion. Henry, apprized of their deſign, had, with all poſſible privacy, got together a good number of troops, and taken poſſeſſion of the ground ſoon after midnight. Sir John Oldcaſtle expected to be joined by great numbers of apprentices and ſervants from London, ſome ſay near fifty thouſand; but the king, the noon of that evening the inſurgents were to aſſemble, had ordered the gates of the city to be ſhut, and had poſted guards at all the avenues, to intercept all aſſiſtance that might arrive: by this means the Lollards were caught in their own ſnare, being ſeized as faſt as they came to the place of rendezvous, where they found enemies inſtead of the friends they expected, till the alarm being given, the reſt ſhifted for themſelves, and diſperſed. Sir John Acton, one John Brown, an eſquire, ſir John Beverly, a preacher, with one Richard Marle, a rich brewer, of Dunſtable, and the precentor of St. Alban's, who had headed theſe rabble, were, with ſix-and-thirty other perſons of eminence, ſeized in the fields by the ſoldiery, and ſuffered death the next day, as traitors and heretics, being firſt hanged and then burnt, in St. Giles's Fields. Cobham got off at this time, and, though a proclamation was iſſued, with the promiſe of a reward of fifteen hundred marks, for taking him, his party ſecreted him ſo well, that he was not ſeized till about four years after, when he was drawn, hanged, and burnt as he hung, the laſt puniſhment being added becauſe he had been declared an heretic: but we ſhall have occaſion to canvaſs this affair more fully in the eccleſiaſtical part of this work. We muſt now turn to foreign affairs; but it will be neceſſary to explain the ſituation of the French court and kingdom, as an introduction to that war which continued ſo long, and was productive of ſo much miſchief and calamity to both nations.

The accommodation between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, of which we have given an account in the preceding reign, and in conſequence of which the troops of England were diſmiſſed from the ſervice of the confederated princes of France, was but ſhort-lived. The duke of Burgundy, who well knew that he had an inveterate enemy in the perſon of Lewis, the dauphin of France, reſolved to make himſelf dreaded by that prince, by kindling up anew the flames of civil commotion in that kingdom: for this purpoſe he privately dealt with the Pariſians, by whom he was adored, who ſuddenly took to arms, and aſſembling to the number of twelve thouſand men in ſupport of their favourite, they ſurrounded the Baſtile, of which they quickly made themſelves maſters, and cut off the governor's head; after which they broke into the dauphin's apartments, ſeized the duke of Barr, with the principal officers of his houſhold, many of whom they barbarouſly put to death; and forced the dauphin himſelf, with the dukes of Berry and Guienne, to wear white hoods, the badge of the faction. But their inſolence was ſoon ſuppreſſed, for the king, Charles VI. relapſing into one of his lucid intervals, the duke of Burgundy was deprived of the advantage of acting under pretext of the royal authority; and the king, with the moſt conſiderable perſons both in the court and city, reſolved to ſend deputies to the duke of Orleans and the other princes of his party, who had retired from Paris; and a conference was held at Vernueil, where the princes aſſured the king of their ſervices, and the dukes of Orleans, Berry, Bourbon, Alençon, the counts of Eu and Vendôme, haſtened to Paris, in order to deliver their ſovereign out of the hands of the Burgundian faction. The dauphin having gained over a great number of the Pariſians to his intereſt, and finding himſelf likely to be powerfully ſupported by the confederate princes, ſent private orders to his partiſans to aſſemble, ſo that he at length found himſelf at the head of thirty thouſand men: with theſe he ſcoured the ſtreets of Paris, and ſtruck ſuch terror into the oppoſite faction, that they abandoned the Louvre, Hotel de Ville, and Baſtile, without oppoſition; and the duke of Burgundy, finding himſelf unable to ſtop the progreſs of his enemies, and being, moreover, diſappointed in a deſign he had formed of carrying off the king of France to Flanders, under pretence of an hunting-match, retired himſelf precipitately into that country, leaving his party expoſed to all the rage and reſentment of their adverſaries.

The duke of Berry was again declared governor of Paris; and the court of France being thus new-modelled, appointed commiſſioners to treat of a final and laſting peace with England; and, on the fourth of July, 1413, conferences were opened at Lelinghen, in Picardy, between the French and Engliſh commiſſaries, where it was immediately agreed, that the truce, at preſent ſubſiſting, ſhould be inviolably obſerved till the month of June, in the following year.

We have already ſhewn, that Henry IV. had carefully fomented the animoſity between the two French parties, each of whom he had alternately furniſhed with aſſiſtance; and he would probably have endeavoured to avail himſelf farther of their diſſentions, had not the unſettled ſtate of his own affairs hindered him from carrying ſuch a deſign into execution. Henry V. with even more ambition than his father, did not labour under the ſame diſadvantages; he had aſcended the throne

without oppoſition, he poſſeſſed the good-will and affection of his ſubjects in general, and he was too ſagacious not to perceive, and too prudent not to improve, the tempting proſpect which the diſtracted ſtate of the French monarchy preſented to his view. Nevertheleſs, that he might conceal his ambition under the ſpecious appearance of equity, he reſolved to begin by the way of treaty and negociation; and the duke of York was ſent to Paris, with a ſplendid retinue, to demand the princeſs Catherine of France, a young lady of thirteen years of age, in marriage for the king of England.

Whilſt this negociation was on foot, Henry entered into another with the duke of Brittany, who had hitherto obſerved an exact neutrality between the courts of France and England; but the Engliſh had great cauſe of diſſatisfaction with the Bretons, whoſe privateers had greatly diſtreſſed their trade, but all differences were now to be made up, and the duke, if poſſible, warmed into a ſteady ally. Accordingly, the latter having ſent two commiſſioners on his part to London, conferences were opened on the firſt of February, 1414, in which a truce was concluded between the two powers, on the following terms:

"That it ſhould continue ten years, and be exactly obſerved through all the dominions of both princes; that the duke ſhould take care to reſtrict the inhabitants of St. Malo's from all piracies and depredations: that no acts of hoſtility ſhould be committed by any of the ſubjects of the two princes: that there ſhould be a free and undiſturbed trade and traffic between both nations, with payment of the uſual cuſtoms; but yet that none of the ſubjects of king Henry, except merchants, ſhall enter into any city, towns, or forts of Brittany, without licence firſt obtained from the governors: that if, by attempts contrary to this truce, any perſon ſhould be taken priſoner, or any depredations ſhould be made, reſtitution and full ſatisfaction ſhould be given, without any fraud or delay: that though ſuch violences were acted, yet the truce ſhould not be broken by them, nor any ſuch pretences give occaſion to begin a war; but the wrongs done ſhould be repaired, and the perſons offending ſuffer deſerved puniſhment: that no man of war ſhould go out of any port in Brittany, or in any of the duke's dominions, without firſt having given good ſecurity that nothing ſhould be attempted contrary to the truce: that all prizes taken ſhould be brought into ſome port belonging to the duke, or to king Henry, unleſs, by ſtorms, or the purſuit of ſome enemy, they be forced into other harbours; and if any man of war ſet out to ſea, without having given the required ſecurity, it ſhould be forfeited to the duke: that all ſhips bringing any prizes into the allowed ports, ſhould be arreſted by deputed officers, till ſufficient enquiry be made whether the prize were lawful: that before ſuch due examination, no prizes ſhould be expoſed to ſale; and that, if the officers were negligent in making their enquiry, they ſhould be bound to ſatisfy all the damages of the injured party: that during the truce, the duke of Brittany ſhould not receive any traitors, pirates, fugitives, or exiles from England, nor afford them the leaſt entertainment or relief, but ſhould cauſe them to be apprehended and delivered up to the king of England, at his own proper expence, when he had ſent the names of them, and required it: that the duke ſhould not give reception to any of the king's enemies, armed to make war againſt him, nor ſupply them with any proviſion or aids, nor permit any of his ſubjects to go out of his dominions to their aſſiſtance, nor to do any thing for their relief: that no prizes taken from the Engliſh by the king's enemies ſhould be admitted into the duke's ports, nor ſale of the goods be made within his territories, nor the duke's ſubjects entertain or receive any who thus ſhould infeſt the Engliſh by land or by ſea; and if any were found faulty in ſo doing, they ſhould be puniſhed according to their deſert: that the ſubjects of England ſhould have free admiſſion into the ports of Brittany with any prizes which they ſhould take from the enemy; and if any of the duke's ſubjects ſhould make any falſe pretenſions to theſe prizes and goods as their own, and this was clearly proved againſt them, they ſhould for ever be excluded from all benefit of the truce*."

We have given theſe terms at length, as they ſerve to ſhew us how well, even in thoſe days, the principles of commerce and the law of nations were underſtood.

The next power with which Henry concluded a negociation, was the crown of Caſtile: the Engliſh ſtill bore in their remembrance the vaſt annoyance they had ſuffered from the ſhipping of that nation in the reign of Edward III. and it was therefore neceſſary to ſecure the friendſhip of that prince. This was the more practicable, as Henry had in his own dominions a powerful pretender to the crown of Caſtile in the perſon of the duke of York, by right of blood from his mother, the daughter of the late Peter the Cruel, and the only daughter who had left male iſſue: accordingly we find Dr. Henyngham appointed to treat with dom Juan Roderigo, the Caſtilian ambaſſador, and a truce concluded upon ſeveral excellent regulations, ſome of which are very ſingular.

It was to this effect: "That it ſhould begin on the twenty-fifth of March following, and continue till ſun-ſet of the twenty-fifth of March the next year: that it ſhould be exactly obſerved by ſea and land: that the ſubjects of both nations ſhould abſtain from all acts of war and violence: that no depredations ſhould be made by land, nor piracies by ſea, by the ſubjects of Caſtile upon thoſe of England: that the Engliſh ſhould be admitted to come and reſide in any of the dominions of the king of Caſtile, with full liberty of trade in all lawful and unprohibited goods, paying the duties to the king and the uſual cuſtoms: that if, during this truce, any thing ſhould be acted, by the ſubjects of Caſtile, to the damage of the king of England, or his ſubjects, reſtitution ſhould be made, free of all expences or charge, and the perſons offending puniſhed according to the nature of the offence: that though any ſuch acts of violence ſhould be done by the ſubjects of Caſtile, yet they ſhould not be accounted violations of the truce, nor be pretended as occaſions of beginning a war, but that full reparations be made of the injuries by the king of Caſtile, or his officers, and the offenders duly puniſhed: that if any goods or merchandize were taken from the Engliſh, they ſhould be preſently ſeized by the

* Goodwin, p. 33, 34.

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An
Accurate Map of
FRANCE
Drawn from the
Sieur Robert,
with Improvem.ts
ENGLAND
THE ENGLISH CHANNEL
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAY OF BISCAY
SPAIN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GERMANY
ITALY
SWITZERLAND
NORMANDIE
ISLE DE FRANCE
PARIS
PICARDIE
ARTOIS
CHAMPAGNE
LORAINE
BRETAGNE
MAINE
ORLEANOIS
ANJOU
TOURAIN
POITOU
BERRY
BOURBONOIS
MARCHE
LIMOSIN
AUVERGNE
LYONOIS
BOURGOGNE
FRANCHE COMTE
GUIENNE
GASCOGNE
BEARN
LANGUEDOC
DAUPHINE
PROVENCE
FOIX
ROUSSILLON
CATALONIA
GULF OF LYONS
GULF OF GENOA
British Statute Miles
Longitude East from London

king of Caſtile's officers, and put into ſafe hands, to be ſecured for the owners; to whom, upon complaint and proof made, they ſhall be reſtored, and all charges of the recovery be ſatisfied out of the goods of the perſon who took them, to ſecure the truce from being broken; and to prevent all attempts againſt it by any cruizers in the ſeas, it was alſo agreed, that if any of the king of Caſtile's ſubjects ſent out ſuch ſhips, ſecurity ſhould be given that they might not be employed againſt the Engliſh, nor make depredations in the kingdom of England, duchy of Aquitaine, or any of king Henry's dominions: that the officers appointed ſhould not ſuffer ſuch ſhips to go out of port till they had given this requiſite ſecurity, that all prizes which they took ſhould be brought into the port whence the ſhip was ſent out, and into no other, unleſs they were forced by purſuit of enemies, or driven by a tempeſt, but that, as ſoon as it ceaſed, they ſhould bring the prize into the required port: that if the officers appointed by the king of Caſtile ſhould neglect to take ſufficient ſecurities of the owners of thoſe ſhips, thoſe officers ſhould repair all damages and miſchiefs of depredations made by them: and for the ſpeedier reparations of the loſſes which the ſubjects of both kingdoms had ſuſtained, it was reſolved, that the king of Caſtile ſhould ſend his embaſſadors to Fontarabia, a town in Guipuſcoa, a province in Spain, on the frontiers of Aquitaine, in the beginning of the next July, to meet thoſe ſent from England; and that they ſhould have full power to hear and decide all cauſes and controverſies relating to piracies or depredations, made at land or ſea, by the people of either nation, contrary to the truce concluded between the two crowns in the beginning of the reign of Henry, king of Caſtile, the father of the preſent king, who would give effectual orders, that what the embaſſadors determined ſhould be performed in all his dominions: but if any thing intervened, ſo that the king of Caſtile could not ſend his embaſſadors to the appointed place at the aſſigned day, yet this ſhould give no interruption to the truce: and in concluſion, Roderigo engaged, for the king his maſter, that he ſhould ſend his letters patent, ſealed with the great ſeal, in confirmation of this treaty, and of all the articles agreed in it §."

The late conſpiracy and inſurrection of the Lollards gave occaſion to a ſevere ſtatute being made againſt them in the parliament which met, on the thirtieth of April this year, at Leiceſter, by which ſtatute they were ſubjected to the forfeiture of their goods and chattels, as alſo of the lands and tenements which they enjoyed in fee ſimple, at the time of their death, in the ſame manner as if they had been attainted of felony: it was alſo enacted, that none ſhould, upon pain of life and limb, read the Scriptures in Engliſh; and that ſuch perſons ſhould have no benefit of ſanctuary *. A vaſt number afterwards ſuffered by this infamous act, which owed its riſe to the bloody zeal of the clergy, and Henry's jealouſy of the civil principles of this new ſect. This perſecution was chiefly carried on by the inſtigation of Henry Chicheley, late biſhop of St. David's, but now promoted to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, in the room of Thomas Arundel, who died on the twentieth of February before.

While theſe matters paſſed here, the court of France continued its proſecutions againſt the Burgundian faction with unremitting ſeverity, and many of them fell by the hands of the common executioner; and the king, who at this time ſeemed to be fully reſtored to his reaſon, publiſhed ſo ſevere an ordinance againſt the duke, that the latter deſpaired of ever being able to compromiſe matters. In this deſperate ſtate of his affairs, he applied to the court of England for aſſiſtance; and Henry, following the example of his father's policy, in ſupporting the weaker ſide, reſolved to eſpouſe the duke's cauſe, as the moſt certain means to perpetuate the diſtraction of the French government. Though the dukes of Clarence, Gloceſter, and York inclined towards the Orleans faction, an offer from the duke of Burgundy to do homage to Henry completed the matter in his favour, and the lord Scroope, with four other commiſſioners, were ſent to receive that homage, and to promiſe the duke, in conſideration thereof, a conſiderable aid. Henry, however, did not reap any great fruits from this manœuvre in politics; for Charles of France unhappily relapſing into his former inſanity, the French government thought proper to agree to terms of accommodation with the duke of Burgundy, which the latter gladly received, though they were extremely hard: all of them, however, are foreign to this hiſtory, the third article only excepted, by which that prince was obliged to renounce his late alliance with the king of England.

At the very time that Henry was carrying on his negociation with the duke of Burgundy, he entered into another with the court of France, from whence the archbiſhop of Bourges, the conſtable d'Albert, and Groutier Col, one of the king's ſecretaries, were ſent to England, under pretence of ſettling the difficulties that remained unadjuſted at the late conferences at Lelinghen; but in reality to diſcover what Henry's intentions were: the king, who was not yet prepared for the great enterprize he meditated, amuſed them for ſome time with negociations, but all that was done was to prolong the late truce to the ſecond of February, 1415. Henry, to carry on his diſguiſe, ſent over a ſplendid embaſſy to France, propoſing a perpetual alliance and peace between the two kingdoms, and demanding, in return, Catherine, the French king's daughter, in marriage; two millions of crowns, as her portion; the payment of one million ſix hundred thouſand †, as the arrears of king John's ranſom; the immediate poſſeſſion and full ſovereignty of Normandy, and the other provinces which Philip Auguſtus had wreſted from the crown of England, together with the ſuperiority of Brittany and Flanders ‡.

It is evident, from the exorbitant nature of theſe demands, that Henry was fully ſenſible of the diſtreſſed condition of the French monarchy; and the terms offered by that court, though greatly inferior, ſufficiently ſhew their own conſciouſneſs of the ſame melancholy truth: they agreed to give him the princeſs in marriage, with a portion of eight hundred thouſand crowns; to inveſt him with the entire ſovereignty of Guienne, and to annex to that province the counties of Perigord, Ro-

§ Goodwin, p. 35, 36.
* Rot. Parl. 2 Hen. V. p. 1.
† Each of thoſe crowns was to amount to half an Engliſh noble, about nine ſhillings of our preſent money. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. ix. p. 214.
‡ Ibid. p. 203—208.

vergne,

vergne, Xaintonge, Angoumois, and other territories ‖.

As Henry was pretty certain that his own terms would not be granted, and was fully determined to accept of no other, he ſet about making great preparations, to be ready againſt a proper opportunity offered for carrying into execution the purpoſe which he ſeems to have formed from the firſt moment of his acceſſion to the throne, agreeable to the dying advice of his father, not to ſuffer the Engliſh to continue long in a ſtate of inactivity; and his parliament, who appear to have acted in concert with their ſovereign on this occaſion, without waiting for the event of the negociations actually on foot, came to a reſolution of addreſſing the king for a war with France; and Henry, with great ſeeming complacency, acquieſced in their deſire, upon which the houſe voted him a very large ſupply.

In this parliament the commons likewiſe petitioned the king to ſeize the church-lands, and they ſupported their petition with ſuch cogent reaſons, founded on the immoderate wealth of the clergy, that this body, foreſeeing their ruin inevitable, unleſs ſome remedy was found againſt the gathering ſtorm, met to conſult about means to avert, or at leaſt weaken it as much as poſſible; and finding the king but too much inclined to comply with the requeſt of the commons, they reſolved to give up part of their wealth, in order to ſave the remainder: they offered, as a free gift, the whole riches and revenues of one hundred and ten monaſteries, which depended upon capital abbeys in Normandy, and had been bequeathed to them when that province was united to England; and Chicheley, the new archbiſhop of Canterbury, made him a formal tender of the ſame, which the king accepted, rather than quarrel with the clergy, and theſe monaſteries were appropriated to his uſe by act of parliament: and the buſineſs of the intended war with France being again artfully brought on the carpet by Chicheley, who made an elaborate ſpeech on the occaſion, ſtuffed with fulſome compliments to the king, the minds of the commons were called off from their firſt object, and the bill againſt the clergy fell of itſelf to the ground *.

All the reſt of the year was ſpent in continual embaſſies to London and Paris; but nothing was concluded on. At length, the archbiſhop of Bourges, the biſhop of Liſieux, the count of Vendoſme, great-maſter of France, the baron of Ivri, the lord Briquemont, and Groutier Col, with other noblemen, and a train of three hundred horſe, arrived at the Engliſh court, in order to bring Henry, if poſſible, to more moderate terms. They found him buſied in his preparations to invade their country: Henry gave them audience on the ſixteenth of April, 1415, at Wincheſter, in a very ſtately manner, ſitting in his robes of gold, and attended by all the princes of the blood and the lords of his court. The archbiſhop of Bourges made a florid ſpeech, in which he endeavoured to convince Henry of the unreaſonableneſs of his demands, and to repreſent the princeſs Catherine, and her portion, as more than an equivalent for all that the Engliſh aſked. Henry, however, treated this aſſertion with great diſdain; and the biſhop of Wincheſter, by the king's command, ſummed up the whole negociations that had paſſed between England and France ſince Henry's acceſſion to the crown; he accuſed the French of double-dealing and affected dilatorineſs in all their proceedings; he reproached them with the breach of the treaty of Bretigny; and concluded with declaring, "that his maſter now appealed to the ſword."

This thunder-clap for a while left the Frenchmen aſtoned and ſpeechleſs; but at length the archbiſhop of Bourges, loſing all patience, forgot what was due to his own character, and to the majeſty of a great prince, and, with eyes ſparkling with rage, made anſwer, "that he ſaw plainly that the king, not contented with a crown unjuſtly wreſted from Richard II. by his father, wanted to uſurp that of France alſo; but that he ſhould find the enterprize more difficult than he imagined †." Henry and his court, however, made no other reply to the archbiſhop's imprudent (we wiſh truth would permit us to ſtigmatize it with the epithet of falſe) charge, than by a politic contempt.

All conferences thus breaking off, Henry redoubled his attention to warlike preparations; and having aſſembled a great armament at Southampton, he repaired thither, in order to embark on his expedition, and the beginning of Auguſt was fixed for his departure. The ardour of the nation to follow him to the field exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations, and rid him of all apprehenſions of any defect in his finances to pay his troops, which would put a ſtop to an enterprize, from whence he promiſed himſelf ſo much glory. According to ſome hiſtorians ‡, the earl of Northumberland levied forty men at arms, and one hundred and twenty archers; the earl of Weſtmoreland the ſame number; the earl of Warwick, twenty men at arms and forty archers; the earl of Suffolk, the lords Zouch, Berkeley, d'Arcy, Seymour, Roſs, and Willoughby, each of them contributed half a ſhip, twenty men at arms, and forty archers; the lord Morley brought ſix men at arms, and twenty archers; and all the other nobility in proportion; the lords Scales and Randolf offered to ſerve without pay.

The next ſtep was to provide for the government of the kingdom in the king's abſence, and for the guard of the Marches of Scotland and Wales, and Calais. The duke of Bedford, the king's brother, was made lieutenant of England; and the following counſellors were aſſigned him, viz. the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of Wincheſter and Durham, the earl of Weſtmoreland, the prior of the hoſpital of St. John of Jeruſalem, the lords Grey, Ruthyn, Berkeley, Powis, and Morley: the earl of Weſtmoreland, with the lords Morley and d'Acres, were conſtituted wardens of the Scottiſh Marches, with a command of two hundred lances and four hundred archers; a hundred lances and two hundred archers were appointed for the Marches of Wales; a hundred lances and three hundred archers were aſſigned for thoſe of Calais; and as many for the ſea-ſervice: and Henry entered into indentures with his great men, for their own and their ſoldiers pay, during their ſervice, viz. every duke was to have thirteen ſhillings and four pence per day, every earl ſix ſhillings and eight pence, every baron four

‖ Elmham. Walſingham.
* Goodwin's Hen. V. p. 42. 43.
† Monſtrelet. Walſingham. Des Urſins.
‡ Elmham. Goodwin. Hall.

ſhillings,

ſhillings, every knight two ſhillings, every eſquire or man at arms one ſhilling, and every archer ſix pence §.

Henry, by a precaution worthy a great and wiſe mind, reſolved to endear his ſway, and ſecure the peace of his government, during his abſence, by a double act of juſtice and magnanimity; this was by reſtoring the young earl of Northumberland, ſon of the Hotſpur Piercy, to his blood and fortune, which he did this year before his departure; and, although he knew that Edmund, earl of Marche, had a right in the ſucceſſion to the crown prior to his own, yet, out of his natural magnanimity, he freed him from his confinement, in which he had been kept during the whole of the preceding reign, and even treated him with ſuch humanity and benevolence as entirely gained the affection of that young nobleman, who ever after continued to ſerve him with remarkable zeal and fidelity. About the ſame time he publiſhed certain proclamations in favour of the Lollards, ſo far as to prevent vexatious and arbitrary proſecutions of thoſe unhappy people: he likewiſe gave ſecurity to all the private perſons and corporations who had advanced him money, which they did in great ſums *.

The king being ready to depart, wrote a kind of formal letter to his adverſary of France, as he terms Charles VI. and to ſhew that he breathed nothing but war, he dates it from Southampton by the ſea-ſide †. This letter was delivered to the French monarch by Cantelupe king at arms; and it is ſaid that it was upon this occaſion the dauphin of France ſent Henry the famous ton of tennis-balls in deriſion, when our Engliſh monarch made this memorable anſwer, "that he would play ſuch balls againſt Paris, as all her battlements ſhould not rebound ‡." This ſtory has been very warmly ſupported and contradicted by different hiſtorians; but it is not worth our while to enter into the merits of its authenticity.

Moſt part of the Engliſh troops were now embarked, and nothing was wanting but a favourable gale to waft Henry to the ſcene of all his future glories, which he was waiting for with impatience, when he had notice of a dangerous conſpiracy formed againſt his crown and life by thoſe whom he thought he had leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect ‖.

The perſons who were to execute this deſign were Richard, earl of Cambridge, younger brother to the duke of York, the lord Scroope of Maſham, treaſurer of England, and ſir Thomas Grey, of Hedon, in Northumberland. The earl of Cambridge had married Anne Mortimer, daughter and heireſs of Lionel, duke of Clarence, third ſon of Edward III. ſo that, in right of this lady, he was in blood nearer to the crown than Henry. This plot was, in all probability, owing rather to the ambition of the earl of Cambridge, than to any regard he had to the earl of Marche, his brother-in-law, who had no iſſue, and upon whoſe death he hoped that either himſelf or ſome of his children would ſucceed to the throne.

It appeared upon the trial, and by the confeſſion of the earl himſelf, and his accomplices ¶, that the plot was laid in this manner: that the conſpirators ſhould, while the army was embarking, make the beſt of their way, with the earl of Marche, into Wales, and there proclaim him king, in defiance of the uſurper, Henry of Lancaſter, as they termed him: that the earl of Cambridge ſhould preſent this new king with a crown, which Henry had pawned in his hands for a ſum of money, and that he ſhould be proclaimed under a banner of the Engliſh arms; at the ſame time they propoſed to raiſe an army in Scotland, under the ridiculous pretence of Richard's being ſtill alive, and that thoſe forces were to be headed by young Piercy, who continued ſtill in Scotland. It ſeems the conſpirators had received ſome encouragement to propoſe this enterprize to the earl of Marche, by his having often told Cambridge in confidence, that every time he was confeſſed, his ghoſtly father made it a point of conſcience with him that he ſhould claim his right (meaning the crown of England.) This piece of intelligence, added to their knowlege of the weakneſs of his intellects, made them imagine it no difficult matter to perſuade Mortimer to concur with them in an enterprize which promiſed to ſet a crown upon his head: accordingly, having bound him by an oath of ſecrecy, they acquainted him with the whole plot they had concerted in his favour; but fear got the better of ambition in the mind of the earl of Marche: he ſaw the precipice to which theſe pretended friends were leading him, and reſolved to provide for his own ſafety; however, not to give them any cauſe of ſuſpicion, he ſeemed highly thankful for the ſervices they intended to do him, but begged he might have a few hours to conſider of the matter; which being readily agreed to by the party, he made uſe of that interval to lay open the whole affair to Henry **.

Orders were inſtantly iſſued for ſeizing the conſpirators, and impriſoning them in the caſtle of Southampton, to the conſtable of which they confeſſed their guilt, and threw themſelves on the king's mercy. Sir Thomas Grey was tried and condemned, on this evidence, by a common jury, of which it will not be eaſy to produce a precedent in any former reign; but the earl of Cambridge and lord Scroope pleading their peerage, a commiſſion was iſſued on the fifth of Auguſt, by which Henry conſtituted his brother Thomas, duke of Clarence, "his lieutenant and vicegerent ††," for trying the two noblemen by their peers. They pleaded guilty, and the earl of Cambridge ſent a very penitent and pathetic letter to Henry, imploring his mercy and forgiveneſs; but this was a caſe in which the king could hardly ſhew his clemency, with any regard to his own ſafety, or the tranquility of the kingdom. The conſpirators had engaged in this plot againſt him without the leaſt ſhadow of provocation: and it was not improbable they might attempt the ſame again, if left at liberty ſo to do: the king was upon the eve of a great and, perhaps, tedious expedition, and it was natural to think that they would not let ſlip ſuch a favourable opportunity of carrying their ambitious ſcheme into execution; he therefore found it neceſſary, for the good of the public, to allow the law to take its natural courſe. The earl of Cam-

§ See Anderſon's Origin of Commerce, vol. i. p. 242. Each of the eſquires or men at arms had four horſes, and every archer one horſe.

* Anderſon, ibid.

† Rymer, vol. ix. p. 229, 230, &c.

‡ Caxton Chron. Rapin.

‖ T. Livius. Walſingham. Elmham.

¶ Rymer, vol. ix. p. 300, 301.

** Walſingham. Goodwin.

†† Rymer, vol. ix. p. 305, 306.

bridge and ſir Thomas Grey were beheaded; but lord Scroope was hanged, drawn, and quartered as a traitor, his guilt being aggravated with the circumſtance of ingratitude to Henry, who had diſtinguiſhed him with many particular marks of favour and affection.

Thus ended a conſpiracy, which has by many of our hiſtorians been attributed to the intrigues of the French court: it is very probable that they might have been made acquainted with the deſign, and have encouraged the conſpirators; but, excluſive of their aſſiſtance, or interfering therein, the deſign ſeems ſufficiently prompted by ſelf-intereſt, eſpecially if we reflect, that if the plot had ſucceeded, and the earl of Marche had been proclaimed king of England, while a ſham Richard was trumped up in the North of England, the earl of Cambridge would have had a very fair handle to make uſe of this impoſtor's name for putting the earl of Marche to death; which done, all the right of the Mortimer family devolved upon the wife and ſon of the former. Be that as it might, this conſpiracy ſeems to have been the firſt ſpark of that flame which conſumed, in proceſs of time, the two houſes of Lancaſter and York. But to return.

This affair detaining Henry at Southampton longer than he imagined, he could not ſail till the fifteenth of Auguſt. His fleet conſiſted of fifteen hundred tranſports, in which were embarked ſix thouſand men at arms, and twenty-four thouſand archers, making in all an army of about fifty thouſand men. He was attended by the earls of Dorſet, Kent, Cornwall, Saliſbury, Huntingdon, with many other nobles. After a pleaſant paſſage, he landed, the evening of the day after that in which he left the Engliſh ſhore, at Caux, in Normandy, a ſmall port in the mouth of the river Seine, about three leagues from Harfleur. According to Elmham, he had ordered his ambaſſadors, in their return from the court of France, to examine the ſtate and ſituation of that place, under the pretence of embarking there for England, and upon their report formed his plan of operations. The lord of Ercouteville, governor of Harfleur, was at the head of a numerous garriſon, and ſeveral experienced officers, and made a gallant defence for ſome time; but the walls being beaten down by the cannon of the beſiegers, the ditch filled up, breaches made, and every thing prepared for giving a general aſſault, he thought it beſt to capitulate for the ſurrender of the place, on the twenty-ſecond of September, if not relieved before. On that day thirty perſons of the town or garriſon, ſuch as Henry ſhould chuſe, being left to his diſcretion, the reſt were allowed to march out, and go wherever they pleaſed; and the inhabitants, either by force or inclination, taking the latter party, the place was repeopled by a colony from England, and the king made his uncle, Thomas Beaufort, earl of Dorſet, governor.

If the arrival of Henry with ſo formidable an army, and ſo ſuperior to thoſe that had won the battles of Creſſy and Poictiers, alarmed all France, his taking of Harfleur, one of the ſtrongeſt places perhaps in that kingdom, did not a little increaſe this alarm; but while the progreſs of the Engliſh arms terrified the French, it rouſed them to a reſolution of exerting all their efforts to ſtop it ere too late. Orders were immediately iſſued from the court to all the French nobility, for aſſiſting the crown againſt the Engliſh invaſion: the dauphin himſelf took the field with fourteen thouſand men at arms, and was ſoon joined by the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, Alençon, Barr, and Brabant, the conſtable d'Albret, the counts of Nevers, Vendoſme, and Richemont, and all the flower of the nobility, and upwards of forty thouſand other ſoldiers, all eager to ſignalize their loyalty to their king, and their valour againſt the invaders of their country.

Very different was the ſituation of Henry's affairs: it was now near the middle of October, and the Engliſh troops had ſuffered terribly during the ſiege by ſickneſs, no leſs than two thouſand common ſoldiers, beſides many perſons of quality, having been carried off by the bloody flux, and ſeveral others were obliged to return to England, in hopes of their recovery in their native climate. Henry was much mortified at this diſtreſs of his people, which was the more unlucky as he expected to be attacked by the French, who were now become very powerful in the field: theſe conſiderations would probably have determined Henry to have returned to England; but the Engliſh fleet, which had, during the ſiege, lain before Harfleur, had been diſperſed by ſtorms, ſo that there was not in the harbour a ſufficient number of veſſels to carry his troops back.

So ſituated, and finding it would be impracticable to winter at Harfleur, for want of proviſions and forage, he, with the advice of his council, reſolved to begin his march by land for Calais, and to paſs the Somme at the place where it was forded by his great-grand-father, Edward III. Henry was not inſenſible of the difficulties and dangers that attended ſuch a retreat by land; but, unuſed to conſult with fear, he reſolved to take this party. Accordingly, after a ſtay of about three weeks at Harfleur, leaving a garriſon of two thouſand men in the place, under the command of the earl of Dorſet and his lieutenant, ſir John Faſtolf, and ſending the ſickly part of his troops home by ſea in ſuch veſſels as yet remained unhurt by the late tempeſts, he began his march along the ſea-coaſt, to Ville d'Eu, in order to reach the place where he propoſed to croſs the Somme.

In this march, however, he met with greater difficulties than he had even formed to himſelf: he found all the bridges over the Somme broke down, and the ford of Blanquetac, where Edward III. had formerly paſſed that river, two days before the battle of Creſſy, was now rendered impaſſable by a great quantity of ſharp ſtakes drove into the bed of the water, and the oppoſite bank ſtrongly guarded by numerous detachments of the enemy. Upon this he found himſelf obliged to alter his courſe; and marching higher up the river, beyond Amiens and Corbie, he at laſt effected a paſſage near St. Quintin, and directed his route towards Blaguy; but he ſoon perceived that he had only eſcaped one danger to fall into another, for he ſaw the whole French army, amounting to upwards of one hundred thouſand men, drawn up to oppoſe his farther progreſs. In this diſtreſs he ſent a meſſage to the conſtable d'Albret, offering to reſtore Harfleur, to repair all damages he had done to the French, and even to bind himſelf by an oath, that he would never again invade France, provided they would allow him to continue his march to Calais without moleſtation.

moleſtation. The conſtable was for accepting this offer, alleging, that the French government could not expect greater advantages from the moſt ſucceſsful battle, than what were now propoſed to them by the Engliſh monarch; but the young French generals, at the head of whom were the dukes of Alençon and Bourbon, were deaf to all conſiderations but that of fighting the Engliſh; they even refuſed to conſent to wait for a large reinforcement, which were marching from all quarters, particularly from Brittany, to join their army, and all Henry's propoſals were rejected with diſdain; nay, they even added many acts of boyiſh inſolence to their raſh ſecurity, for, after having in vain endeavoured to provoke Henry, by repeated meſſages, to give them battle, they were inſolent enough to propoſe the queſtion to him, by a herald, how much he would give for his ranſom?

Henry bore all theſe inſults with a patient yet noble diſdain; in return to their meſſage, deſiring him to fix the place and time of battle, he replied, "that, weakened and exhauſted as his army now was, he would not ſeek an engagement; but, as he was reſolved to purſue his route to Calais, they might attack him when and where they ſhould think proper." On receiving this anſwer, the French took poſt between Rouſſeauville and a village called Agincourt. Both armies ſtood in order of battle from the twentieth to the twenty fifth of October; at length the French ſent him word, that they would give him battle on the laſt-mentioned day. Finding it impoſſible to avoid an action, he accepted the challenge, and preſented the herald who brought it, with a rich robe and two hundred crowns. During the three days which intervened between the challenge and the battle, Henry employed every means which prudence could ſuggeſt, in order to prepare his men for the approaching combat, by recalling to their remembrance the glorious atchievements of their forefathers, in the days of Creſſy and Poictiers, againſt an infinite ſuperiority of their enemies: in a word, by his example and his harangues he inſpired his ſoldiers with ſo much valour, that they ſeemed to have loſt all ſenſe of diſtinction of numbers, and to wiſh for nothing ſo much as to ſignalize themſelves in the preſence of their beloved and heroic prince.

Far different from the prudent conduct of Henry was the arrogant behaviour of the French generals. Puffed up with their ſuperiority of numbers, they looked upon the Engliſh army as already in their diſpoſal, and were ſo fooliſhly confident of victory as to paſs the evening preceding the battle in caſting dice for the imaginary ranſoms of their illuſtrious priſoners, and the ſpoils of the Engliſh camp; and, to complete the meaſure of their vanity, they ſent orders to many of the adjacent villages to prepare lodgings for thoſe ſtrangers, and to provide for the celebration of a ſignal victory.

On the twenty-fifth of October, the day appointed for the battle, the two armies were marſhalled as ſoon as it was light; but here the conſtable d'Albret is repreſented as having made an egregious blunder in the diſpoſition of his army: he drew it up on a narrow piece of ground, flanked by a rivulet and a thick wood, and in ſuch a manner that he could not extend his front line but a very little beyond that of the Engliſh; thus his ſuperior numbers, inſtead of being of any real ſervice, would only prove a burthen and encumbrance: but then he had two other lines, each of which formed an army more than double the number of the Engliſh. The firſt line was compoſed, beſides other troops, of eight thouſand gentlemen, commanded by the conſtable, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendoſme, and Richemont, and the famous marſhal Boucicaut, David Rambure great-maſter of the croſs-bows, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. The ſecond line was led by the duke of Alençon, aſſiſted by the duke of Barr, the counts of Vaudemont, Nevers, Salines, Rouſſi, and Grand Pré. The third body was under the command of the counts of Marle, Dampmartin, Faquenberg, and the ſieur de Lannoy.

While the French officers were employed in drawing up their troops, Henry detached four hundred lances, to take poſt in a wood upon the right; and a party of two hundred and fifty archers, to lay in ambuſh on the left, in a low meadow covered with buſhes. The files of the French were thirty-one deep, whereas the Engliſh were not above four; Henry having been obliged, in order to extend his front equal to that of the enemy, to form his little army into one front, though conſiſting, indeed, of three lines, one behind the other, the extremity of which was flanked by horſe, in the manner of wings. The wing commanded by the duke of York, with the lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhope, was poſted to the right of the main body, and advanced ſomewhat before it: the centre was commanded by Henry in perſon, attended by his brother Humphrey, duke of Glocester; John, lord Mowbray, earl-marſhal; Richard de Vere, earl of Oxford; and Michael de la Pole, the young earl of Suffolk. The rear, or third line, conſiſting of archers and ſuch as were armed with ſpears, halberts, and bills, was led by Thomas Beaufort, earl of Dorſet. The king dreſſed himſelf, on this occaſion, with all the magnificence of a warrior, and appeared at the head of his diviſion mounted on a ſtately white ſteed, in ſhining armour, with a golden crown (made after the imperial faſhion) on his helmet by way of creſt, while four royal banners waved around him *. He was followed by a great number of led horſes in rich capariſons, and attended by the chief officers of his court. Sir Thomas Erpyngham, an old and experienced general, acted that day, by Henry's orders, as field marſhal; and le Fevre tells us, that the diſpoſition of the Engliſh army was planned by him.

We are told by father Daniel †, that before the battle began, king Henry ſent to make the French generals a ſecond offer of accommodation; when the terms they inſiſted upon were, that Henry ſhould renounce all pretenſions to the crown of France, and reſtore Harfleur: Henry would have agreed to this propoſal, on condition that Guienne and its appurtenances, together with the earldom of Ponthieu, ſhould be reſtored to him; and that the princeſs Catherine ſhould be given him in marriage, with eight hundred thouſand crowns for her fortune.

* Theſe were, firſt the ſtandard of the Trinity: the ſecond that of St. George: the third that of St. Edward: and on the fourth were diſplayed the arms of England.

† Hiſt. de France, tom. v. p. 542.

Henry

Henry, conſidering that the enemy was more powerful in horſe, and that his foot, in which lay the chief ſtrength of his army, would be expoſed to the danger of being broken by the fury of the firſt charge, commanded the archers (a battalion of whom was placed in the wing under the command of the duke of York) to fix into the ground piles, or ſtakes, pointed with iron at both ends, and ſix or ſeven feet long, in their front and on their flanks or intervals between the horſe and foot; within theſe palliſades, or piquets, his archers might retire, as within a little fortification, and from thence ſecurely annoy the enemy, as theſe latter advanced.

Thus, differently arranged, the two armies ſtood facing one another a great part of the day, the Engliſh not caring to advance, leſt they ſhould loſe ſomething of the advantage they had in the ground; nor the French, for fear of being more ſtraitened and crowded together than they were already. But as all delays were fatal to the former, who could not, in their circumſtances, find means of ſubſiſtence, Henry at length advanced, at the head of his main diviſion ‡, the two wings on each ſide moving at the ſame time (ſo as to preſerve one wide-extended front), till he came within twenty paces of the village of Agincourt, when the French horſe moved forwards to attack the Engliſh archers: upon this the Engliſh made an halt, and the foremoſt ranks fixed their ſtakes *, interweaving and bending them a little towards the enemy, and then retreating behind them, the bow-men began to let fly upon the enemy a ſhower of arrows, near four feet long, which being ſhot by men dexterous at that buſineſs, did incredible execution among the French, whoſe ranks were ſo cloſe that they had hardly room to move; however, being pretty well thinned by the ſlaughter made amongſt them, they advanced in a briſk pace to attack the archers and force their palliſades; mean while the two hundred bowmen, concealed in the meadow, iſſuing forth from their ambuſh, charged the French in flank with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that they were obliged to give way; and the Engliſh archers, ſeeing their confuſion, threw away their bows, and fell upon their enemies ſword in hand.

The conſtable of France, perceiving the diſtreſs of his advanced party, moved forward to its aſſiſtance, but under terrible diſadvantages; for the ſoil being wet and miry, and both horſe and foot clad in a cumberſome lobſter-like armour, and too cloſely wedged together, both men and beaſts ſunk up to the mid-leg in the ground, and continuing ſtill to preſs upon each other, preſented a defenceleſs body to the Engliſh archers, who made ſo good uſe of their miſſiles, that the whole of the firſt line was thrown into irretrievable diſorder: in ſhort, the buſineſs of our archers was that of executioners rather than of ſoldiers; for, ruſhing in amongſt the diſordered foe with their battle-axes and daggers, the field was quickly ſtrewed with the killed, wounded, diſmounted, and overthrown; and the conſtable, with a great number of the principal officers of the firſt line, being left dead upon the ſpot, the total rout of that corps was completed.

The ſecond line of the French, under the duke of Alençon, ſtood firm in an adjoining field, and were eager to engage, hoping by their valour to repair the diſgrace of their countrymen. Henry did not let them long expect him: he had all along kept cloſe to his firſt line, moving forward as they advanced, in order to ſuccour them upon occaſion; but that body, having cleared itſelf from the enemy without his aſſiſtance, now opened to the right and left, in order to give paſſage to the king at the head of his ſecond line, and to fall into the rear themſelves, there to rally.

Alençon expected him with a gallant intrepidity; but, willing to take every advantage that conteſts of this kind allow, he gave orders to eighteen French knights to keep a ſtrict eye upon the king of England, and to uſe all their efforts to ſlay or take him priſoner. This precaution had like to have proved fatal to England; but Henry's genius ruled that day ſuperior: animated with the ſucceſs of his firſt line, and burning with ardour to ſignalize himſelf by acts above the common level, as ſoon as he came within a proper diſtance of the French line, he alighted from his horſe, and advancing at the head of his diviſion with an heroic confidence that ſeemed to beſpeak victory, he charged the enemy with a valour equal to that of the moſt renowned heroes in hiſtory; when the duke of Alençon, with a ſpirit worthy his high blood and rank, ſeemed to take courage from the noble adverſary he had to encounter, and received the attack of the Engliſh with a firmneſs which deſerved a better fate: while Henry, however, was expoſing his perſon like the meaneſt ſoldier, fighting on foot at the head of his men, the French knights, who had never loſt ſight of him, cut a paſſage with their ſwords to the place where he fought; and ruſhing upon him all at once, would probably have made themſelves maſters of his life and perſon, had it not been for the bravery of David Gam, a Welſh captain, and two other officers of the ſame nation, who, ſeeing the peril that threatened their ſovereign, flew to his aſſiſtance, and joining their arms to his, the eighteen aſſailants were ſtretched breathleſs on the field; but Gam and his two gallant comrades were likewiſe mortally wounded. Henry, recovering himſelf from the confuſion this unexpected attack had thrown him into, beheld his loyal defenders ſtretched at his feet in the agonies of death. This was no time for unavailing expreſſions of pity; but, to demonſtrate his gratitude, he knighted all three as they lay upon the field. This noble tribute paid, he darted into the hotteſt of the battle, to revenge the late attempt of the foe; and, forgetful of the danger he had lately been in, his ardour carried him on with ſuch impetuoſity, that he was again in the moſt imminent jeopardy. His brother Gloceſter, who had fought by his ſide, was ſtruck to the ground; the enemy preſſed on in crowds, to avail themſelves of this incident; Henry ſaw himſelf almoſt alone in the midſt of an hoſt of foes; but, wholly unappalled, he beſtrode the body of his brother, covering him with his ſhield, and defending him with his ſword. In this ſituation he re-

‡ He ordered ſir Thomas Erpyngham to give the ſignal to engage, which he did by throwing up his truncheon in the air. Le Fevre, p. 92.

* Theſe ſtakes were ſo contrived, that, when thrown out of the hand, one end ſhould ſtick in the ground while the other ſtood up aſlant, with the iron point towards the enemy. Goodwin's Hen. V.

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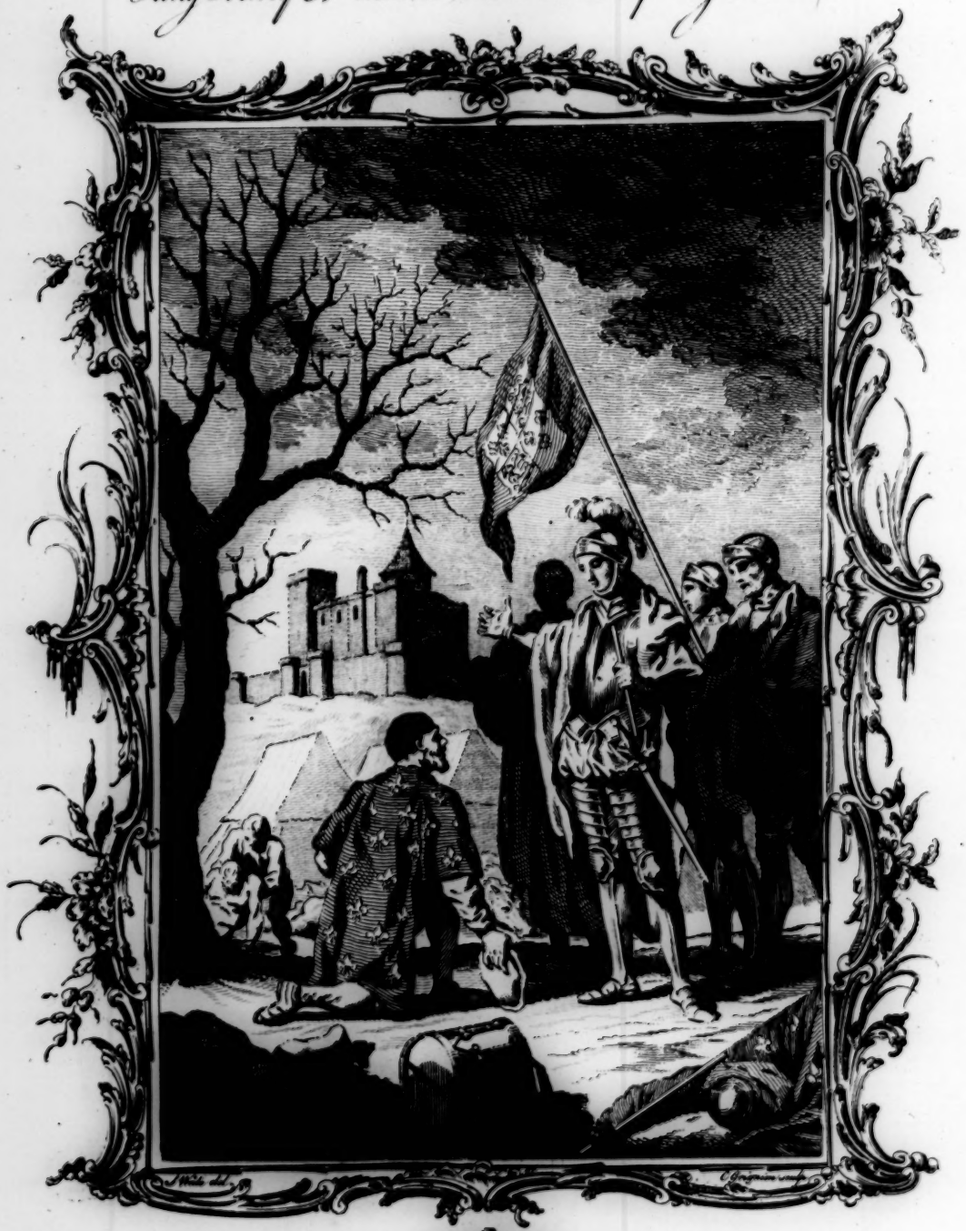
King Henry 5.th names the Battle of Agincourt.



To his Grace **Duke of** *This Plate is most*

John Russell, **Bedford** *humbly Inscribed.*

ceived ſuch a blow with a battle axe on his helmet that made him ſtagger and fall on his knees: at that very inſtant fate directed the duke of York, with a ſtout body of the Engliſh, to the ſpot; upon whoſe appearance the enemy ſomewhat giving way, Henry and his brother had both time to recover themſelves; and being ſoon after joined by another reinforcement, they fell upon the French in their turn with ſuch fury, that they were no longer able to ſtand the ſhock of the Engliſh, now doubly enraged by the thoughts of their ſovereign's danger.

The duke of Alençon, ſeeing the defeat of his diviſion, which was the ſecond, and fearing the third would have no better ſucceſs, reſolved to make one effort, in order to reſtore the battle, or ſpare himſelf the mortification of ſurviving the diſgrace of his country: he put himſelf at the head of ſome choſen volunteers, and, cutting his way to the ſpot where Henry fought, he ruſhed upon the Engliſh monarch, killed the duke of York by his ſide, and cleft the crown on Henry's helmet with the firſt ſtroke of his ſword; the latter was not ſlow in returning the ſalutation, and, calling all his ſtrength to his aid, he diſcharged ſuch a blow at Alençon with his faulchion as brought him to the ground, and with his own hand ſlew two of his followers, who endeavoured to cover their maſter's body. At length the duke called out that he was Alençon, and demanded quarter of the king, which Henry, admiring his courage, was ready to grant him, and had even ſtretched forth his hand to lift him from the earth; but the Engliſh ſoldiers, who now ſurrounded their king, were ſo exaſperated at the Frenchman's attempt, that they diſpatched him with their ſwords and ſpears before the king had time to reſtrain their brutal loyalty. The death of this general was attended with the total defeat of the line which he commanded.

The third line of the French, being ſtill freſh and in good order, might have renewed the battle; but their hearts failing at the ſight of the paſt and preſent ſlaughter, and obſerving that Henry had detached a body of Engliſh horſe to charge them in the rear, while he advanced with a body of freſh troops to attack them in front, they retired from the field, without ſtriking a blow.

In this battle, which was gained by the Engliſh with the loſs only of the duke of York, the earl of Suffolk, and about a thouſand men on their ſide, there were about ten thouſand French ſlain in the field, among whom were the dukes of Brabant, Bar, and Alençon, Charles d'Albret, conſtable of France, and near eight thouſand gentlemen; of priſoners there were taken fourteen thouſand, and among theſe the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu and Vendoſme, the marſhal Boucicaut, and Arthur, brother to the duke of Brittany, with many other noblemen and gentlemen of diſtinction.

Hardly had Henry gained this ſignal victory, when he thought himſelf in danger of ſeeing it wreſted from him. The troops of the French vanguard, or firſt line, that had been routed in the beginning of the battle, had rallied afterwards, and, being joined by others, drew up at ſome diſtance from the field, and appeared on an eminence like a new army diſpoſed to try the fate of another engagement: there happened at the ſame time an alarm, that another party of the enemy were in his rear, and had already plundered his camp. Theſe were only a company of runaways, headed by Robert de Bournonville, who, retiring early out of the fight, and knowing the Engliſh camp was but weakly guarded, had fallen upon and pillaged it, while the two ſecond lines of the Engliſh and French were engaged. Before the truth of this affair could be rightly underſtood, the Engliſh, ſeeing the number of their priſoners exceeded that of their own forces, began to put ſome of them to death, in order to be diſencumbered and at liberty for a renewal of the fight, which they now expected; but they were ſtopped in the midſt of this bloody, though perhaps neceſſary, precaution by Henry's orders, who ſent a herald to the body that appeared on the eminence to acquaint them, that, ſhould they remain in that poſture, or advance, or not diſperſe, he would put every priſoner he had in his power to the ſword without mercy, and then march againſt themſelves, who muſt expect the like treatment from him, if he overcame. Intimidated at this declaration, they inſtantly diſperſed, and left him complete maſter of the field. He then marched towards the camp, in order to ſuccour his people there; and, upon his approach, Bournonville with his party took to flight.

Nothing now remaining to oppoſe his victorious arms, Henry's firſt care was to offer his humble and grateful acknowlegements to Heaven for ſo ſignal and unexpected a victory, and public thankſgivings were accordingly ordered throughout his army. After this juſt and decent tribute, he ſent for the French herald, named Montjoy (who was, with four more, come, in his maſter's name, to aſk permiſſion to bury the dead), and formally demanded of him, to whom he thought the victory belonged? the other replying, "to the Engliſh," the king next aſked him the name of a neighbouring caſtle, to which he pointed with his ſword, and being told it was called the caſtle of Agincourt, "henceforward then (ſaid he), this action ſhall be known by the name of the Battle of Agincourt."

Notwithſtanding this glorious victory, Henry, being in an enemy's country, ordered his ſoldiers to deſtroy the greateſt part of the plunder, and to reſume their march towards Calais the very next day. According to Monſtrelet, the marſhal de Louvigny, at the head of ſix hundred men at arms, and the duke of Brittany, with forces almoſt equal to thoſe of the Engliſh, were come very near the field of battle, when they received the news of the defeat of the French: if the latter, adds my author, had led on his freſh troops againſt the wearied and wounded Engliſh, he might probably have recovered the victory; but he retired immediately into Brittany, where he remained neuter from that day. However this might be, it is certain that Henry brought his army to Calais by ſlow marches, without meeting with any obſtructions on his way. Having ſtaid about three weeks here, to recruit his troops, he embarked with them for England, on the ſixteenth of November, and, after an eaſy paſſage, landed the ſame evening at Dover, from whence he ſet out in a day or two for London, where he was received by the citizens with all honours due to the glory and ſucceſs of his military atchievements.

After taking ſome repoſe from his late fatigues, Henry ſet himſelf to cultivate a good intelligence with foreign princes, in order that he might find no diverſion for his arms ſo long as he continued the war with France. With this view he ſent ambaſſadors

baſſadors to adjuſt ſome differences that had ariſen, in point of trade, with the crown of Norway and the Hanſe Towns: he alſo concluded a treaty with the king of Arragon, and even made ſome propoſals of marriage between himſelf and that prince's daughter; and ſent to require of the king of Caſtile, that, in conſideration of the nearneſs of blood between them, he ſhould renounce any alliance with the court of France, that might be prejudicial to the intereſts of England, or contrary to the treaties ſubſiſting between the two nations.

The year 1416 opened in England by a parliament, which met a Weſtminſter on the ſixteenth of March, and voted the king a plentiful ſupply, with many expreſſions of gratitude for the hazards he had run in defence of the rights of the kingdom, in his laſt glorious campaign.

The emperor Sigiſmund had been for ſome time at the court of France, and had drawn up a plan of a truce, which he intended to communicate to Henry without loſs of time. He accordingly came to Calais, where he was magnificently entertained by the earl of Warwick, the governor; and having received ſafe-conducts for himſelf and all his retinue*, he arrived in England in the beginning of April; and on the twenty-third of that month, being the feaſt of St. George, he was inſtalled a knight of the Garter. His principal buſineſs was to ſettle a peace between France and England: William of Bavaria, earl of Holland and Zealand, who came over at the ſame time, and for the ſame purpoſe, joined his endeavours; but their negociations came to nothing, either by the inſincerity of the French in their manner of treating, or becauſe the terms inſiſted on by the Engliſh were too unreaſonable for the French princes, who were priſoners, and who were parties in the negociation, to anſwer for their performance. What ſeems to countenance the charge of inſincerity on the part of the French, was the preparations then making in France for invading England, and the actual blocking up Harfleur by a fleet of nine great carracks and a number of other veſſels, in hopes of ſtarving the garriſon into a ſurrender; but that fleet being beaten and ſeveral of the ſhips ſunk and taken, the place was relieved in the beginning of Auguſt, and ſupplied with all neceſſaries.

Sigiſmund ſeems to have been well ſatisfied with Henry's conduct in this negociation; for he thought proper, on this occaſion, to enter into an alliance with the Engliſh monarch, and both powers mutually agreed "to ſupport each other againſt all others, the church and pope of Rome excepted." They likewiſe agreed, that neither of them ſhould enter into any meaſures prejudicial to the honour or intereſt of the other: that their ſubjects ſhould reciprocally enjoy a free and undiſturbed trade. It was farther agreed, that the king of England might, by force of arms, endeavour the recovery of his rights, and the emperor do the ſame, againſt France, without the one contracting power obſtructing the progreſs of the other. Laſtly, that they ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other, and mutually guarantee their acquiſitions in caſe of a peace with France. This convention was ſigned at Canterbury, on the fifteenth of Auguſt this year†; and the emperor, in a few days after, took his leave, and paſſed over to France, in his way to Germany. But before we take our leave of this prince, we cannot forbear taking notice of the very extraordinary manner in which he was received upon his firſt coming over, and which we find thus related by the author who writes under the name of Titus Livius, by Walſingham, Goodwin, and other of our Engliſh hiſtorians.

While Sigiſmund was in France, he had been admitted to be preſent at a ſeſſion of the parliament of Paris, in which, from a notion, perhaps, that emperors enjoy a power paramount to that of kings, he had exerciſed an act of ſovereign juriſdiction. This coming to the ears of Henry and his nobility, they reſolved to inform his imperial majeſty, that the king and people of England knew no ſuperior but God. The duke of Gloceſter and other Engliſh noblemen were ordered by Henry to receive the emperor at his landing. He was brought over in a magnificent fleet of Engliſh ſhips, and approaching near the ſhore, he found the duke and his retinue firſt drawn up upon the ſtrand, and then advancing towards the boat wherein he was, and which they ſtopped: this extraordinary proceeding was followed by a declaration from the duke of Clarence, in the name of the king and people of England, "That if his imperial majeſty was to land as a friend, an ally, and a mediator of peace, he ſhould meet with all the reſpect due to his high dignity; but that the crown and nation of England being free and independent, they were ready to oppoſe his landing if he claimed any power as a ſovereign paramount." The emperor having, in reply, formally declared that he came with no ſuch intent, but only as a friend, ally, and mediator of peace, he was received on ſhore with the moſt profound demonſtrations of regard; and, after being highly entertained on the road, was met by Henry himſelf at Blackeath, and conducted in great pomp to London.

While theſe matters were tranſacting in England, the ſpirit of giddineſs and inconſtancy, which had ſeized the French nation as well as their king, did what the battle of Agincourt would never have effected alone. Two dauphins were already dead, and the third, who was afterwards Charles VII. and at that time only ſixteen years of age, endeavoured to ſave the remains of this great wreck. Queen Iſabella, of Bavaria, his mother, had extorted letters patent from her huſband, by which ſhe was entruſted with the reins of government. She was a covetous woman, and greatly addicted to gallantry, and was not a little ſuſpected of carrying on a criminal correſpondence with the lord of Bois Bourdon, a young and handſome nobleman of the court. The treaſure of which ſhe had plundered the kingdom, and her huſband, ſhe partly beſtowed on this favourite, and carefully depoſited the reſt in ſeveral monaſteries. The dauphin and the Armagnac faction, the count of which name had been lately made conſtable of France, upon the death of Albret, having diſcovered this hoard, had made uſe of it, for the preſſing wants of the

* Which conſiſted of no leſs than a thouſand horſe, among whom were the count-palatine of the Rhine, the duke of Milan, the marquiſſes of Ferrara, Mantua, and Montferrat, count Bertold of Hungary, the prince of Orange, the duke of Paleſtine, and many others of the Italian and German nobility. Tit. Liv. p. 23.

† Rymer, vol. ix. p. 381.

public

public. To this affront, which ſhe received from her ſon, the king added another of a more ſenſible nature: one evening, as he was going to pay a viſit to the queen in her own apartments he met the lord of Bois Bourdon coming out; he inſtantly ordered him to be apprehended and ſent to the Chatelet, where he was put to the torture, and confeſſed his having, for ſome time, maintained a criminal intimacy with the queen, together with many other things laid to his charge; upon which he was ordered to be ſewed up in a ſack, and thrown into the river Seine. The queen was directly ſent priſoner to Blois, and from thence to Tours, without being ſuffered to ſpeak with the king. It was this accident, and not the battle of Agincourt, that placed the crown of France on our Henry's head. The queen, in this diſtreſs, implored the aſſiſtance of the duke of Burgundy, who gladly embraced this opportunity of eſtabliſhing his own authority on theſe new diſtractions of his country.

Accordingly he raiſed a ſtrong army; and, having entered France, he ſoon reduced Amiens, Abbeville, Dourlens, Mountrueil, and other towns in Picardy: Senlis, Rheims, Chalons, Troyes, and Auxerre declared themſelves for his party. He made himſelf maſter of Beaumont, Pontoiſe, Vernon, and Meulant, towns in the neighbourhood of Paris; and, advancing weſtward, ſubdued Eſtampes, Chartres, and other fortreſſes; and at laſt was able to deliver the queen from her confinement, who repaired to Troye, and from thence publiſhed declarations againſt the Orleans and Armagnac factions, who, as ſhe alleged, detained her huſband in confinement. In the mean time the duke of Burgundy was not wanting in every meaſure that policy, or the preſent ſituation of his affairs, could dictate. He ſent ambaſſadors to Henry, in the month of September this year; between whom it was agreed, that the king and he ſhould meet at Calais, and the interview was fixed for the beginning of October: but this negociation was carried on ſo ſecretly, that the French court of thoſe days was intirely ignorant of its terms, which did not appear till a long time after, that the public records printed in England firſt diſcovered the ſecret.

On the day appointed this interview was held; and the duke then ſigned and ſealed the following articles, which we ſhall give exactly as they are to be found in the ninth volume of the Collection of Public Acts.

"The king having acquainted the duke of Burgundy with his juſt claim to the crown of France, and his adverſary's refuſal to give him ſatisfaction, told him, that, by the help of God and St. George, he was reſolved to obtain it by force of arms. Upon this declaration, the duke perceiving the juſtice of the king's title, and conſidering the great victories heaven had bleſſed him with, promiſes to ſend him his letters patent, containing what follows:

"That though, heretofore, for want of information, he had eſpouſed the contrary party, believing it juſt; now that he is better informed, he promiſes firmly to adhere to the king of England, and his heirs and ſucceſſors, as to thoſe who are, and ever will be, the true and lawful kings of France, as much as if they were in actual poſſeſſion of the crown.

"Though for the preſent the king has not deſired the duke's homage, yet, as the duke owns it to be due, he promiſes, that as ſoon as the king of England ſhall be poſſeſſed of a conſiderable part of the realm of France, to pay him liege-homage, and ſwear fealty to him, as every vaſſal of the crown of France ought to do to the king of France his ſovereign.

"Item, The duke of Burgundy promiſes to endeavour, by all known and unknown ways, to place the king of England on the throne of France.

"Item, Whilſt the king ſhall be employed in purſuing his rights, the duke of Burgundy will make war with all his forces upon the king's enemies in France, namely, A. B. C. D. and upon all their dominions and adherents, refuſing obedience to the king of England.

"Item, In all the alliances and letters patent made, or to be made, between the king and the duke, wherein the duke ſhould except, or have excepted the king's adverſary, or the ſon of his adverſary, it is not his intention to do any thing contrary to what he promiſes by theſe preſents, which he is to give the king, but will punctually perform it.

"That if, through diſſimulation, the duke excepted the king's adverſary, or the dauphin his ſon, for a greater good, and for the better accompliſhing the intended project, his will and meaning is, that all ſuch exceptions are void, and of no effect.

"And that all may know this proceeds from his own free conſent, he will promiſe and ſwear by his faith and honour, to obſerve it without fraud or deceit. He will write all the articles with his own hand, ſign them, and ſet his uſual ſeal to them."

This treaty was the ſole cauſe of the great revolution which happened in France; and it muſt be confeſſed, that the duke acted a deteſtable part, and ſuch as cannot be approved by any honeſt man.

At the ſame time the duke made a treaty of a more public nature with the emperor, who was then at Calais (but entirely ignorant of what had paſſed between Henry and the duke), by which the former agreed to pay the emperor homage for the counties of Burgundy and Aloſt. This ſerved as a pretext to cover the true reaſon of the duke's viſit to Calais; and to complete the ſcene of double-dealing, Henry, feigning to let himſelf be perſuaded by the inſtance of the emperor Sigiſmund (who, on this occaſion acted the part of a great prince and a good Chriſtian, by his unwearied endeavours to reſtore peace and public tranquility), conſented to a truce with France, which was to commence on the ninth of October, and hold to the ſecond of February following: and then paſſed over to England, where a parliament was held, on the nineteenth of October, and the houſe was acquainted by the chancellor, that the king had found all his pacific inclinations fruſtrated by the obſtinacy of an unjuſt enemy, and that the laſt appeal muſt be the ſword; and concluded with deſiring their advice and aſſiſtance. In conſequence of which, they granted a handſome ſubſidy.

In this parliament the king created Thomas Beaufort, the earl of Dorſet who was governor of Harfleur, duke of Exeter, with the uſual penſion of one thouſand pounds per annum.

Henry

Henry employed all the remainder of this year, and great part of 1417, in making prodigious preparations for a ſecond invaſion of France, to which he was not a little excited by his knowlege of the diſtracted condition of affairs in that ſtate, which prevented it from exerting any efforts of conſequence for its own defence; for by this time the party of the duke of Burgundy and the queen carried every thing before them, and had found means to raiſe an inſurrection in Paris, which was always attached to their intereſt. L'Iſle Adam, one of the duke's captains, entered the city in the night, and put himſelf at the head of the inſurgents, who ſoon encreaſed to ſuch a number, that they bore down all oppoſition: the king himſelf was ſeized; the dauphin eſcaped with great difficulty; the chief partizans of the Armagnac faction were put to the ſword; that nobleman himſelf, and ſeveral of his friends, were thrown into priſon; murders were daily committed from private feuds, under pretence of public differences; and the enraged and deſperate populace, not chuſing to wait for the ſlow deciſion of law, burſt open the priſons and butchered the count of Armagnac and all the other noblemen who had been there confined.

While France was thus diſtracted with civil commotions, Henry, having rendezvouſed his army at Southampton, which, according to Goodwin, amounted to twenty-five thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-eight fighting men, beſides a thouſand pioneers, and having appointed the duke of Bedford his lieutenant of England, he embarked at Portſmouth, on the twenty third of July, 1417, with all his troops on board a fleet of fifteen hundred ſail, and landed, on the firſt of Auguſt, at Beville, in Normandy, in ſight of a great body of French troops, who were drawn up on the ſhore to oppoſe him. Upon his arrival he beſieged the caſtle of Tongre, which ſurrendered on the ninth of Auguſt; and its fate was ſoon followed by that of Dambieres, a ſtrong fortreſs, which capitulated to the earl of Saliſbury. Thoſe two important places being thus reduced, Henry next proceeded to lay ſiege to the city of Caen, the capital of Lower Normandy, which he inveſted on each ſide, and puſhed his operations ſo vigorouſly, that the garriſon, though numerous and provided with every thing ſuitable for a longer defence, thought proper to capitulate on the twentieth of September; when Henry, with a bloody policy, which we ſhall not attempt to defend, finding the place very populous, and fearing to be encumbered with priſoners, ordered a great number of the inhabitants to be put to the ſword in cool blood. He then appointed ſir Gilbert Umfreville governor of the place, and continuing the progreſs of his arms, made himſelf maſter of Bayeux, Liſieux, Courci, Argenton, the large city of Sees, the ſtrong caſtle and town of Alençon, with the towns and caſtles of Boumolegas, de Rugles, and Vernueil. All this time the court of France continued in the greateſt perplexity: the duke of Burgundy, at the gates of Paris, hindered the government from taking any ſteps for the defence of Normandy, which gave Henry ſuch deciſive advantages, that, before the end of the year, he brought the town and caſtle of Falaiſe, eſteemed one of the ſtrongeſt places in France, to ſurrender, though not till after an obſtinate defence: the town capitulated on the twentieth of December, but the caſtle was not yielded up till the beginning of the February following.

Mean time the king of France, the conſtable, and the dauphin, who were ſhut up in Paris, thought their only refuge was to renew the negociations with Henry. To that end they demanded a conference between ambaſſadors of the two crowns, to conſult about means to conclude a peace. Plenipotentiaries were accordingly nominated, who met at Bernonville, in Normandy, in the latter end of November, where the loweſt terms that Henry would condeſcend to accept were, "an acknowlegement of his right to the crown of France, which, however, he would allow Charles to enjoy for life, in caſe the following demands were granted, viz. the giving him in marriage the princeſs Catherine; the being declared regent of the realm during Charles's illneſs; and a ſolemn oath to be taken by the eſtates, and by all magiſtrates and officers, to obey him in this capacity, and maintain his ſucceſſion after the deceaſe of king Charles*." A compliance with theſe demands would have diveſted the Armagnac party immediately of all the power they had in the court of France; and they were, indeed, ſo exorbitant, that Henry could hardly have made them in any other juncture; it is no wonder, therefore, they were rejected; and the king of England did nothing in the way of treaty for the ſervice of his affairs, beſides concluding a truce with the duke of Brittany, and another with Yolante, or Violante, queen of Sicily, and her eldeſt ſon, Lewis, for the county of Maine and the duchy of Anjou.

The winter proved very ſharp, and Henry ſtaid at Falaiſe till he had taken poſſeſſion of the caſtle, which, purſuant to the capitulation, was delivered to him on the ſixteenth of February, 1418; and then he ſent detachments of his army, under the dukes of Clarence and Gloceſter, to reduce the other places which as yet held out in Lower Normandy. The firſt of thoſe generals took Courtonne, Cambreys, Tibouville, Harcourt, and Bec Halouin, as the latter did Vere, Hambie, Tournay, St. Lo, Homouil, Carentan, Pont Douve, St. Sauveur le Vicomte, Briquebec, Nehou, and at length the important fortreſs of Cherbourg, which, in hopes of ſuccours, held out ſeveral months, but was at length forced to ſurrender in Auguſt, to avoid a more diſmal fate by famine. The earls of Huntingdon and Warwick, who had been likewiſe ſent, at the head of a third diviſion, to reduce other places, made themſelves maſters of Coutances and Damfront; while Henry himſelf made preparations for the ſiege of Rouen, having ſent for a reinforcement of fifteen thouſand freſh men from England. He reduced Ivri and Evreux in May, and then marched, in the beginning of the next month, to Louvieres, which he took in a fortnight after he inveſted it. He next led his victorious troops againſt Pont de l'Arche, which being a place of greater conſequence, as commanding a paſſage over the Seine, this ſiege was a more difficult enterprize; but finding means to paſs part of his forces over to the north ſide of the river, he obliged the garriſon to capitulate for a ſurrender, if not relieved within a fortnight. The way being thus opened to Rouen, the capital of Upper Normandy, and the taking of

* Rymer, vol. ix. p. 517.

which

which was to put Henry into poſſeſſion of the whole of this province, he ſat down before it on the twenty-ninth of July, and preſently made himſelf maſter of the abbey and fort of St. Catherine, in the ſuburbs; but as the place was perfectly well ſupplied with four thouſand fighting men, beſides fifteen thouſand inhabitants, all trained to war, Henry in vain exerted all his efforts to take it by force, and he was obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade, in hopes of ſtarving the garriſon into a ſurrender.

It was during Henry's lying before this place, that the duke of Burgundy and the queen became poſſeſſed of Paris, and the perſon of the ſenſeleſs king, in the manner we have already related; while the dauphin, who had made his eſcape from the general carnage which enſued, retired behind the Loire, and, aſſuming the title of Regent, threatened all who ſhould obey the duke of Burgundy; while that prince, acting in concert with the queen, and having the king in his power, iſſued, in his name, ſuch orders as they thought moſt conducive to their own intereſts.

Such was the deſperate ſtate of affairs in France, when the cardinal d'Urſini, who had been ſent by Martin V. lately elected pope by the council of Conſtance, to France, to try to appeaſe the troubles of that kingdom, and unite the two factions, arrived in Henry's camp, in order to purſue the ſame ſalutary work, and endeavour to perſuade the king of England to moderate his terms, and agree to an equitable peace; but Henry's anſwer plainly ſhewed that he was fully determined to avail himſelf to the utmoſt of the diſtreſſes of his competitor; upon which the cardinal deſiſted from his mediation. Notwithſtanding this declaration, Henry ſtill continued his negociations with the heads of both the French factions. To the dauphin he offered, that, on condition all the territories ceded to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigny ſhould be given up to him, with all thoſe places in Normandy which he had not yet reduced, together with Guienne and the Marches of Calais; and that the count of Armagnac (ſon of him who had been murdered by the populace), and the lord d'Albret, would ſubmit to his allegiance; and that the places ſo ceded might by him be held in full reſort, and in full ſovereignty; that then he (Henry), would march with his whole force, to deliver the king, the queen, and the princeſs Catherine out of the duke of Burgundy's hands: but that afterwards the dauphin ſhould aſſiſt him in conquering Flanders from the duke of Burgundy, which was likewiſe to be given to the king of England in full ſovereignty."

To the dauphin's immortal honour, he rejected theſe propoſals, nobly declaring, that he never would gratify his private revenge at the expence of his country's diſhonour, by aggrandizing the power of her moſt formidable enemy; and accordingly this treaty dropped to the ground.

During the dependence of this negociation, which was held at Alençon in the month of November, the king of France, by Henry's own invitation to the duke of Burgundy, had nominated the biſhop of Beauvais, Morvilliers, firſt preſident of his parliament, and others, as his commiſſioners for opening another congreſs at Pont de l'Arch, under the mediation of the cardinal d'Urſini; the negociations were opened on the twenty-ſecond of December; but were interrupted almoſt as ſoon as begun, by a frivolous punctilio. The plenipotentiaries of Charles (or rather of the duke of Burgundy, who managed all things) demanded that the writings ſhould be engroſſed in the French language, and the Engliſh refuſed to comply with the propoſal: in vain did the legate recommend a medium, and adviſe that there ſhould be two copies written, one in French, and the other in Latin; an expedient to which Henry conſented: the duke of Burgundy was inflexible, and the end of the congreſs was fruſtrated. Nevertheleſs, it did not fail to alarm the dauphin, who, being ignorant of the particulars of the tranſactions, apprehended a peace between Henry and the duke of Burgundy, which could not but be to his prejudice; he therefore ſent ambaſſadors to Henry, deſiring him to appoint a place for renewing the negociation begun at Alençon; and the king of England, finding his account in blowing the coals of diſſention, agreed to a perſonal conference with the dauphin, on the twenty-ſixth of March following at Louviers. Henry came in time to the place of meeting, but the dauphin not keeping his word, it was ſo highly reſented, that a ſtop was put to any farther treaty.

We are now come to the cloſe of the year 1418, diſtinguiſhed by bloodſhed, conqueſt, calamity, and civil war. But before we enter upon that in which Henry, by unforeſeen accidents, acquired more than he had by his moſt ſhining conqueſts, it will be neceſſary to take a view of what paſſed in England while its monarch was thus engaged on the continent.

Sir John Oldcaſtle, ever ſince the defeat of his conſpiracy, already mentioned, had lurked from place to place, but chiefly on the borders of Wales; at laſt John Grey, lord Powis, hearing where the knight was, got together five or ſix thouſand men, and took him, after a deſperate reſiſtance: Oldcaſtle was immediately brought to London, to the great joy of the clergy, who bore him an implacable hatred. No ſooner had they got him in their power, than they were determined to ſacrifice him for a terror to the reſt of the Lollards, whom they had never ceaſed perſecuting ſince Henry's acceſſion to the throne; and, notwithſtanding the birth and great military merit of Cobham, he was ſentenced to be hung up by the middle with a chain, and burnt alive thus hanging; a fate which he ſuffered with great intrepidity. He was the firſt nobleman who ſuffered on account of religion. This execution was followed by ſeveral others of a like inhuman nature, and the whole nation was filled with ſcenes of perſecution againſt the poor Lollards, whoſe utter extirpation ſeemed to be the darling purpoſe of the ſouls of the clergy.

The Scots, taking advantage of the abſence of the king, and of the diſturbances theſe perſecutions raiſed in the kingdom, entered it with two armies, one of which, under the duke of Albany, laid ſiege to Berwick, as the other, under the earl of Douglas, did to Roxburgh. But the duke of Bedford, who had been left regent in Henry's abſence, took ſuch prompt and effectual meaſures for oppoſing the invaders, that they were forced to retire with the utmoſt precipitation; the earl of Northumberland purſuing thoſe who had laid ſiege to

* Rymer, vol. ix. p. 636, 628.

Berwick ſeveral days marches into their own country; ſir Robert Umfreville, warden of the eaſtern borders, doing the ſame by the army before Roxburgh: and for two years ſucceſſively the Engliſh continued to make the ſevereſt repriſals on their country, waſting it with fire and ſword for a great extent.

From Stowe, Walſingham, and Speed we learn, that, in this year, Joan of Brittany, widow of king Henry IV. and mother-in-law of the reigning king, was detected in conſpiring with her confeſſor againſt the king: ſome add, ſhe was condemned to a ten years impriſonment, and that her confeſſor was killed by the chaplain of the Tower, in a diſpute upon that occaſion. This is all we can ſay concerning that accuſation, of which hiſtorians ſpeak very confuſedly. Let us now return to Normandy, where we left Henry before Rouen.

The various political meaſures in which he was engaged, did not at all affect his warlike operations: the ſiege of that capital had now laſted upwards of ſix months; and the beſieged, after having made a noble defence, were reduced to the utmoſt extremity, having eaten up all their horſes and domeſtic animals, including even rats, mice, and other vermin; the duke of Burgundy had amuſed the inhabitants, from time to time, with falſe hopes of relief; they had already ſeen above fifty thouſand of their comrades periſh amongſt them, partly by famine, and partly by the chance of war, during the ſiege; and now, finding it impoſſible to hold out any longer and live, they treated, on the thirteenth of January, 1419, for a ſurrender. Henry, commiſerating their hapleſs caſe, and reverencing valour and fidelity though in an enemy, granted them terms as favourable as they could expect in their ſituation, and after ſo obſtinate a reſiſtance; ſome few of the inhabitants were left to his mercy; but the reſt, on paying a fine of three hundred thouſand crowns, were pardoned and exempted from plunder and confiſcation of their effects. The place was delivered up to the Engliſh on the nineteenth of January, and Henry's entrance into it was extremely magnificent. The ſurrender of Rouen was followed by that of Caudebec, Gaillon, la Roche d'Andilly, Mante, Ponte Audemer, Goulet, Honfleur, l'Iſlebonne, Feſchamp, Montevilliers, Dieppe, Neufchatel, Eu, Gournay, and all the other ſtrong fortreſſes in Upper Normandy; ſo great and univerſal was the terror with which all that province was ſtruck by the reduction of its capital.

Henry now appeared publicly with all the diſtinctions of a duke of Normandy; and he ſettled ſuch excellent regulations, not only in Rouen, but over all the duchy, that in a very ſhort time the city, which had been reduced almoſt to deſolation, recovered its former luſtre; and the country grew rich, ſatisfied with the change of government, and full of thoſe ſentiments of reſpect, admiration, and affection to Henry, which a ſenſe of the benefits they received from him, naturally inſpired: and thus did all Normandy, a few caſtles excepted, fall again under the dominion of the kings of England, two hundred and fifteen years after it had been taken from them by Philip Auguſtus, in the reign of John Lackland. After the ſurrender of Rouen, Henry ſent part of his army into Picardy, under the command of the duke of Exeter, who became maſter of Montrueil, and other ſtrong places there. We muſt not forget to mention with honour ſome of the moſt eminent perſons who died in the Engliſh army during the ſiege of Rouen: theſe were Henry Beaufort, earl of Somerſet; Edmund Beaufort, earl of Montague; ſir Gilbert Talbot, ſir John Blunt, the prior of Kylmainham, in Ireland, and the lord of Caſtylogne, in Gaſcony*.

Henry ſtill continued his negociations with both the parties in France; with the queen and the duke of Burgundy on one hand, who, being in poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, enjoyed the appearance of legal authority; and with the dauphin on the other, who, as he was the undoubted heir of the crown, was ſtrongly ſupported by all thoſe who wiſhed well to the intereſt of their country. Theſe two factions likewiſe were perpetually engaged in mutual negociations with each other, and the terms offered by all parties were conſtantly ſhifting, according to the different merits of the war, and the greater or leſs prevalence of the intrigues of the cabinet: but we ſhall paſs over the ineffectual congreſſes, inſincere profeſſions, and unfulfilled promiſes on all ſides, as having nothing in them material to our hiſtory. It is ſufficient to ſay, that at length a meeting was propoſed to be held between the two kings of England and France, at Meulan. Henry, upon this, removed with his court to Mante; and the dauphin left nothing unattempted to prevent the interview, but in vain, for it was held on the thirtieth of May, 1419, at the place appointed; but the queen of France attended for her huſband, who had fallen ill on his journey.

The firſt day the queen of France brought with her the princeſs Catherine, her daughter, now in all the bloom of youth and beauty, and Henry was ſo ſtruck with her appearance, that he could not conceal the emotions of his heart. The artful queen beheld the effects of her daughter's charms with a ſecret pleaſure, and thought to inflame the deſires of Henry by not letting the princeſs appear any more: but the warrior-lover ſoon perceived her deſign, and that the young lady had been introduced only as a decoy to enſnare him; therefore, to cut ſhort all their expectations on that head, he told the duke of Burgundy, that he was determined not to lay down his arms till he had the king and princeſs in his power, and had expelled that man the kingdom who ſhould dare to oppoſe it: a declaration more reconcileable to the extravagance of an enamorato in romance, than a great and wiſe king, ſuch as Henry V. ſhewed himſelf to be. At this firſt meeting nothing was concluded on beſides a truce for eight days, during which time the conferences were to be managed by commiſſioners.

Theſe accordingly met on the ſecond of June, and proceeded upon the buſineſs committed to their diſcuſſion. The particulars of the propoſitions made on each ſide, are thus handed down to us by Goodwin, a careful and accurate hiſtorian.

In this conference (ſays he) the king of England declared, "That he deſired a firm peace and alliance with the king of France, if the following conditions might be granted, viz. That all the dominions which had been ceded to Edward III. by the great peace of Bretigny, ſhould be delivered to him and his heirs: that the whole duchy of Normandy, with all the other places he had conquered

* Goodwin's Hen. V. p. 208.

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in France, ſhould be confirmed to him, with an abſolute independent ſovereignty over them: that the king of France, by a writing, ſhould renounce all future right to thoſe dominions, and transfer it entirely to him: that, ſince ſome of the demanded towns and territories were in the hands of the enemy, therefore, as by war and conqueſt he ſhould gain them, ſo they ſhould remain in his poſſeſſion."

The demands made by the French were:

"That the king of England, for himſelf, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, ſhould renounce all right and claim which he or his predeceſſors had to the crown of France.

To which he conſented, excepting only thoſe dominions which were due to him by the peace concluded at Bretigny, and all other places which ought and ſhould be delivered to him by the preſent treaty.

"That the king of England ſhould diſclaim all right and title to the duchies of Touraine, Anjou, and Brittany, and to the counties of Picardy and Maine.

This the king wholly rejected.

"That he ſhould ſwear, for himſelf and ſucceſſors, that he would never expect nor accept of any devolution of right to the crown of France, or any of its dominions, to be made to him by any perſon; but that he ſhould renounce all ſuch title as might, for the future, be transferred to him, thoſe places which might be given in this treaty only excepted.

To which article anſwer was made, that the king was well ſatisfied with it, upon condition that the French king would, on his part, do the ſame.

"That all theſe acts of the king ſhould be promiſed, ſworn, ratified, and confirmed by the king's brothers, and the three ſtates of the kingdom.

But this the king utterly refuſed.

They made alſo this propoſal, "That their king ſhould give an equivalent, on the frontiers of Aquitaine, for the county of Ponthieu, and other places, which the king of England claimed by Monſtrueil.

But this likewiſe being diſapproved:

"They demanded, that as the king by this preſent treaty, was to have the duchy of Normandy, in which ſome towns were yet unſubdued by him, ſo he ſhould reſign to the French king all the conqueſts he had made out of that duchy; and that all perſons, eccleſiaſtical and civil, ſhould enjoy peaceably their living and eſtates, and the univerſities of France have the ſame privileges which they had before the war.

This the king freely granted, only with an excluſion of the Scots, and thoſe who were rebels.

The French farther aſked, "That the king would repay ſix hundred thouſand crowns in gold, which were given Richard II. in part of the Engliſh hundred thouſand, the dowry promiſed with the princeſs Iſabella, and all her jewels and furniture, which amounted to the value of four hundred thouſand crowns, which Richard II. for himſelf and heirs, had promiſed ſhould be reſtored, if his queen ſurvived him; and John, duke of Lancaſter, Edmund, duke of York, Thomas, duke of Gloceſter, and many others, were ſureties for the performance.

To which the king anſwered, that though this payment could not in juſtice be expected from him, yet it ſhould be compenſated by a ſum equal to it, viz. that which was due for the ranſom of king John of France: that as for the jewels and goods of the princeſs Iſabella, he admired to hear them prized at the rate of four hundred thouſand crowns, when it was well known they did not amount to a fourth part of that value.

When the French, to conclude all, required "That theſe articles might be drawn up in ſuch words as their king and his council ſhould adviſe.

The anſwer was, that he who had a right to aſk it, ſhould come and make the demand, and all reaſonable ſatisfaction ſhould be given him.

The French excepted againſt theſe anſwers to their demands, as expreſſed in too general terms, and having an obſcure and uncertain meaning.

The Engliſh offered to remove all ſuch ambiguities, and to give as plain and punctual a declaration of their ſenſe as the French, with any reaſon, could deſire.

But the French would not enter on ſuch a debate, and refuſed to treat upon any other condition than that of the king of England's giving a direct and poſitive anſwer in conceſſion to their articles.

It is eaſy to perceive, by the nature of theſe demands, that the difficulties on either ſide were not conſiderable enough to prevent the concluſion of a peace, had both parties been equally willing; but it is plain Henry had formed a reſolution to be all or nothing; and this will appear ſtill more evident from the minutes of a very ſerious debate, which was held in Henry's council, concerning the manner of proceeding, the particulars of which have been tranſmitted to us by the laſt-quoted author, and will be ſeen by the reader at large in the note *; as alſo by Henry's anſwer, when preſſed to come to his loweſt demand, which was, "That he would

* It was alſo debated, by the king's council, in what manner the treaty, at the interview, ſhould be managed: whether the firſt demand ſhould be made in general of the crown of France, and be inſiſted on till the French were brought to make ſuch offers as might ſatisfy the king; or whether they ſhould preſently fall to particular and lower demands, as had been practiſed in other treaties: and it was determined to proceed in the way of a general demand, as Edward III. had done, becauſe it was undoubtedly juſt; and they might afterwards moderate it, in reverence and condeſcenſion to the authority of the pope. It was alſo diſputed, whether, if the demand of the crown ſhould be refuſed, the king of France could transfer to the king of England any part of the dominions belonging to that crown; and it was judged, that he could not, becauſe, as ſuch a diſmembering of the kingdom was prohibited by the fundamental laws of the government, ſo he was ſworn to the contrary: to which were added two reaſons more, viz. that his diſtempered mind would make the act invalid; and that the greateſt part of his nobles acknowleged no ſubjection to him. There was another doubt raiſed, whether a right of dominion could be conferred on the king of England over thoſe ſubjects of France, who were not called to give their conſent it; which was reſolved in the negative, upon this general reaſon, that acts adjudged againſt perſons abſent, did not oblige them. It was debated too, whether the king of France could abdicate his power of doing juſtice, in caſes of appeal to him; and it was determined, that he could not; becauſe an appeal being the laſt refuge of the oppreſſed for a remedy of their wrongs, it was contrary to the law of nature to deprive them of it. That which admitted another debate was, whether, when the general demand was made of the crown of France, the king ſhould communicate to the cardinals des Urſins and St. Mark, the particular demands to which he meant to condeſcend; and it was adviſed, that ſince one of the cardinals embraced the French king's intereſt, it ſhould not be done till that king, by the mediation of the cardinals, had made ſome conſiderable offers. Goodwin, p. 323, 324.

make

make no peace, unleſs the ſovereignty of the places ceded by the treaty of Bretigny, and of Normandy likewiſe, was yielded to him by the crown of France (a conceſſion which his own council had declared a king of France could not make); and, laſtly, that the princeſs Catherine ſhould be given him in marriage." To this the queen and miniſters of ſtate objected, that it was not in their power to perform the treaty of Bretigny, becauſe many of the cities mentioned in it, being poſſeſſed by the dauphin, were not at their diſpoſal. Upon this anſwer Henry broke up the conferences, declaring that he would never ſheathe ſword till he had brought his enemies to accept his terms.

On this occaſion Henry ſeems to have outwitted himſelf by his exorbitant demands; and, by graſping at too much, to have endangered his loſing all, by puſhing the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy into one another's arms. The event appears to warrant the truth of this conjecture; for all France was alarmed at this interview at Meulant, becauſe every one foreſaw that no peace could be made at ſuch a juncture, but what muſt prove of infinite prejudice to their country. Several of the principal nobility, therefore, inſtantly laboured to procure a recociliation between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy, or at leaſt a ſuſpenſion of animoſity; and the young prince himſelf was ſo alarmed at the near proſpect of a peace ſo diſadvantageous to France, and prejudicial to his own intereſt, that he yielded to the remonſtrances of the nobles, and conſented to a reconciliation with the duke of Burgundy, as the only expedient that could prevent the calamity with which his country was threatened. The duke, on his ſide, having read all Henry's ſecret purpoſes in the manner of his proceeding, joined iſſue in this deſirable end, and ſeveral private conferences were held between commiſſioners on both ſides, which at length ended in a mutual agreement for a coalition. Henry ſeems to have diſcovered ſomething of what was tranſacting, by the haſty manner in which he broke up the conference at Meulant; and, indeed, the treaty was ſo far advanced between the duke of Burgundy and the dauphin, that they had an interview at Pouilli, a fort about a league from Meulant, the eleventh of July, where all differences were made up between them with the moſt ſincere marks of a cordial reconciliation; and they both ſigned an agreement, by which they engaged from henceforth to act vigorouſly againſt the Engliſh and all the enemies of France.

Thus did Henry, by his unaccountable obſtinacy, effect what he had the greateſt cauſe to dread, an union among his enemies: nevertheleſs, this apparent union, which ſeemed ſo prejudicial to his intereſt, was the very circumſtance that contributed moſt to his ſucceſs, and produced the moſt fatal effects to France, whoſe ſafety it was intended to have provided for. Henry, finding himſelf thus baffled, reſolved to redouble his vigour, and in a ſhort time found means to make himſelf maſter of Pontoiſe, a fortified town which lay within a few leagues only of Paris, whoſe inhabitants were now thrown into inexpreſſible conſternation, which was ſtill farther increaſed when the duke of Clarence, with the vanguard of the Engliſh army ſat down before their very gates. However, the duke of Burgundy, being apprized of the danger of the capital, found means to throw in ſo ſtrong a reinforcement, as to render the attacking that city an almoſt deſperate undertaking, and to oblige Henry to recal the duke of Clarence, and make diſpoſitions for reducing other places which lay on his back, in which he ſucceeded with amazing rapidity and ſucceſs. By the ſurrender of Giſors and Meulant he found himſelf maſter of both the French and Norman Vexin; and the taking of Chateau Galliard and la Roche Guion, which happened ſomewhat later in the year, completed the conqueſt of Normandy. Proceeding ſtill to farther enterprizes, he reduced the caſtles of Montjoy and St. Germain en Laye. Upon this the duke of Burgundy, to gain time, ſent ambaſſadors to renew the negociations for peace; but Henry advancing to his former demands the ceſſion of Ponthoiſe, and the country adjoining, the treaty came to nothing.

But an unexpected event, which now happened, did that in an inſtant for Henry, which would have required an age to have effected by arms. The reconciliation between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy was far from being ſincere, at leaſt on the part of the former, who could not be prevailed on by any intreaties to come to court, while the duke held the reins of power there, and even formed the cruel deſign of having him aſſaſſinated. This black project was to have been executed at Pouilli, but the duke having a great force with him, it was thought neceſſary to defer the attempt till a more convenient opportunity ſhould offer. The dauphin having raiſed an army of twenty thouſand men, advanced with it near Montereau ſur Yonne, and ſent Tanneguy de Chatel to deſire a conference with the duke, upon the bridge between the town and the caſtle, in order to concert meaſures for the campaign againſt the Engliſh, and to ſettle ſome other matters of conſequence *. The duke of Burgundy's diſtruſt had, however, well nigh defeated the ſcheme; but the duke's evil genius, and the ſuggeſtions of his miſtreſs, Give, who privately correſponded with the dauphin, overcame all the reaſonable apprehenſions he entertained of putting himſelf in the power of a party, who had been his implacable enemies ever ſince the aſſaſſination of the duke of Orleans by his orders: he ſhut his eyes to danger, and ruſhed upon his fate, though not without taking all the expedients for ſecurity that could be deviſed.

On the day appointed for the interview, which was the thirtieth of September, the two princes repaired to Montereau; the duke took up his quarters in the caſtle, and the dauphin in the lower town, which was ſeparated from the caſtle by the river Yonne: two rails were fixed upon the bridge which lay between them, and was to be the place of meeting; the gates on each ſide were to be guarded, the one by the officers of the dauphin, and the other by thoſe of the duke; the princes were to meet in the middle of the bridge, attended each by ten perſons; and, with all theſe ſymptoms of jealouſy and diſtruſt, to confirm and eſtabliſh a mutual friendſhip.

But vain are all the precautions of human prudence, where laws have no place, and where all the principles of honour are abandoned. The aſ-

* Monſtrelet, p. 212.

ſaſſination

ſaſſination committed by the duke of Burgundy, and, what was ſtill more, his open avowal of the deed, and defence of the practice, tended to deſtroy all the ties of civil ſociety; and even thoſe who abhorred the example, might yet think it reaſonable to make the author feel the natural conſequences of his own doctrine. Tanneguy de Chatel, and others of the dauphin's attendants, were zealous friends of the houſe of Orleans, and gladly lent their aid to revenge the murder of the late duke by the death of the aſſaſſin. Burgundy began to have ſome bodings of the event, when he found the barriers ſhut and locked after him as he paſſed through them; and he was no ſooner come into the preſence of the dauphin, than, upon a concerted ſignal Tanneguy de Chatel firſt gave him a mortal wound in the face with his battle-axe, and the other attendants of the dauphin ſoon ſheathed their ſwords in the bodies of the unfortunate duke and his ten followers.

Thus was the murder of the duke of Orleans revenged by another murder, which was ſo much the more deteſtable as being accompanied by violation of public faith: but one would be tempted to believe that this murder was not premeditated, ſo very badly had the authors taken their meaſures for ſupporting the conſequences. Philip the Good, the new duke of Burgundy, who ſucceeded his father, became of courſe an enemy to the dauphin, through duty as well as politics. The queen, his mother, whom he had incenſed, became as implacable as a ſtep-mother; while the king of England, taking advantage of theſe horrid circumſtances, proclaimed aloud that God led him by the hand to puniſh the iniquitous French †. The queen, and all the great men about court, ſent to the duke of Burgundy, offering to join with him to revenge his father's murder, and a treaty was ſigned, on the ſeventeenth of October, at Arras for that purpoſe. The city of Paris ſent deputies to deſire of Henry a truce for the neighbourhood of that place till the twelfth of December, which was granted. And now the queen and the new duke of Burgundy, Philip, made overtures to Henry for a final peace, which proved more fatal to France than all the preceding wars had done; for they engaged that Henry ſhould marry Catherine of France; that he ſhould be declared regent of that kingdom, and govern the realm ſo long as Charles VI. lived, only permitting him and his queen to enjoy their royal dignity for life; and that, after the deceaſe of Charles, the crown ſhould deſcend to Henry and his heirs for ever; and that all the eſtates of the realm, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, the commons, cities, and corporations, ſhould be ſworn to maintain his regency and ſucceſſion." Theſe offers produced a general truce till Chriſtmas-eve, and confirmed afterwards till its expiration ſhould be declared ‡. Henry then acceded to a league between the king and queen of France and the duke of Burgundy, for revenging the late duke's death on the dauphin and his accomplices. Theſe conventions ſerved for the foundation of a perpetual peace between France and England; and a perſonal treaty was appointed between the two kings, to be held at Troye, on the twenty-firſt day of May the enſuing year.

We muſt make uſe of this interval of negociating, to attend to the affairs of England.

On the ſixteenth day of October, a parliament was held at Weſtminſter, who granted the king one fifteenth and one tenth, and one half part of both. The chief public tranſaction of this parliament was, their paſſing an act for the conſumption of home-manufactures, by providing, that all the Engliſh troops in France ſhould be clothed and furniſhed with Engliſh commodities, manufactured in England.

In order to complete that extraordinary treaty, which was to transfer the crown of France to a ſtranger, Henry, attended by the dukes of Clarence and Gloceſter, repaired to Troye in the beginning of May, 1420. As king Charles was not fit to appear in public, the queen and the duke of Burgundy were empowered to ſwear to the peace in his name. The princeſs Catherine was alſo brought thither by her mother, and received from Henry a preſent of a ring of great value. Every thing being now ready, on the twenty-firſt of May the treaty was ſigned and ſworn, with the uſual formalities; and the ſame day Henry was affianced to the princeſs Catherine, but the marriage was not conſummated till near a month after. The ſubſtance of this famous treaty was as follows.

Treaty of Troye.

Whereas a final agreement and perpetual peace has been made and ſworn, in the city of Troye, by us, Charles king of France, and our dearly and moſt beloved ſon Henry, king of England, conſtituted heir and regent of the crown of France, both by his marriage with the princeſs Catherine, our daughter, and by virtue of the articles of a treaty agreed on by both of us, for the good and benefit of us and our ſubjects, and for the ſafety of this nation, this is to declare, that all our ſubjects, and thoſe of our before-mentioned ſon may converſe and traffic together, as well in this country, as beyond the ſeas.

It is alſo agreed, that our ſon, king Henry, ſhall, from this time, honour us as his father, and our conſort, the queen, as his mother; and that, during our life, he ſhall not diſturb us in the quiet poſſeſſion of our kingdom, in the ſame manner as we now enjoy it, with the royal dignity, and all the revenues, fruits, and profits of it; and that our royal conſort may, while ſhe lives, without any hindrance, take the ſtate and dignity of queen, according to the cuſtom of the kingdom, and poſſeſs ſuch part of the revenues and profits of the crown as are ſuitable to her quality.

That the princeſs Catherine, our daughter, ſhall have ſuch a dowry aſſigned to her in England, as the queens of that nation, in times paſt, uſually had, that is, the yearly revenue of forty thouſand crowns, two of which are to amount to the value of an Engliſh noble.

That our ſon Henry, by all ways and means that he can uſe, without violating the oath he has taken to obſerve the laws, cuſtoms, and rights of his kingdom of England, ſhall endeavour and make ſuch proviſion, that the princeſs Catherine, our daughter, may be aſſured of her enjoying, from the time of his death, the ſaid yearly revenue of forty thouſand crowns in England.

That if the princeſs Catherine ſurvive king Henry our ſon, ſhe ſhall have paid to her yearly,

† Volt. Gen. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 10, 11.

‡ Rymer, vol. ix. p. 812—889.

out of France, from the time of his death, a dowry of forty thouſand livres, to be raiſed from the lands and principalities which the queen dowager Blanche, wife of Philip of Valois, king of France, our great-grand-father, held as her dowry.

That, after her death, for all times to come, the crown of France, with all the rights and dominions which appertain thereto, ſhall remain to the king of England and his heirs for ever.

That whereas we are indiſpoſed and incapable to reign, the whole power and exerciſe of the power of France, ſhall, even during our life, be devolved on our ſon king Henry, in conjunction with the council of the ſtates of the kingdom, ſo as our ſon king Henry ſhall endeavour, to the utmoſt of his power, to govern zealouſly, induſtriouſly, and loyally, for the honour of God, of us, and our royal conſort, and for the good of the kingdom, which he ſhall defend, preſerve in peace, and manage all affairs according to the rules of juſtice and equity, with the counſel and aſſiſtance of the great lords, barons, and nobles of the kingdom.

It is alſo agreed, that our ſon, king Henry, ſhall ſo make uſe of his power, that the parliament of France, in all and every place ſubject to us, be preſerved and maintained, both now and for the future, in all their entire authority and ſovereignty.

That our ſon Henry, with all his power, ſhall preſerve and maintain all and every noble, peer, city, town, community, and every particular private perſon now ſubject to us, or who ſhall be ſo, in their rights, privileges, dignities, liberties, and freedoms, belonging to them in all places of our dominions, or which ſhall be reduced to our obedience.

That our ſon, king Henry, ſhall diligently, loyally, and with all his power, endeavour that juſtice be adminiſtered in his kingdom of France, according to the ancient laws, rights, and cuſtoms of it, without partiality to any perſon; and ſhall uphold all the ſubjects of it in tranquility and peace; and, to his utmoſt ability, defend it from all violence and oppreſſions.

That our ſon, king Henry, ſhall, with all his ability, take care and provide that the offices of juſtice in parliament, of bailiwics, ſeneſchalſhips, and provoſts, and other places of truſt in the government, ſhall be conferred on perſons qualified, uſeful, and fit for the good, juſt, peaceable, and quiet adminiſtration of affairs in the kingdom committed to them; and that they ſhall be ſuch as the laws do authorize and appoint to be in thoſe offices; and ſuch as ought to be employed, to be ſerviceable for our good, and the proſperity of the nation.

That our ſon, king Henry, ſhall make uſe of all the power of his arms to reduce to our obedience all the towns, cities, caſtles, countries, and perſons, which are yet in rebellion againſt us, ſiding with that party which is commonly called the party of the dauphin and of Armagnac.

That, to make the government more eaſy, free, and ſafe to our ſon, king Henry, the great lords, barons, nobles, the eſtates of the kingdom both ſpiritual and temporal, the cities, the conſiderable communities, and citizens and burghers of the towns now under our obedience, ſhall take the following oaths: 1. That all things, tending to the preſervation of the government, they will humbly and obediently obey the commands of king Henry, as having the full power and authority to reign. 2. That they will, in their own particular, punctually obſerve whatever has been agreed between us, our royal conſort, our council, and king Henry, or what ſhall hereafter be agreed; and will uſe all their power and care to ſee it obſerved by others. 3. That, from the time of our death, and ever after it, they will be faithful ſubjects to our ſon, king Henry, and his heirs; and will, without any contradiction, oppoſition, or difficulty, receive him for their ſovereign lord, their liege and true king of France, and obey him as ſuch; and that they will not be obedient to any other, as king or regent of France, our own perſon excepted. 4. That they ſhall not engage in any deſign or attempt to cauſe him to loſe life or limb, to be taken priſoner, or to ſuffer damage or diminution in perſon, eſtate, honour, or goods; but that, if they know of any conſpiracy againſt him, they will do all they can to prevent it, and diſcover it to him the firſt opportunity, by a meſſenger or letter.

It is alſo agreed, that all the conqueſts which our ſon, king Henry, ſhall make out of the duchy of Normandy, in the kingdom, ſhall appertain to us; and that he ſhall employ all his power that all eſtates and principalities, found in thoſe new conqueſts to belong to any who are now good ſubjects, and will ſwear to obſerve our preſent agreement, ſhall be reſtored to their true proprietors.

That all beneficed eccleſiaſtics in the ſaid duchy of Normandy, or in other places of France, ſubject to us, or our ſon, king Henry, or favouring the party of our beloved ſon the duke of Burgundy, who will ſwear to obſerve the preſent agreement, ſhall peaceably enjoy their benefices.

That in like manner, all who are the ſubjects of our ſon, king Henry, and who ſhall ſwear to obſerve the preſent agreement, ſhall peaceably enjoy their eccleſiaſtical benefices and preferment in all places of our dominions.

That all churches, univerſities, and eccleſiaſtical colleges, being in places ſubject to us, or which ſhall be ſo, or in the duchy of Normandy, or in any places of the kingdom of France, which are ſubject to our ſon, king Henry, ſhall enjoy their rights, poſſeſſions, rents, prerogatives, liberties, franchiſes, and honours; with a reſerve to the rights of the crown and of any others.

That when our ſon, king Henry, ſhall come to the crown of France, the duchy of Normandy, and all other places conquered by him in France, ſhall be under the juriſdiction, obedience, and monarchy of the ſaid crown.

That our ſon, king Henry, with all his power, ſhall procure, that all perſons obedient to us, and favouring the Burgundian party, who have principalities, lands, revenues, and poſſeſſions in the duchy of Normandy, or other parts of France conquered by his arms, which have been given by him to them, ſhall, without any diminution of the crown of France, have compenſation made to them by us, out of the lands conquered from thoſe who are in rebellion: and if in our life this compenſation be not made, our ſon, king Henry, ſhall make it when he comes to the crown of France; but if thoſe principalities, lands, rents, or poſſeſſions were not given by him, they ſhall, without any delay, be reſtored to the proprietors.

It is alſo agreed, during our life, that whereas in all places ſubject to us, or which ſhall be ſo, the writs of common juſtice, the gifts of lands and benefices,

benefices, the grants of pardons and privileges, are not valid, unleſs they be iſſued out under our name and ſeal; yet, ſince ſome caſes and occaſions may occur, to make it neceſſary or convenient for our ſon, king Henry, to do this, it ſhall be lawful for him to do ſo in our name, and his own as regent.

That, during our life, king Henry ſhall not aſſume the title of king of France.

That as long as we live, we will always give to our ſon, king Henry, the title of our moſt dear ſon, king of England, and heir of France; and in Latin we will ſtile him, "Noſter præchariſſimus filius Henricus, rex Angliæ, heres Franciæ."

It is alſo agreed, that our ſon, king Henry, ſhall not lay any taxes on our ſubjects but ſuch as are reaſonable and neceſſary, and to be employed for the public; nor ſhall he raiſe them by any other means than ſuch as are agreeable to the laws and cuſtom of the kingdom.

That, to preſerve peace and concord between England and France, and to prevent any cauſes of difference for the future, our ſon, king Henry, ſhall take effectual care that, by the advice and conſent of the three eſtates of both kindoms, it be ordained, that whenever our ſon, king Henry, or any of his heirs, ſhall come to wear the crown of France, the two kingdoms ſhall be for ever united under one king, that is, under king Henry, as long as he lives, and, after his death, under his heirs in a continued ſucceſſion, and ſhall not, at the ſame time, be governed by two kings; and yet the rights, liberties, cuſtoms, uſages, and laws of each kingdom, ſhall be kept diſtinct and inviolable, without ſubjecting one to the other.

That, from this preſent moment, all hatred, animoſities, diviſions, and wars ſhall ceaſe between the two nations, and the people be fixed in this ſettled concert, mutually united in affections, counſels, joint-aſſiſtance, and defence againſt all enemies; and ſhall converſe and traffic with one another, paying the uſual cuſtoms in both kingdoms.

That all our confederates and allies, as alſo thoſe of king Henry, who, in eight months after the publiſhing of this treaty of peace, ſhall declare their deſire to be compromiſed in it, may be taken into it; reſerving only to the two kingdoms, to us with our ſubjects, and to king Henry with his, all rights, actions, and remedies, in reſpect to thoſe allies or confederates.

That our ſon, king Henry, with the advice of our moſt dear ſon, Philip, duke of Burgundy, and of other nobles of the kingdom, who may meet to conſult about this affair, ſhall make an honourable proviſion for the maintenance of our perſon, ſuitable to our royal ſtate and dignity; and that they ſhall ſo order things as that none, whether nobles or others, ſhall be admitted into our ſervice, or to any offices about our perſon, nor be entertained as our domeſtics, but thoſe who are natives of France, or where the people ſpeak the French language; and alſo, that due choice ſhould be made of ſuch perſons who are wiſe, loyal, and well qualified for our ſervice.

It is alſo agreed, that we will have our reſidence in ſuch places as are conſiderable, within our dominions, and not be confined to a mean and obſcure retreat.

That, conſidering the horrid and enormous crimes perpetrated in this kingdom of France, by Charles, who calls himſelf the dauphin de Viennois, neither we, nor our ſon, king Henry, nor our deareſt ſon Philip, duke of Burgundy, will make any treaty of peace or concord with him, nor ſo much as enter into a treaty, without the advice and conſent of all three, and of the three eſtates of both kingdoms.

It is alſo agreed, that, beſides our letters patent concerning theſe particulars, agreed and ſealed with our great-ſeal, we will alſo give to our ſon Henry letters patent, confirmed and ſigned by our royal conſort, by our ſon the duke of Burgundy, and other princes of the blood, by other great lords, barons, cities, and towns under our obedience, as king Henry ſhall require.

That our ſon, king Henry, beſides his letters patent ſealed with his great-ſeal, ſhall alſo give to us others, as we ſhall be pleaſed to require, confirmed by his brothers and the reſt of the royal family, and by the great lords, barons, and cities of his dominions.

Now, to perform all and every one of theſe agreed articles, we, Charles, king of France, for ourſelf and our heirs, have, without fraud or diſſimulation, promiſed, and do promiſe, have ſworn and ſwear, in the word of a king, upon the Holy Evangeliſts, touched by us, that we will obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved, both by ourſelf and ſubjects, all theſe articles; and that neither we, nor our heirs, will ever act contrary to any of them, neither judicially nor extra-judicially, neither directly or indirectly; and that this may be firmly eſtabliſhed for ever, we have cauſed our ſeal to be ſet to theſe preſent letters.

Given at Troye, May 21, 1420, in the five-and-fortieth year of our reign.

Three weeks after this treaty was concluded, it was approved of, and ratified by the parliament of Paris; and the citizens of that capital took an oath to obſerve it. In all public deeds Henry held the title of Regent and Heir to the crown of France: his court and equipage at Troye were extremely magnificent; his guards amounted to above ſixteen hundred, richly dreſſed and completely armed: and the duke of Burgundy, in honour of the king of France, fell little ſhort of Henry's ſplendor.

On the thirtieth of May, Henry's marriage with the princeſs Catherine was ſolemnized in St. John's church, in Troye, by the archbiſhop of Sens. This lady was the greateſt fortune and the fineſt woman of her time; but Henry ſuffered not his intereſt to give way to amorous dalliance: he was ſenſible that he owed all the important advantages he had gained, to the feuds and animoſities which now prevailed in the courts of France and Burgundy; and that he ſhould be in danger of loſing them the moment the French nobility recovered the uſe of reaſon and reflection; and that thoſe houſes who had been excluded the ſucceſſion in favour of a ſtranger, would not fail to unite together againſt him, as ſoon as the miſt of paſſion ſhould be cleared up; he therefore wiſely reſolved to give them no time for repentance.

All this time the dauphin behaved with ſurprizing ſpirit and intrepidity. He had diſpatched the count of Vendoſme to ſolicit a ſupply of men from the Scots, whoſe king ſtill remained a priſoner in England. Theſe people, wiſely conſidering, that if Henry became abſolute maſter of France,

France, they themſelves muſt next fall victims to his ambition, reſolved to aſſiſt the dauphin; and a ſupply of ſeven thouſand men were ſent over to him, under the command of John, earl of Buchan.

The dauphin had, in the ſpace of a few months, taken the towns of Pont de l'Eſprit and Niſmes, in Languedoc; and had thrown ſtrong garriſons into Melun, Montereau, Montargis, Meaux, and Compeigne; and had ordered a general rendezvous of all his forces to be held at Bourges, in Berry. Henry had advice of all theſe proceedings; and, having paid the tribute due to decency and conjugal affection, he tore himſelf from the arms of his beloved conſort, and reſerved all his attention to the operations of the campaign. The firſt place he reduced was Sens, which ſubmitted after a faint oppoſition: with the ſame eaſe he reduced Montereau, and recovered ſeveral other towns from the dauphin. He next reſolved upon the ſiege of Melun, an enterprize attended with no ſmall difficulty, great part of the city itſelf being encompaſſed by the river Seine, and the whole defended by a ſtrong wall, flanked with towers and bulwarks: the place was commanded by de Barbaſon, one of the beſt officers in France, who made an admirable defence, from the twelfth of July, when Henry ſat down before it, till the eighteenth of November, when it was forced by famine to ſurrender, on condition that none of the garriſon or inhabitants ſhould be put to death, except ſuch as were concerned in the murder of the late duke of Burgundy: theſe laſt were to be tried, and ſuffer the puniſhment due to their crime; the reſt were to be impriſoned at Henry's diſcretion, till they ſhould give ſufficient ſecurity for their not bearing arms againſt him for the future. The governor, Barbaſon, was condemned, as one of the aſſaſſins of the duke, by the parliament of Paris, to which venerable tribunal Philip, duke of Burgundy, applied as ſoon as Melun was yielded, for juſtice on his father's murderers; but Henry, having fought with Barbaſon hand to hand in a mine, in the courſe of the ſiege, ſaved his life out of a point of honour received in thoſe days, and he was detained priſoner above twenty years, till the French recovered Chateau Gaillard.

After the ſurrender of Melun the two courts returned to Paris, where Henry made a magnificent entry on the firſt Sunday in Advent. Here he governed without controul, while Charles VI. continued ſhut up, with a few domeſtics, in the Hotel de St. Paul, at which place Philip, duke of Burgundy, appeared in the preſence of both kings, and of the few remaining nobility of the kingdom there aſſembled, and ſolemnly demanded juſtice for the murder of his father. Upon this the parliament ſummoned the dauphin to appear at the Marble Table *, and anſwer the charge preferred againſt him; but not appearing, he was condemned for contumacy. That prince, finding all ſorts of means were uſed to deprive him of the crown, appealed to God and his ſword, from all that was or might be tranſacted againſt him, in the name of the king his father; and continued ſtill to aſſume the title of Regent. As ſuch, he removed the parliament and univerſity of Paris to Poictiers, where ſome of the members of thoſe two bodies repaired. Thus were ſeen at the ſame time in France, two kings, two queens, two regents, all the officers of the crown double, ſeven or eight marſhals of France on each ſide, two parliaments, and two univerſities of Paris. Towards the latter end of this year, the ſtates of France were aſſembled, and granted Henry a large ſupply, without any debate. Let us now take a view of affairs in England during this year.

The death of Lewis II. king of Naples, which happened two years before, had given birth to a negociation which ſeemed to be big with great conſequences to this kingdom; for, on his deceaſe, a diſpute happened between his ſon Lewis, duke of Anjou, and Joan, ſiſter of Ladiſlaus, formerly king of Naples, about the ſucceſſion to that crown. The claim of the princeſs was at firſt favoured by pope Martin V. who was the ſuperior lord of that kingdom, Naples being a fief of the holy ſee; but the queen refuſing to engage ſo deeply as he wanted her in his quarrel, the pontiff, and her own general, Forza, diveſted her of her crown, and invited the young duke of Anjou into Italy, and actually declared him king of Naples. The queen, finding herſelf thus abandoned, firſt ſtrove to make up matters with the pope, and applied to the duke of Bedford, the regent of England, for his aſſiſtance: and one de Piſis coming over this year as her envoy, preſented to the duke his credential letters, who received his propoſals with great caution, but without rejecting them. They were, that the queen of Naples ſhould adopt him as her heir and ſucceſſor, provided he would march to her aſſiſtance with all his forces. Hereupon the duke ordered one Phiton to go to Naples, and enquire more minutely into the terms of the adoption; and, after ſeveral conferences, the following articles were ſecretly agreed upon by both parties.

"That nothing ſhould be firm and ratified, which the pope did not approve.

"That it being probable that the French, obſerving the queen's deſign of introducing their enemies into her kingdom, would join with her rebellious ſubjects and, raiſe war againſt her, it was neceſſary, to enable her for a defence, that the duke ſhould remit to Naples fifty thouſand ducats, which ſhould be ſecured in the hands of the bankers till the forts and cities of Blanduſium and Regium were delivered to him; and that he ſhould be obliged to come, eight days afterwards, into the kingdom of Naples.

"That, with the pope's conſent and approbation, the queen ſhould adopt him her ſon and heir, and to have the right of ſucceſſion not only to the aforeſaid kingdoms, but to the county of Provence, and any other territories which belonged to her.

"That ſhe ſhould create him duke of Calabria, and deliver to him all the caſtles and towns which were in her power.

"That he ſhould be obliged to ſerve the queen in perſon, with one thouſand men at arms and two thouſand archers, at his own charge for ſix months, and after that time at the queen's.

"That he ſhould not, farther than it pleaſed the queen, intermeddle in the government, the dukedom of Calabria only excepted, which he might rule with full authority.

* This is a large table, which was uſed, in the time of St. Lewis, for receiving the fines paid for vaſſalage, at the tower of the Louvre, and which ever after, remained as a kind of mark of juriſdiction. Volt. Gen. Hiſt. vol. viii. p. 13.

"That

"That in all councils and aſſemblies, reſpect ſhould be paid to him as the queen's ſon.

"That all the riches he gained from the enemy ſhould be to him and his heirs.

"That he ſhould promiſe and ſwear to defend and maintain all principalities, cities, benefices, and offices conferred by the queen on any perſon.

"That, by theſe articles, no power was granted to one party over the perſon and eſtate of the other.

"And laſtly, That, after the duke's arrival at Naples, the queen ſhould cauſe her arms to be quartered with his, as her true and lawful ſon."

Theſe articles ſufficiently ſhew the duke of Bedford's reputation upon the continent. But, flattering as they were to his ambition, the ſtate of Henry's affairs, and the duke's own employments both in England and France, did not ſuffer him immediately to embrace them; the queen therefore, while the duke took time to deliberate, found herſelf beſieged in Naples by the Anjovin party, and ſhe was obliged to have recourſe to Alphonſo, king of Arragon: that prince, embracing the proffers which had been made to the duke of Bedford, immediately marched to her aſſiſtance, and raiſed the ſiege.

The negociation between the queen of Naples and the duke of Bedford thus failing, Henry, who tenderly loved all his brothers, made ſeveral other attempts to raiſe that duke's fortune; firſt by propoſing a match between him and the heireſs of Nuremberg, and afterwards with the daughter of the duke of Lorraine, both which propoſals came to nothing, and the duke remained unmarried till his brother's death. But to return.

Henry's coffers being almoſt exhauſted, he found it abſolutely neceſſary to make a voyage to England, to procure a freſh ſupply, that granted by the French ſtates not being nearly adequate to his neceſſities; he therefore proceeded to ſettle the government of France in his abſence. He appointed ſir Gilbert Umfreville to be governor of Melun, in the room of the earl of Huntingdon, who was made governor of the caſtle of Vincennes; the duke of Exeter was appointed a kind of guardian to the perſon of the king of France, and governor of Paris; and the command in Normandy was given to his brother, the duke of Clarence; and Thomas Montacute, earl of Saliſbury, was appointed his deputy in that province.

Having ſettled theſe matters, he ſet out for England, in the beginning of January, 1421, taking his young queen with him; and on the ſixteenth of that month, while he was at Rouen, in his way to England, he, as duke of Guienne, received the homage of the d'Albret family, they renouncing the benefit of appeal which their grand-father, Charles d'Albret, had formerly put in before the peers of France, againſt the Black Prince, while governor of Aquitaine: the example of the d'Albrets was followed by the Armagnac family; and all of them were put in poſſeſſion of their eſtates, which had been confiſcated to the king of England.

On the twenty-eighth of January Henry croſſed the ſea from Calais to Dover, from whence he proceeded to London, into which he and his queen made a moſt magnificent entry: the coronation of the latter was performed, on Sunday the twenty-third of February, at Weſtminſter; and, when this ſolemnity was over, the king made a progreſs into Wales, and into the North of England as far as York, not only to ſhew the queen the country, but to ſee how juſtice was adminiſtered, and returned to his capital in the latter end of April. On the ſecond of May he convened a parliament at Weſtminſter, in which the peace of Troye was approved and confirmed by the three eſtates of the realm; at the ſame time they voted him a large ſubſidy for the proſecution of the war, though they alſo preſented an addreſs, in which they obſerved, that the conqueſt of France would probably be the ruin of England, which would be in danger of becoming a province of the former kingdom. In anſwer to this addreſs, he aſſured them, that he would never ſuffer any of his conqueſts to prove detrimental to his natural ſubjects.

But while matters were going on ſucceſsfully in England, Henry's affairs in France took an unſucceſsful turn, which obliged him to go abroad ſooner than he propoſed. Great numbers of the Norman and Anjovin noblemen had joined the dauphin, whoſe troops had ſeized Villeneuve le Roy, and daily cut off the proviſions that were conveying to Paris. The inhabitants thereupon began to murmur and throw out ſeveral diſreſpectful expreſſions on the Engliſh: the marſhal de l'Iſle Adam, who had for ſome time been greatly diſcontented at the growing power of the latter at court, ſeemed rather to encourage theſe murmurs of the populace; upon which the duke of Exeter gave orders for arreſting him: as the marſhal was extremely popular, upwards of a thouſand of the Pariſians took to their arms, and oppoſed the carrying him to priſon; but the duke of Exeter, putting himſelf at the head of a choſen body of Engliſh archers, the mob preſently diſperſed, and he lodged his priſoner ſafely in the Baſtile, where he remained in confinement all the reſt of this reign. This diſturbance was followed by an unlucky event in another part of the kingdom, which gave Henry no ſmall uneaſineſs, and quickened his return to the continent.

The dauphin had, during the ſiege of Melun, reduced Languedoc to his obedience; and being maſter of all the French territories beyond the Loire, had advanced as far as Tours, at the head of a numerous army. Thomas, duke of Clarence, who had been left with the command of the Engliſh troops, made ſeveral irruptions into Anjou, to harraſs the dauphin's party. At length, he penetrated as far as the village of Baugé, where hearing that the earl of Buchan, with five thouſand Scots, and a body of French detached from the dauphin's army, under la Fayette, a marſhal of that prince's creation, were on the march to attack him, he reſolved to anticipate their deſign; but as his troops were diſperſed about the country, intent on plunder, and his archers were at ſome diſtance, the earl of Huntingdon preſſed him to wait their coming up; but the duke's heat, pride, and obſtinacy would not let him hearken to this prudent advice: ſo taking with him the few noblemen, officers, and men at arms that were about him, he marched through a narrow paſs over a brook near the caſtle of Baugé, to meet the enemy; but having made his onſet too raſhly, and purſuing without any order a ſmall party of horſe which he had broken at the firſt charge, he on a ſudden found himſelf ſurrounded by a ſtrong body of Scots, under one Swinton, who had lain in ambuſh behind an hill to take advantage of the impetuoſity of the Engliſh. The duke of Clarence

being ſingled out by the Scottiſh knight, was firſt wounded in the face, and afterwards ran through the body; moſt of the gentlemen that followed him were alſo ſlain, as were ſir Gilbert Umfreville, the earl of Kent, and the lords Grey and Roſs: the earls of Somerſet, Huntingdon, and Strafford, the lord Fitz Walter, and others, were taken priſoners, and the allies loſt upwards of eleven hundred men. The earl of Saliſbury, coming up with a freſh body of Engliſh, offered to renew the battle, which was declined by the earl of Buchan. This action happened on the twenty-ſecond of March, 1421.

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The reduction of Meaux was ſoon followed by that of Compeigne, Gamaches, and St. Valery, and Henry ſaw himſelf maſter of all France on this ſide the Loire, except Anjou and Maine, and the caſtles of Guiſe and Crotoy, in Picardy. To add to his ſatisfaction, ſoon after the ſurrender of Meaux, his queen arrived from England, attended by the duke of Bedford, who had left the regency to the duke of Gloceſter, his brother, lately ſent over thither by Henry, on ſome private buſineſs. The two courts joining at Bois de Vincennes, went from thence ſoon after, to keep the Whitſun-holidays at Paris, which they did with great ſplendor.

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The duke of Burgundy was then at Vezelay, waiting to be joined by the Engliſh, which being effected, his army greatly out-numbered that of the dauphin. This determined the latter to abandon his enterprize upon Coſne, and even to quit the banks of the Loire, which he had once reſolved to defend, and to retreat to Bourges, to avoid the hazard of a battle. Thus the duke of Burgundy and the Engliſh, when in high expectation of effectually terminating the war, found themſelves baffled by the prudent precaution of the dauphin, and obliged to retire towards Troye.

In their march thither the duke of Bedford received the melancholy news that Henry's diſorder, which was a pleuritic fever, was increaſed ſo much as to leave very little hopes of recovery. The duke upon this ſet out, accompanied by the earl of Warwick, for Vincennes, and arrived juſt in time to receive the great Henry's dying commands, who, finding himſelf near his end, and being acquainted with his brother's arrival, ordered that he, with the earl of Warwick, the duke of Exeter, and all the Engliſh nobility who happened to be near him, might be brought into his bed-chamber, to give them his laſt inſtructions: the ſubſtance of his ſpeech on this occaſion, as we find in ſeveral hiſtorians, was as follows:

He began with obſerving, "that though his life had been ſhort it had been replete with glory, and employed in endeavours to promote the happineſs of his people: that though his pretenſions to France had occaſioned much bloodſhed, yet that calamity ought not to be charged to his account, the guilt reſting with thoſe who, by their obſtinacy and injuſtice, had forced him to have recourſe to arms, by refuſing to accept of a reaſonable peace. The approach of death, he ſaid, would have been beheld by him without concern, were not his laſt moments ſomewhat imbittered by the reflection of the doubtful event of the war he was engaged in, and the infancy of his ſon, which rendered him incapable of finiſhing a work ſo happily begun; he therefore beſought the duke of Bedford and the reſt of the nobles, who knelt in ſilent grief around him, that they would unite ſtrictly in the ſervice of their infant king, and take every poſſible care of his education. He added, as his laſt advice, that they ſhould never make peace with the dauphin without having it as a preliminary, that the duchy of Normandy ſhould be for ever annexed to the crown of England: and eſpecially recommended to them, always to keep well with the duke of Burgundy; and not to releaſe the duke of Orleans, the count d'Eu, the lord de Gaucourt, and the ſieur Guichard de Siſay (who had been taken priſoners at the battle of Agincourt), till his ſon was of age. Laſtly, he expreſſed a deſire that the duke of Bedford might aſſume the adminiſtration of France, and that the duke of Gloceſter might act as regent during his ſon's minority, the care of whoſe education he committed to the earl of Warwick."

Having thus delivered his ſentiments concerning the management of public affairs, and received the ſolemn aſſurances of the nobles preſent, that they would faithfully obey theſe his dying injunctions, he ordered his confeſſor to attend, and received the final preparations for his approaching diſſolution, in which devout exerciſe he ſoon after gave up the ghoſt, on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, after reigning nine years, five months, and eleven days.

Immediately upon Henry's death, the duke of Burgundy came to Vincennes, and had a conference with the duke of Bedford and the Engliſh council, and they altogether ſet out for Paris, to which place the royal body was conveyed by torch-light. The funeral was afterwards performed with great magnificence, the particulars of which are thus given us by Goodwin, in his hiſtory of that great prince, concerning whom even the moſt trivial circumſtances are intereſting:

The body was placed in a rich chariot; on a bed, in the ſame chariot, was laid the figure of the king, with a crown of gold on his head, a ſceptre in his right hand, and in his left a globe, both of the ſame metal. The covering of the bed was a vermilion ſilk, embroidered with gold: over the chariot

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The duke of Burgundy was then at Vezelay, waiting to be joined by the Engliſh, which being effected, his army greatly out-numbered that of the dauphin. This determined the latter to abandon his enterprize upon Coſne, and even to quit the banks of the Loire, which he had once reſolved to defend, and to retreat to Bourges, to avoid the hazard of a battle. Thus the duke of Burgundy and the Engliſh, when in high expectation of effectually terminating the war, found themſelves baffled by the prudent precaution of the dauphin, and obliged to retire towards Troye.

In their march thither the duke of Bedford received the melancholy news that Henry's diſorder, which was a pleuritic fever, was increaſed ſo much as to leave very little hopes of recovery. The duke upon this ſet out, accompanied by the earl of Warwick, for Vincennes, and arrived juſt in time to receive the great Henry's dying commands, who, finding himſelf near his end, and being acquainted with his brother's arrival, ordered that he, with the earl of Warwick, the duke of Exeter, and all the Engliſh nobility who happened to be near him, might be brought into his bed-chamber, to give them his laſt inſtructions: the ſubſtance of his ſpeech on this occaſion, as we find in ſeveral hiſtorians, was as follows:

He began with obſerving, "that though his life had been ſhort it had been replete with glory, and employed in endeavours to promote the happineſs of his people: that though his pretenſions to France had occaſioned much bloodſhed, yet that calamity ought not to be charged to his account, the guilt reſting with thoſe who, by their obſtinacy and injuſtice, had forced him to have recourſe to arms, by refuſing to accept of a reaſonable peace. The approach of death, he ſaid, would have been beheld by him without concern, were not his laſt moments ſomewhat imbittered by the reflection of the doubtful event of the war he was engaged in, and the infancy of his ſon, which rendered him incapable of finiſhing a work ſo happily begun; he therefore beſought the duke of Bedford and the reſt of the nobles, who knelt in ſilent grief around him, that they would unite ſtrictly in the ſervice of their infant king, and take every poſſible care of his education. He added, as his laſt advice, that they ſhould never make peace with the dauphin without having it as a preliminary, that the duchy of Normandy ſhould be for ever annexed to the crown of England: and eſpecially recommended to them, always to keep well with the duke of Burgundy; and not to releaſe the duke of Orleans, the count d'Eu, the lord de Gaucourt, and the ſieur Guichard de Siſay (who had been taken priſoners at the battle of Agincourt), till his ſon was of age. Laſtly, he expreſſed a deſire that the duke of Bedford might aſſume the adminiſtration of France, and that the duke of Gloceſter might act as regent during his ſon's minority, the care of whoſe education he committed to the earl of Warwick."

Having thus delivered his ſentiments concerning the management of public affairs, and received the ſolemn aſſurances of the nobles preſent, that they would faithfully obey theſe his dying injunctions, he ordered his confeſſor to attend, and received the final preparations for his approaching diſſolution, in which devout exerciſe he ſoon after gave up the ghoſt, on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, after reigning nine years, five months, and eleven days.

Immediately upon Henry's death, the duke of Burgundy came to Vincennes, and had a conference with the duke of Bedford and the Engliſh council, and they altogether ſet out for Paris, to which place the royal body was conveyed by torch-light. The funeral was afterwards performed with great magnificence, the particulars of which are thus given us by Goodwin, in his hiſtory of that great prince, concerning whom even the moſt trivial circumſtances are intereſting:

The body was placed in a rich chariot; on a bed, in the ſame chariot, was laid the figure of the king, with a crown of gold on his head, a ſceptre in his right hand, and in his left a globe, both of the ſame metal. The covering of the bed was a vermilion ſilk, embroidered with gold: over the cha-

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riot was a rich ſilk canopy. Thus, with great pomp the funeral proceſſion moved frnm Rouen to Abbeville. The chariot was drawn by ſix horſes, in rich harneſs, each of them having a banner or ſtreamer fixed to the harneſs; the firſt bearing the arms of St. George; the ſecond, thoſe of Normandy; the third, of king Arthur; the fourth, thoſe of St. Edward; the fifth, the arms of France; the ſixth, thoſe of England and France quarterly. James, king of Scotland, followed the chariot, as principal mourner, attended by the duke of Exeter, the earls of Warwick, Marche, Stafford, and Mortaigne, the lords Fitz Hugh, Hungerford, ſir Robert Robeſart, lord Bouchier, ſir John Cornwall, lord Fanhope, and the lord Cornwall. The banners of the ſaints were borne by the lords Lovel, Audley, Morley, and Zouch: the baron of Dudley bore the ſtandard, and the earl of Longueville the banner. The hatchments were carried by twelve captains, and around the chariot rode four hundred men at arms, all in black armour, their horſes barbed black, and their lances borne with their points downwards. A great company cloathed in white, bearing lighted torches, alſo encompaſſed the chariot. The officers and ſervants of the royal houſhold followed, cloathed in black; and after them the royal family, in mourning: the queen, with a great retinue, followed, at a league's diſtance. The body was ſet in the church of St. Ofiran, at Abbeville, where, as well as in all other places to which it came, maſſes were ſaid, without interruption, from the firſt dawn of the morning till midnight. From Abbeville the proceſſion came to Calais, where croſſing to Dover, it continued with the ſame pomp to London. When the body approached that city, it was met by fifteen biſhops in their pontificals, and a number of abbots in their mitres and veſtments, with a great number of prieſts, citizens, and people; the prieſts performing all the way through the ſtreets the funeral devotions, till they arrived at Weſtminſter abbey, where the royal corpſe was interred at the feet of Edward the Confeſſor, in a little chapel, afterwards enlarged and beautified with two iron gates by king Henry VII. On his tomb of grey marble, erected by his queen, was placed a royal image, of ſilver gilt, which remained there till about the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. when the head, which was of maſſy ſilver, was broken off, and conveyed away with the plates of ſilver that covered the trunk, which now only remains of heart of oak.

Henry is repreſented to us as of a ſtature ſomewhat above the middle ſize; he had a beautiful countenance, a long neck, a thin and ſlender body, fine and elegant limbs, and was poſſeſſed of a ſurprizing degree of ſtrength and agility. He excelled all his cotemporaries in perſonal courage and military proweſs: he was hardy, patient, laborious, and more capable of enduring the extremes of cold, hunger, and fatigue, than almoſt any ſoldier in his army. He was in his manners affable, polite, generous, and magnificent: he had an excellent underſtanding, with a clear head and ſound judgment, and admirable talents for the cabinet and field. But the glare of his ſucceſſes, or the luſtre of his great qualities, will not be found ſufficient to conceal the defects in his character; nor can we, without ſhuddering, hear him appeal with his dying breath to the awful tribunal of Heaven, in defence of his public conduct: had he any juſt pretenſions to the crown of France, in the purſuit of which he ſacrificed ſo many thouſand innocent lives, while Peace and Juſtice were his words of battle? how then could he preſume to remove the guilt of all this bloodſhed from his own door, to lay it at that of a people, whom he had ſo unjuſtly invaded, and ſo cruelly oppreſſed? Truth obliges us to confeſs, that Henry, during his life-time, ſhewed that he could not diſtinguiſh between the art of war and the trade of death, nor knew to join the feeling to the manly heart; and in the hour of his exit, he was a ſtriking example how eaſily conſcience is brought over to eſpouſe the cauſe of any ruling paſſion; for, as we cannot ſuſpect him of any diſſimulation at ſuch a juncture, we muſt ſuppoſe that he died in full conviction of having acted according to the dictates of equity; though impartial poſterity will count him among the number of thoſe warriors, whoſe ambition has ſpread ruin and devaſtation through the earth; and who ſacrifice the character of humanity to acquire that of the hero.

It now remains to mention the wife and iſſue of this great king. He was married, as we have already ſeen, to Catherine of Valois, daughter to Charles VI. king of France: ſhe was born in the year 1400, ſo that Henry left her a young widow, of immenſe fortune, the higheſt qualities, and moſt tempting beauty. After Henry's death ſhe fell in love with and married a Welſh knight, named Owen Tudor, ſaid to be ſprung from the ancient princes of that country: ſhe bore him two ſons, Edmund and Jaſper, of whom the elder was created earl of Richmond, and the ſecond earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, which was firſt raiſed to diſtinction by this alliance, afterwards aſcended the throne of England.

The only iſſue of Henry by this queen was Henry of Windſor, prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter, to whoſe reign we ſhall next proceed.

Remarkable Occurrences.

On the day of his coronation, there happened a tempeſt of wind, ſnow, and hail; the ſnow was moſt taken notice of becauſe it was moſt prevalent; on which the people made ſuperſtitious obſervations: ſome thought it preſaged, that the new king would be cold and negligent in the adminiſtration of the government, or wrong and oppreſs them; others took it for a good omen, that, having diſpelled thoſe clouds of vice which had darkened the nation, brightneſs and ſerenity would ſucceed the ſtorm.

In the third year of his reign, the church ſervice was changed throughout England, from the uſe of St. Paul to the uſe of Sarum. On Candlemas-day ſeven dolphins were diſcovered playing on the river Thames, and four of them were taken.

The firſt commiſſion of array, which occurs in the Engliſh hiſtory, was iſſued in the courſe of this reign. The military part of the feudal ſyſtem was now entirely aboliſhed; and could no longer ſerve for the defence or ſecurity of the kingdom. For this reaſon, when Henry went to France in 1415, he empowered certain commiſſioners to take a review of all the free-men in each county able to bear arms, to form them into companies, and to keep them in a conſtant readineſs to oppoſe any attempts that might be made by the enemy.

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HENRY VI.

It was alſo this king that firſt inſtituted the office of Garter King at Arms, and made ſeveral regulations concerning that moſt noble order, which the curious reader may ſee in Aſhmole's Inſtitutions, &c. p. 252, &c. He alſo appointed a new herald, by the title of Agincourt King at Arms.

King Henry, among other works of charity and magnificence, rebuilt the royal palace of Shene, now called Richmond; and the caſtle of Kenelworth.

HENRY VI. ſurnamed Of WINDSOR*. The third King of ENGLAND of the LANCASTRIAN Family. A. D. 1422.

BEFORE we enter upon the tranſactions of this reign, ſo very different from the laſt, we ſhall introduce our readers to an acquaintance with the great perſonages, eſpecially thoſe of the royal blood, who are to make the principal figures therein, and the knowlege of whoſe hiſtories and characters will ſerve as a clue to guide us through the ſcenes we are now to tread.

It may be remembered, that, beſides Henry V. the fourth Henry left three other ſons; Thomas, duke of Clarence; John, duke of Bedford; and Humphrey, duke of Gloceſter. We have already mentioned the death of the firſt of theſe, which happened without his leaving any lawful male iſſue. The next of the ſurviving brothers, and the third ſon of Henry IV. was

John, duke of Bedford, who, though not poſſeſſed of thoſe ſhining talents which diſtinguiſhed Henry V. was yet formed with virtues more capable of making a people happy. He had given the moſt indiſputable proofs of his great abilities for government, by his conduct while regent of England during his royal brother's abſence on the continent; for under his adminiſtration the nation enjoyed plenty and tranquility at home, her commerce flouriſhed, her agriculture was improved, and the public monies were ſtrictly and beneficially employed. Theſe qualities placed him high in the eſteem of his elder brother, who, as we have elſewhere obſerved, ſought all opportunities of raiſing his fortune.

Humphrey, duke of Gloceſter, the younger brother of Henry V. was alſo one of the moſt accompliſhed princes of his age; the chief failing with which he is juſtly chargeable, was his ſuffering an impetuoſity of temper ſometimes to get ſo much the better of his prudence as to hurry him into acts or expreſſions that laid him too open to the malice or ill-will of his enemies; but his ſincerity and freedom deſervedly made him dear to every honeſt and noble mind, and he poſſeſſed no inconſiderable ſhare of his royal brother's affection and eſteem, who in his knowlege of mankind yielded to none of the age he lived in.

We ſhall now proceed to give an account of the other more remote branches of the royal family. Of theſe, the firſt in years and dignity was

Henry Beaufort, cardinal of St. Euſebius and biſhop of Wincheſter. He was ſon to John of Ghent, duke of Lancaſter, by that nobleman's ſecond marriage with Catherine Swinford, and conſequently uncle to Henry V. He was a man of profound ſenſe and great eloquence, as may be gathered from his ſpeeches at the opening of many ſeſſions of parliament, which are ſtill extant upon the rolls: but the chief power of this prelate undoubtedly lay in the vaſt riches he had amaſſed; for, as he had more ready money than any other ſubject in England, he claimed a kind of merit in ſupplying the neceſſities of the crown, though at an extravagant intereſt †. But his avarice was even exceeded by his ambition; and he was alike impatient either of a ſuperior or an equal. The great countenance which had for ſome time been ſhewn to the church, and his own near relation to the crown, gave him many extraordinary advantages; ſo that, upon the whole, he was eſteemed one of the chief perſons in the kingdom.

Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, third ſon of John of Ghent, by his ſecond marriage, was a prince well verſed in buſineſs, and had filled ſeveral principal poſts both in the ſtate and army, with reputation to himſelf and advantage to his country. In the fifth year of Henry IV. he had been made lord high-admiral of England; after that, governor of Calais, lord-chamberlain, and then created earl of Dorſet and knight of the Garter. By Henry V. he was advanced to the dignity of a duke; and that monarch honoured him with a farther mark of his eſteem, by making him governor of Harfleur, and earl of Harcourt in Normandy. The poſt he enjoyed in the beginning of the reign we are entering upon, was that of governor to the king, and commander in chief of the Engliſh forces in France: nay, if we may believe ſome authors, Henry V. had ſo great an opinion of him, that he appointed him, and not the duke of Gloceſter (as Elmham has it), by his dying words to be protector of England.

Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, was by Henry V. deſigned tutor to his infant ſon, under the duke of Exeter. This nobleman was not only the moſt accompliſhed ſoldier, but generally allowed to be the fineſt gentleman of his time. He

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* From the place of his birth. It is reported by moſt of our hiſtorians, that Henry, who was in France when this prince was born, on enquiring where his queen was delivered, was anſwered at Windſor; upon which, in a kind of propetic deſpondency, he ſaid to the lord Fitz Hugh, his chamberlain, "I Henry of Monmouth ſhall ſhort time reign, and much get; Henry of Windſor ſhall long time reign, and all loſe: but God's will be done." However, this ſaying ſeems to have been more political than predictive; for it was no hard matter for Henry, at that time, to conceive that he could not hope, in the common courſe of things, to eſtabliſh the crown of France in his own family.

† In the year 1416, he lent his nephew, Henry V. no leſs than four hundred thouſand marks on his crown and other regalia. Rymer, vol. ix. p. 405, 416.

had been employed at moſt courts in Europe, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his addreſs and politeneſs ‡. He was, indeed, univerſally beloved and eſteemed by all who knew him, either abroad or at home; and the great eſtate which he poſſeſſed, the number of his relations, all of whom were perſons of conſiderable conſequence, joined to the ſtrength of his alliances, gave him a greater national intereſt in the country of England than, perhaps, any other ſubject, not immediately of the royal blood, then enjoyed.

The other perſonages of note, though inferior to theſe, who compoſed the young king's court, were Richard, duke of York, ſon of Richard, earl of Cambridge, who was beheaded at Southampton, and grand-ſon of Edmund of Langley, duke of York, a prince who afterwards claimed the crown as heir of Mortimer: Humphrey, earl of Strafford, ſon of Anne of Gloceſter, daughter to the unfortunate duke whom Richard II. cauſed to be murdered at Calais: Henry, viſcount Bouchier, afterwards created earl of Eſſex, uterine brother to the earl of Strafford, and married to Iſabel, the duke of York's ſiſter: Ralph Neville, earl of Weſtmoreland, allied to the royal family by his marriage with Jane Beaufort, ſiſter to the duke of Exeter and the biſhop of Wincheſter: Thomas Courtenay, earl of Devonſhire, married to the ſiſter of the earl of Somerſet: Henry, lord Talbot, who had eſpouſed the ſiſter of the earl of Eſſex: Henry Holland, earl of Huntingdon, deſcended from an uterine ſiſter of Richard II. Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland: and John Fitz Alan, earl of Arundel.

Having thus prepared the way to a clearer underſtanding of the enſuing ſcene of action, by this ſhort account of the principal perſons concerned in public affairs, we ſhall now continue our hiſtory.

It would ſeem that the death of Henry V. was concealed for ſome time; at leaſt the news of it arrived ſo ſlow in England, that no ſtep was taken towards recognizing the rights of his infant ſon till a month after his deceaſe; for we find by the public records, that it was not till the twenty-ninth of September that the duke of Gloceſter, at that time regent of the realm in the abſence of the duke of Bedford, in conſequence of the news of king Henry's death, iſſued writs in the new king's name for a parliament to meet on the twenty-ninth of November following. Two days after, viz. the firſt of October, 1422, young Henry being carried to London, was proclaimed there, not being full nine months old when he aſcended the throne.

The parliament meeting according to appointment, made ſeveral regulations for the better exerciſe of the government. Thomas Langley, biſhop of Durham, was appointed chancellor of England; William Rendroſſe lord high-treaſurer; and John Stafford keeper of the privy-ſeal. It appears, however, that Henry's dying requeſt was not very ſtrictly attended to, for, notwithſtanding his verbal declaration, appointing Humphrey, duke of Gloceſter, regent of England during the young king's minority, the two houſes thought fit to confer that important poſt on the elder brother, John, duke of Bedford; but, at the ſame time, the duke of Gloceſter was fixed upon to ſupply that high office in his abſence, and allowed to aſſume the ſame title. Not approving the title of Regent, Tutor, Guardian, or any other which imported power in a high degree, leſt it might be abuſed, they choſe that of Protector and Defender of the Realm and Church of England, and chief Counſellor of the King; at the ſame time aſſigning a ſalary of eight thouſand marks per annum for the ſupport of this dignity. The duke of Bedford being then beyond the ſeas, the ſaid title and ſalary were conferred on the duke of Gloceſter, to be by him had and received in abſence only of the aforeſaid duke: at the ſame time Gloceſter was conſtituted lord-chamberlain and high-conſtable of England.

To guard againſt any encroachment, under colour of a title which, if it conveyed no authority, was, however, very pompous and high-ſounding, they appointed a council, by whoſe advice all the affairs of the kingdom were to be adminiſtered, the protector having no prerogative in reſpect of its reſolutions, but that of a double voice in caſe of an equality. This important point being eſtabliſhed, they made ſome other regulations touching ſheriffs, bailiffs, and juſtices of the peace; and having continued the tonnage and poundage, with the ſubſidy on wool, for two years longer, they broke up, on the eighteenth of December. Before they roſe, however, they appointed governors to take care of the king's perſon and education: theſe were Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, and his brother Henry, biſhop of Wincheſter and cardinal, the king's great-uncles.

While theſe matters were under conſideration, advice came of ſome commotions in Wales and the neighbouring counties, raiſed probably by the Mortimer intereſt in that part of the country. Theſe diſturbances appear to have been ſomewhat ſerious, ſince we find commiſſioners appointed to enquire into, and ſuppreſs them. In all probability this writ had the deſired effect, as we hear of no conſequences that attended theſe inſurrections *.

Thus was the infant ſon of Henry V. placed in quiet poſſeſſion of the throne after his father, notwithſtanding there was a perſon then living in the kingdom (Richard, duke of York, ſon of the late earl of Cambridge), who, as undoubted heir to the families both of York and Mortimer, was certainly the neareſt in blood from Edward III. to the crown of England. But it is now time to turn our eyes towards France, and ſee what was tranſacted there in conſequence of the death of its conqueror.

Charles VI. ſurvived his ſon-in-law but fifty-five days, dying at Paris on the twenty-firſt of October, 1422, and his death occaſioned a total revolution in the affairs of that kingdom. Many of the French nobility, who had conſidered themſelves as obliged in duty to obey the king, without enquiring ſtrictly whether his commands were conducive to the intereſts of their country, now looked upon themſelves as under the ſame obligation to the dauphin, notwithſtanding the treaty of Troye, which they conſidered as extorted from their late weak ſovereign by force and fraud.

‡ While this nobleman was governor of Calais, he entertained the emperor Sigiſmund, in his way to England, with ſo much civility and gallantry, that his imperial majeſty, on his arrival here told king Henry V. that no Chriſtian king could boaſt of a knight equal to him for wiſdom, good-breeding, and courage; and that if all courteſy was loſt, it might be found in the earl of Warwick; who from thence was afterwards called the Father of Courteſy. Dugdale's Warwickſh. p. 327.

* Rymer, vol. x. p. 253—268. Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. VI. n. 16, 24, 25, 41. Ibid. 2 Hen. VI. n. 15.

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The dauphin, though his intereſt was lower than ever, was yet maſter of the counties of Berry, Bourbon, Languedoc, Lyonnois, Forrez, Auvergne, a great part of Xaintonge, Poictou, with the earldoms of Comminges and Armagnac, bordering on the Pyrenees. He was extremely well ſerved both by his officers and miniſters, and his acceſſion to the crown could not fail of having a great effect in his favour.

The duke of Bedford was too ſagacious not to foreſee the conſequences that muſt naturally reſult from ſuch a change in the face of affairs, and therefore, the inſtant Charles VI. expired, he proclaimed Henry VI. king of France, and, agreeable to the will of his late brother, aſſumed to himſelf the title of regent of that kingdom; he alſo cauſed a new great-ſeal to be made, with the arms of France and England impaled, and on the other ſide the effigies of the young king, holding a ſceptre in each hand. He next aſſembled at Paris all the great men attached to the Engliſh intereſt, and, in a ſet ſpeech, exhorted them to acknowlege young Henry for their ſovereign. This they immediately complied with, ſwearing allegiance to Henry as king of France, and doing homage to him, in the perſon of the regent, for the lands they held of that crown; and the ſame ſecurity was afterwards exacted from all the towns that were under the dominion of the Engliſh: at the ſame time the city of Paris ſent deputies to London, to perform the ſame ceremony to the infant king in perſon, and congratulate him on his acceſſion to the crowns of the two kingdoms. Theſe deputies were ordered to take the Low Countries in their route, and exhort the duke of Burgundy to adhere ſteadily to his alliance †.

We have already taken notice of the places yet in the poſſeſſion of the dauphin; on the other hand, Henry was in poſſeſſion of Normandy and Guienne, Picardy, Champagne, la Brie, the Iſle of France, and the city of Paris, beſides the two Burgundys, Flanders, and Artois, which belonged to the duke of Burgundy, his vaſſal and ally. The duke of Bedford, who was his regent in France, and, as we have already obſerved, one of the moſt accompliſhed princes in Europe, whether conſidered as a ſoldier or a ſtateſman, was aſſiſted by officers alike diſtinguiſhed for their perſonal courage and military talents; the chief of theſe were the duke of Somerſet, the earls of Saliſbury, Warwick, and Arundel, ſir John Faſtolf, and ſir John Talbot. Hence it appears that the war might have been carried on in all the provinces of France, except Brittany, whoſe duke, John V. had hitherto obſerved a ſtrict neutrality, which had greatly enriched his dominions, both in wealth and people. The duke of Bedford, ſenſible how neceſſary it was for him to ſtrengthen his political intereſts by more numerous attachments, gave in charge to the miniſters who were to call upon the duke of Burgundy, to uſe all their endeavours to obtain of the count of Richemont, brother to John, that he would uſe his intereſt with that prince to bring him over to the party of England. The count, who was under the ſtrongeſt obligations to the Engliſh court ‡, applied himſelf ſo ſtrenuouſly to comply with the regent's deſire, that he at length prevailed with his brother to enter into meaſures with the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy; and a meeting of theſe four princes was appointed to be held at Amiens the beginning of the next year, which accordingly took place, and a treaty of alliance was concluded between them againſt the new king of France, to which the prince of Orange and the duke of Savoy were invited to accede *.

Whilſt the duke of Bedford was thus taking every neceſſary precaution to ſerve the intereſts of the king his nephew, the dauphin was no leſs intent to his. He was at Eſpalay, a houſe belonging to the biſhop of Puy, when he heard of his father's death; upon which he immediately cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of France, and repaired to Poictiers, where he was crowned with all the pomp and ſolemnity which the ſituation of his affairs would permit, the wayward ſtate of which had no other impreſſion on the young king, but to make him redouble his efforts in regaining his right; and though the ſeaſon of the year was ſo far advanced, he found means to make himſelf maſter of Meulant, on the Seine, which ſurrendered to him on the fourth day of January, 1423.

As this place lay in the neighbourhood of Paris, the regent looked upon the reduction of it under his eye, as an inſult offered to his arms, and therefore reſolved to retake it at any hazard: accordingly, about the beginning of February, he in perſon formed the ſiege of it, accompanied by the earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk, the lords Scales and Poynings, ſir John Faſtolf, and others of his beſt officers. As a number of other fortreſſes in thoſe parts, which were filled with Charles's troops, muſt be obliged to ſurrender as ſoon as Meulant ſhould be retaken, that prince determined to ſpare nothing to maintain poſſeſſion of it: he therefore ordered the count d'Aumale, and Stuart of Aubigny, general of the Scottiſh auxiliaries in the room of the earl of Buchan, then in Scotland, to march to its relief; but whether theſe officers could not agree about the chief command, or thought the attack impracticable, when they were advanced within a few miles of the place, they ſuddenly turned ſhort, and marched off, Aumale towards Anjou and Maine, where he commanded for Charles, and the Scots towards their former quarters. This retreat exaſperated the garriſon ſo much, that Graville, who commanded the place for Charles, ordered the French ſtandards to be torn from the battlements and thrown into the ditch, and inſtantly delivered up the place ‖, the ſurrender of which was followed by that of the fortreſſes of Marcouſſi, Montleri, la Ferté, Milan, Compeigne, and others of leſſer note.

This place capitulated on the ſecond of March, and ſoon after the regent repaired to Amiens, where, on the eighth of April, he concluded the treaty of alliance and confederacy already ſpoken of; and this alliance was cemented by a marriage between Bedford and Anne, ſiſter of the duke of Burgundy. The former conſummated his marriage at Troye, and, in his way to Paris with his conſort, took Pont ſur Seine by aſſault. In the

† Monſtrelet. Charier, Hiſt. Charles VII.

‡ Arthur, count de Richemont, brother to the duke of Brittany, was taken priſoner at the battle of Agincourt, in 1415, and carried into England, where he remained till 1420. Mean while the duke, his brother, being ſeized by the Penthievrian party, he deſired king Henry's leave to go to endeavour to free him; which was granted him by that monarch. Rapin. Act. Pub. vol. x. p. 5, 8.

* Rymer, vol. x. p. 280.

‖ P. Daniel, vol. vi. p. 8.

mean

mean time John Montacute, earl of Saliſbury, being appointed governor of Champagne and Brie, inveſted the ſtrong caſtle of Montaigne, and, leaving the earl of Suffolk to command the blockade of that fortreſs, undertook in perſon the ſiege of Vertus, Seſanne, and Epernay, all which he reduced with very little trouble.

The blockade of Montaigne ſtill continuing, and the French king underſtanding that the earl of Suffolk had but a few troops under his command, ordered Tanneguy de Chatel to attempt to raiſe the blockade; but this deſign was defeated by the vigilance of the earl of Saliſbury, who obliged the French general to retire behind Maçon, a town in Burgundy, which Charles's troops had ſurprized; and then the earl of Saliſbury, thinking the blockade of Mortaigne ſecure, turned ſhort, and ſurprized Crevante, a ſtrong place on the river Yonne, four leagues from Auxerre. Stuart of Aubigny, at the head of a body of Scots, and the count of Ventadour, with a conſiderable body of French troops in the intereſt of Charles, were ſent by that prince with orders to raiſe the ſiege of Crevante, or, if the place was taken before their arrival, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to recover it out of the hands of the allies. They punctually followed their orders, by inveſting the place a few days after it had ſurrendered to the Engliſh; and there being but a ſcarcity of proviſions, it was ſoon reduced to great extremity.

The dukes of Burgundy and Bedford hearing of the diſtreſs of the beſieged, ſent a ſtrong reinforcement to the earl of Saliſbury, under the command of Toulangeon, marſhal of Burgundy, with orders at all events to relieve the place. Toulangeon found means to force the enemy to a battle, which was fought with great obſtinacy by both ſides; but victory declared for the Engliſh, who routed the French, with the loſs of twelve hundred of their own people, and near three thouſand Scots ſlain in the field, beſides priſoners, among which were the Scottiſh general and the count of Ventadour. In conſequence of this victory, Mortaigne was immediately ſurrendered to Suffolk; Coucy, and other places about Maçon, ſubmitted ſoon after; and, towards the end of the year, Crotoy and Guiſe, the only ſtrong holds that remained to Charles in Picardy, capitulated for a ſurrender, if not relieved before the month of March following, when they were accordingly delivered.

Theſe military atchievements were greater than could be reaſonably expected, after two ſuch blows as the Engliſh intereſt had received in France, by the deaths of Henry V. and Charles VI. but the duke of Bedford well foreſaw, that, without the utmoſt circumſpection, they muſt be but tranſitory; the French in general were untractable under their new government; a young prince, expelled his native throne by the rebellion of his own ſubjects, and by the arms of ſtrangers, could not fail to excite the compaſſion of all his people whoſe hearts were unbiaſſed by faction; and the preſent ſituation of France naturally engaged the attention even of the meaneſt perſons, and became a common topic of converſation: add to this, that he found the earl of Richemont to be a froward, haughty, and troubleſome ally, and withal of a brave, intriguing, and intrepid diſpoſition: again, it was far from being improbable, notwithſtanding the late advantages gained by the Engliſh, that the war might take an untoward turn for them, ſhould the Scottiſh regency continue to ſupply the French king with troops: he reflected upon the ill ſucceſs which had attended the detaining the king of Scotland a priſoner in the Engliſh court, which had been done from a ſuppoſition that the Scots would be deterred from joining the French in a war againſt England, as long as their king was a priſoner there; but the late hearty aſſiſtance they had given Charles proved this to be a miſtaken notion. The Scottiſh nobility had always been deſirous of getting their king home; but the duke of Albany, late regent, had found means to elude all their efforts for that purpoſe: Murdoch, earl of Fife, had ſucceeded his father in that poſt; and finding the people in general refractory under his government, he reſolved to diveſt himſelf of ſo ungrateful an office, and accordingly, concurring with the deſires of the great men, he ſent ambaſſadors to England, in July this year, to treat for the king's liberty. This perfectly well correſponded with a project the duke of Bedford had formed; who being made acquainted with this application, gave it as his poſitive advice, that the wiſeſt method of the Engliſh court would be to conſent to the releaſe of king James upon reaſonable terms, ſince they already experienced how little the Scottiſh regency was affected to their cauſe; and that much might be expected from James's friendſhip, when laid under this obligation for his crown and liberty.

The council in England concurred with the duke in his reaſons, and commiſſioners were appointed to manage the conferences for the releaſe of the Scottiſh king: thoſe on the ſide of the Engliſh were, Thomas, biſhop of Durham, chancellor of England: Philip, biſhop of Worceſter; Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland; and Mr. John Wadeham: thoſe for Scotland were, William, biſhop of Glaſgow; George, earl of Marche; James Douglas of Balgeny, his brother; Patrick, abbot of Cambuſkenneth; John, abbot of Balmerino; ſir Patrick Dunbar, of Bole; ſir Robert Lauder, of Eddrington; Mr. George Borthwick, archdeacon of Glaſgow; and Patrick Houſton, canon of Glaſgow *,

The conferences were opened at the city of York in the beginning of September; but it was the tenth of February, 1424, before all matters were ſettled, and then they came to the following agreement.

"I. That the king of Scotland, and his heirs, as an equivalent for his entertainment while in England, ſhould pay to the king of England, and his heirs, at London, in the church of St. Paul, by equal proportions, the ſum of forty thouſand pounds.

"II. That the firſt payment, amounting to the ſum of ten thouſand marks, ſhould be made ſix months after the king of Scotland's entering his own kingdom: that the like ſum ſhould be paid the next year, and ſo on during the ſpace of ſix years, when the ſum would be cleared, unleſs after payment of forty thouſand marks, the laſt payment of ten thouſand ſhould be remitted at the entreaty of the moſt illuſtrious Thomas, duke of Exeter.

* Rymer, vol. x. p. 294, 296.

"III. That

" III. That the king of Scotland, before entering his own kingdom, ſhould give ſufficient hoſtages for performance on his part. But, in regard that the Scots plenipotentiaries had no inſtructions concerning hoſtages, it was agreed,

" IV. That the king of Scotland ſhould be at Branſpath, or Durham, by the firſt of March next, where he ſhould be attended by the nobles of his blood, and other ſubjects, in order to fix the number and quality of the hoſtages.

" V. That, to cement and perpetuate the amity of the two kingdoms, the governor of Scotland ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to London with power to conclude a contract of marriage between the king of Scotland and ſome lady of the firſt quality in England.

In purſuance of the laſt article, other two perſons were added to the Scottiſh commiſſioners, and all together proceeded in a body to London, where they gave ſecurity upon the four principal boroughs in Scotland, viz. Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, for the payment of the forty thouſand pounds, and ſtipulated the hoſtages, the number of which were twelve, all of the nobleſt blood in Scotland, their names as follow: David, eldeſt ſon and heir of the earl of Athol; Thomas, earl of Murray; Alexander, earl of Crauford; Duncan Campel, lord of Argyll; William Douglas, ſon and heir of the lord of Dalkeith; Gilbert, ſon and heir of William Hay, conſtable of Scotland; Robert Keith, marſhal of Scotland; Robert Erſkine, lord of Erſkine; Walter, lord Dirleton; Thomas Boyd, lord of Kilmarnock; Patrick Dunbar, lord of Carnoch; Alexander, lord of Gordon †.

Beſides theſe hoſtages, who were actually delivered up to the Engliſh, the following were appointed to ſupply their places, in caſe the former ſhould fail by death or otherwiſe: William, lord of Abernethy; Hugh Fraſer, lord of Lovat; James Dunbar, lord of Frendraught; Andrew Gray, lord of Fowlis; Robert Livingſton, lord of Livingſton; John Lindſay; Robert de Lyle; James, lord of Calder; James Hamilton, lord of Cadrow; William, lord of Ruthven; William Oliphant, lord of Aberdalgy; Robert, ſon and heir of Robert de Maitland; David Menzies; David Ogilvie; Patric, ſon and heir of lord John Lyon.

At the ſame time it was determined, that the king of Scotland ſhould marry Jane Beaufort, daughter to the earl of Somerſet (who was a ſon, by the ſecond marriage, of John of Ghent), and niece to the duke of Exeter and the biſhop of Wincheſter. This match was procured by that prelate, in order to ſtrengthen and ſupport his family by an alliance with Scotland; and the Engliſh council agreed to abate ten thouſand marks of the ranſom-money, by way of equivalent for the lady's portion. Then the commiſſioners of both nations ſigned a truce for ſeven years, namely to the firſt of May, 1431, by which James engaged to recal his troops from the French ſervice by the month of June following, though he could not promiſe they would obey his orders. Thus James, after a captivity of ſeventeen years, was reſtored to his kingdom ‡. This treaty was confirmed by the parliament, which met on the twentieth of October; and having ſat to the ſeventeenth of December, was adjourned to the fourteenth of January.

In this parliament a new council was appointed for the government of the realm, by the arts and intrigues of the biſhop of Wincheſter, who, having had ſome diſpute with the duke of Glocester, raiſed an oppoſition in parliament, with a view to reſtrain the power of the protector by extending that of the council, which was accordingly enlarged.

Whilſt the king of Scotland's liberty was negociating in England, the war was continued in France with various ſucceſs. In the beginning of the year 1424, Charles received a reinforcement of one thouſand men at arms, and five hundred lances, from Philip Maria Viſconti, duke of Milan; and theſe troops invading the Bajolois, not only ſaved the town of Bouſſiere from falling into the hands of Toulangeon, marſhal of Burgundy, but alſo attacked that general, who was taken priſoner with ſeven hundred men; but he was immediately exchanged for Stuart, the Scottiſh general, who had been taken at the battle of Crevante. Beaumont upon the Oyſe, in the Iſle of France, was alſo ſeized by a party of French royaliſts; but, on the other hand, the Engliſh and Burgundians ſurprized Gallion upon the Seine, and la Charité upon the Loire, the taking of which had, during the war, given Charles ſo many advantages. Several other actions of leſſer note paſſed between the two parties; but the duke of Bedford could not, without great chagrin, behold his plan of clearing all the provinces north of the Loire of Charles's troops, attended with greater difficulties than he imagined; for he had no ſooner ſubdued a place by force, than the enemy retook it by ſurprize, ſo that his taſk appeared to be equally laborious and ineffectual.

The French king was not a little indebted for the ſucceſs of his arms to the bravery and conduct of his Scottiſh auxiliaries, of which he had at this time no leſs than fifteen thouſand in his ſervice: Charles looked upon them as his deliverers, nay as his guardians; he diſtinguiſhed their officers by very particular marks of favour; the earl of Buchan he had already made conſtable of France, and he now created general Stuart, baron of Aubigny and count (or earl) of Evreux; and on the earl of Douglas, who had lately come over from Scotland with a freſh reinforcement of troops, and who was eſteemed the moſt accompliſhed general of his time, he conferred the dignity of duke, by the title of duke of Terouranne: and ſo great was his opinion of the fidelity of the Scots, that he choſe a company of them for the guard of his own perſon, which ſtill ſubſiſts in name, and was actually exiſting till the time of James I. of England.

In the monrh of June the regent duke received advice that one of Charles's partizans had reduced Ivri, on the frontiers of Picardy; and as this was a place of great conſequence, he was determined at any rate to regain it, while Charles was equally as determined to preſerve it, that he might ſtill continue the war to the north of the Loire. The regent marched thither in July, and made his diſpoſitions ſo well, that the governor of the place agreed to ſurrender it, if not relieved by the fifteenth of Auguſt. Charles, apprized of this agreement, ordered the flower of his troops to aſſemble, determined to ſuccour the place, though at the hazard of a battle. His forces rendezvouſed in le Maine,

† Ibid. p. 327—333. ‡ Abercromby. Buchanan.

and, upon a muſter, were found to amount to twenty thouſand men, compoſed of French, Scots, and Italians. The command of this army belonged to the earl of Buchan, as conſtable of France; but he being willing to reſign that honour to his father-in-law, the earl of Douglas (duke of Terouranne) Charles ſent that nobleman a patent, conſtituting him his lieutenant-general of the whole kingdom, otherwiſe the conſtable could not have been under his command. Douglas ordered the army to advance towards Chartres; but when they came within ſix leagues of Ivri, they heard that the place was ſurrendered, upon which the conſtable went to reconnoitre the Engliſh camp, which he found too ſtrongly fortified to be attacked without evident diſadvantage, and therefore the army was ordered to wheel round, and coming to Vernueil, a town belonging to the duke of Alençon, but then in the hands of the Engliſh faction, the place was ſummoned to ſurrender. On this occaſion the French made uſe of an artifice, that had the deſired effect; the meſſengers ſent to the garriſon had orders to tell them, that the conſtable and the earl were juſt come from gaining a complete victory over the regent duke, whoſe army they had cut in pieces, and that himſelf had with great difficulty eſcaped out of the field with a few followers only: this tale gained ſuch belief, that the place immediately ſurrendered, and Douglas filled it with a garriſon of French loyaliſts.

Upon the firſt news of the march of the French army, the regent ſent to the earl of Saliſbury for a reinforcement, and that nobleman joined him on the fourteenth of Auguſt, with a thouſand horſe and two thouſand archers, which made the Engliſh army about fifteen thouſand effective men: thus ſtrengthened, the duke of Bedford advanced towards Vernueil, in order to force the enemy to an engagement.

When he arrived within a league of their camp, he ſent a herald to offer Douglas battle, which the latter did not ſeem to decline, but without moving from his ſituation. This was ſome diſappointment to the duke of Bedford, who had founded his principal hopes in the impetuoſity of the French: but it was not long before thoſe hopes were amply ſatisfied. The regent had pitched upon an advantageous ſpot for the field of battle, flanked by a hill, on which he poſted a body of two thouſand archers, and furniſhed his other ſoldiers with ſharp ſtakes, like thoſe that were uſed by the army of Henry V. at Agincourt, to oppoſe the onſet of the French cavalry. Douglas, having ſurveyed the ſituation of the Engliſh camp, inſiſted that it would be the intereſt of the French to ſtand on the defenſive, and not begin the charge, as the enemy had choſen their own ground, where they could not be attacked without manifeſt diſadvantage. This prudent advice, which was ſeconded by the conſtable and all the officers of experience, appeared to Aymer, viſcount of Narbonne, an headſtrong and imprudent man, as the effect of fear or cowardice; nor did he ſpare to upbraid the commanders, in expreſs terms, with diſhonouring by their tameneſs the arms of France. Vain of ſuperior numbers, he indulged that failing of headſtrong impetuoſity which has ſo often proved fatal to his nation: he was joined by all the young nobility, who were eager to ſignalize themſelves; no reaſons could be heard, no remonſtrances were attended to: at length Narbonne, ſnatching up one of the ſtandards of the diviſion, exclaimed, "Let all who love their ſovereign, follow me!" and ruſhing out of the line, he advanced at the head of all thoſe under his command to begin the charge. Douglas and the conſtable, finding their advice neglected, and their authority deſpiſed, had now no other concern but how to periſh as honeſt men and brave ſoldiers, as they foreſaw inevitable deſtruction muſt be the conſequence of this headlong raſhneſs in their troops *.

The Engliſh were that day commanded by the duke of Bedford in the rear, with the earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk on the wings; the regent had ordered all his horſe to diſmount, and placed between the main body and camp, which was the rear, forming round them a kind of barricade with the carriages of the army: in this poſition he waited the attack of the French. Before theſe latter came in ſight of the Engliſh, their breath and ſpirits were almoſt exhauſted; their generals in vain made an attempt to form them into ſome kind of order, they ſtill refuſed to liſten to any advice, and the French and Scots ſeemed to vie with each other in ruſhing forward to their own deſtruction.

Notwithſtanding this diſorder, their attack was ſo furious that a body of their horſe on the right wing broke the oppoſite wing of the Engliſh, and advanced as far as the barricade which ſurrounded the horſes, behind which was placed a body of archers, which received them with ſo terrible a diſcharge, as obliged them to wheel round and give back; while thoſe that were poſted upon the hill ſo overwhelmed the Italians, who were marching up in another line, that they betook themſelves to flight in the very beginning of the battle, leaving the Scots and French to ſtand the whole brunt of the fight. This gave the body of reſerve an opportunity of forming themſelves, and advancing to the ſupport of the main battle, where the fight had continued with great obſtinacy for three hours, without either ſide being able to challenge the advantage; but this ſeaſonable reinforcement fixed victory entirely on the ſide of the Engliſh: the French horſe, as uſual, were driven back by the arrows of the Engliſh bow-men upon their own foot, and a dreadful ſcene of ſlaughter enſued.

Douglas and the conſtable, ſeeing their defeat inevitable, ſcorned to ſurvive the diſgrace, and ruſhing into the thickeſt of the fight, fell in the midſt of their enemies. Beſides theſe two great generals, the headſtrong Narbonne, author of this their fatal overthrow, the ſon of earl Douglas, the counts of Aumale, Ventadour, and de Tonnerre, the lords Grandville, Manni, Gamaches, and Guitri, with many of Charles's beſt French and Scottiſh officers, and a vaſt number of private gentlemen, with a thouſand common ſoldiers, lay dead upon the field of battle; while the duke of Alençon, the baſtard his brother, the marſhal de la Fayette, and the lords Gaucourt and Mortemar, were taken priſoners. Nor did the Engliſh obtain a bloodleſs victory; they loſt about ſeventeen hundred of their beſt men, who were left dead upon the ſpot, and

* P. Daniel, Hiſt. de France, vol. vi.

among

among them ſome officers of diſtinction *. The day after this victory Vernueil ſurrendered to the conquerors; and there being no longer any army to oppoſe the Engliſh in the field, they made themſelves maſters, one after another, of the ſtrong fortreſſes of Rambouillet, Mayenne le Juhez, Vitry en Patrois, and la Ferté Bernard, with other places in the neighbourhood.

The ſituation of Charles VII. was now deplorable: he had loſt the braveſt of his troops, and the flower of his nobility, by the late fatal defeat: his party was diſpirited; he had ſcarce money ſufficient for the common neceſſaries of life, much leſs to pay an army; and he could raiſe none from among his ſubjects, without cauſing a general diſcontent, which, in his preſent circumſtances, it was in a particular manner his intereſt to avoid. We may form ſome idea of his diſtreſs from what the French hiſtorians tell us, that he was reduced to make the ſilver mark paſs for ninety livres in the places ſubject to his command, inſtead of half a livre, which it was formerly worth. But at the very time that his affairs ſeemed beyond the poſſibility of being reſtored, fortune, or rather Providence, that preſcribes bounds to all mortal grandeur and depreſſion, interfered in his behalf. The duke of Bedford was called off from purſuing his victory, by the neceſſity he found himſelf under of meeting the duke of Burgundy at Paris, in order to try at accommodating matters between the dukes of Brabant and Gloceſter, which laſt had landed about that time, with a ſtrong army of Engliſh at Calais, from whence he had marched and taken poſſeſſion of the chief towns of Hainault, on the following occaſion.

Jaquelina, daughter of William V. duke of Bavaria, and heireſs of Holland, Zealand, and Frieſland, had been married to John, dauphin of France; and, after his death, compelled by his mother to wed the duke of Brabant, whoſe perſon ſhe deteſted. Indeed this averſion ſeems to have been reciprocal; and after they had lived together for ſome time, in continual diſſention, ſhe made an elopement to England, where ſhe was hoſpitably received by the late king, and through his mediation, applied to the pope for a divorce; but as this could not be obtained, ſhe gave her hand to the duke of Gloceſter, by virtue of a licence from the anti-pope Benedict, and the nuptials had been celebrated in England with great ſolemnity, ſoon after the acceſſion of the preſent king. It was about the end of October this year, that the duke of Gloceſter carried over his conſort, with an army of five thouſand men, to take poſſeſſion of her hereditary eſtates.

This marriage was, indeed, univerſally conſidered as a glaring outrage upon juſtice and decency; but the duke of Brabant, huſband of this lady, muſt have been leſs than man not to have reſented this double injury, both to his honour and property. Accordingly, he not only put himſelf in a poſture of defence, but applied to the duke of Burgundy for aſſiſtance. This prince who thought no other than that the duke of Gloceſter was come over with troops to reinforce his brother the regent, was not a little ſurprized when he heard that the duke had traverſed his dominions, and that all the towns of Hainault had ſubmitted, and taken the oath of allegiance to him and Jaquelina; and reſolved to ſuccour the injured duke of Brabant to the utmoſt of his power: however, unwilling to come to a rupture with the duke of Bedford, whom he knew to be ſtrongly connected with his brother of Gloceſter, he deſired a meeting with the former, at Paris, in order to engage him to interfere his good offices, and even authority, to prevail with the duke of Gloceſter to deſiſt from his unjuſt purſuit. The regent readily agreed, and an interview was held at Amiens, between the four dukes, in which the regent laboured to perſuade Gloceſter to agree to an accommodation, or at leaſt a ceſſation of arms, till he could be ſupported with the united ſtrength of France and England: but the latter, blinded by love and ambition, was deaf to all remonſtrances, ſo that the conferences were broke up entirely through his obſtinacy.

The duke of Burgundy, juſtly irritated at the behaviour of the duke of Gloceſter, put a ſtop to the career of his own ſucceſſes againſt the French king, that he might the better check the progreſs of the other; and he was continually at war, either in Hainault, Zealand, or Holland, againſt the partizans of Jaquelina and the Engliſh ſuccours ſent her, till the year 1426, the repeated endeavours of Bedford not having been able in all that time to bring his brother Gloceſter to reaſon, though the parliament had earneſtly recommended an accommodation. To make matters ſtill worſe, the duke of Gloceſter, thinking his honour injured by ſome expreſſions that the duke of Burgundy had let fall in the heat of his paſſion, ſent to challenge him to ſingle combat, and the very day was appointed; but the matter never came to that iſſue. Thoſe differences, however, threw a total damp upon the Engliſh affairs in France, which the regent duke ſaw with the utmoſt concern, but without being able to remedy the evil: for by Gloceſter's employing the forces, which ſhould have been ſent to reinforce his brother Bedford, in his wars in Flanders, and the army of the latter being moſtly divided among a great number of caſtles and towns, which he was obliged to garriſon, he found himſelf diſabled from proſecuting his conqueſts. Thus, by the obſtinacy and ambition of the duke of Gloceſter, and his ducheſs, the Engliſh intereſt in France, after the battle of Vernueil, was able to make no great effort for puſhing the war over the Loire.

In this dilemma the regent duke reſolved to paſs over to England, in order, if poſſible, to put matters upon ſuch a footing as to be inſured of a better ſupply for carrying on the war in France. His preſence was likewiſe neceſſary for compoſing ſome differences which had ariſen among the miniſtry here: the biſhop of Wincheſter, who was a prelate of great capacity and experience, but of a turbulent overbearing diſpoſition, had quarrelled with the duke of Gloceſter, and their diſpute threatned ſome ſerious conſequences; nay, the duke of Gloceſter had gone ſo far as to draw up a ſet of ar-

* By the report of Montjoy, French king at arms, and the Engliſh heralds then preſent, there were ſlain of French and Scots nine thouſand ſeven hundred, and of the Engliſh two thouſand one hundred: two hundred gentlemen, beſides many common ſoldiers, were taken priſoners. This battle, which Rapin, Carte, and others place on the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth of Auguſt, is ſaid by Hall to have been fought on the twenty-ſeventh of that month. Hall, p. 90.

ticles

ticles by way of impeachment againſt the biſhop. The regent duke hoped, by his preſence and authority, to quiet theſe jealouſies and diſtractions, and accordingly prepared for his voyage.

But before he left France, he gave orders to the earl of Saliſbury to make freſh attempts for reducing all places which held for the French king in Maine and Anjou. Accordingly that nobleman, aſſiſted by the lord Scales, ſir John Montgomery, and ſir John Faſtolf, putting himſelf at the head of the few troops that could be ſpared, had for ſome time ſurprizing ſucceſs: the conſternation of the French, after their late defeat, was ſuch, that they gave up, almoſt without reſiſtance, the ſtrong caſtles of Beaumont le Vicomte, Teune, Sally, Oſce, Rouſie, Vaſce, and about twenty more, in leſs than a month. At laſt, the earl laid ſiege to Mans itſelf, the principal city of the province, and being provided with a dreadful train of artillery for thoſe days, he ſoon obliged the garriſon to capitulate. The taking of this place was attended with great advantages to the Engliſh, and opened the way for the conqueſt of St. Suſanne, the inhabitants of which were obliged to pay two hundred thouſand crowns, barely to have their lives ſpared.

In the courſe of this year, ſir John Mortimer, uncle to Edmund, earl of Marche, having been ſome time priſoner in the Tower, was charged with attempting to make his eſcape, in order to raiſe an inſurrection in Wales. It was pretended that his deſign was to proclaim the earl of Marche, his nephew, or, upon his refuſal, to proclaim himſelf. Whether his crime was proved, or it was thought proper to make away with a perſon who, in caſe he had eſcaped, might have done miſchief, he was condemned and executed *.

The earl of Marche, his nephew, did not long ſurvive him: he died in Ireland about the latter end of the year, without iſſue. By his death the title of earl of Marche, and his right to the crown of England, from which he was excluded by the election of Henry IV. deſcended to Richard Plantagenet, his nephew, ſon of Anne his ſiſter, and the earl of Cambridge, beheaded at Southampton, in the beginning of the reign of Henry V. This young nobleman, who was at this time under age, was afterwards created duke of York, as will be ſeen in its place †.

In April, 1425, a parliament was held at Weſtminſter, partly with a view to accommodate matters between the biſhop of Wincheſter and his brother of Gloceſter, who, in conſequence of a ſhort truce made with the duke of Brabant, had come over to England, leaving his ducheſs Jaquelina behind him, in Mons, whoſe citizens had engaged themſelves by a ſolemn oath to guard her ſafely with their lives. The biſhop of Wincheſter had gained ſo great an aſcendency in England, by the abſence of the duke, that he was in this parliament made chancellor, in the room of the biſhop of Durham, and opened the ſeſſion in that quality: at the ſame time ſir Thomas Nawton was choſen ſpeaker for the houſe of commons.

In this parliament a fierce diſpute happened between John Mowbray, earl-marſhal, and Richard, earl of Warwick, about precedency: this affair was very puzzling and intricate; but the earl-marſhal demanding to be reſtored in blood to the dukedom of Norfolk, the ſame was granted, which of conſequence gave him the precedency over his antagoniſt.

This difference, however, was but of ſmall importance compared to that which was daily increaſing between the duke of Gloceſter and the biſhop of Wincheſter, and was near producing a civil war, inſomuch that the parliament found itſelf under a neceſſity of renewing the antient writs for prohibiting any perſon repairing in arms to the houſe during the ſeſſion, which with ſome few adjournments continued to the end of the year. Notwithſtanding this prohibition, the violent party-men, though they laid aſide their arms, furniſhed themſelves with clubs or batts, and had frequent rencounters, which as frequently ended in blood: for this reaſon this parliament was called the Parliament of Batts.

Notwithſtanding theſe private feuds, this ſeſſion diſtinguiſhed itſelf by its zeal for the glory of the infant king: all the neceſſary ſupplies were voted, and many ſalutary acts paſſed for the advancement of commerce, the improvement of agriculture, and other matters conducive to the eaſe and benefit of the ſubjects, all which will be found under the head of Laws belonging to this period.

Towards the latter end of this year, and not before, the duke of Bedford arrived in England; and taking upon him the charge of protector, by his authority put a ſtop to the fatal quarrels that had diſturbed the peace of the realm: he at firſt endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between the duke and the biſhop; but finding his own influence inſufficient for that purpoſe, he perſuaded them to ſubmit their diſpute to the deciſion of parliament; and, after the matter had been fully diſcuſſed, they were both obliged to promiſe before that reſpectable body, to bury all their quarrels in utter oblivion: this did not happen till the month of March, in the following year. But it is now time to reſume the affairs of France, and trace thoſe cauſes which brought about the total decay of the Engliſh power there.

Whilſt the war in Hainault was carrying on between the partizans of Jaquelina and thoſe of the duke of Brabant, her former huſband, aſſiſted by the duke of Burgundy, which ſuſpended all military operations in France, Charles was not an indolent ſpectator of theſe events: he reſolved to improve this lucky diverſion to his own advantage, and he could think of no method ſo effectual as that of detaching the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany from their alliance with the Engliſh. He knew that the former had openly broke with the duke of Gloceſter, and that the other was wholly under the influence of his brother, the count de Richemont, who entertained a ſecret diſlike to the duke of Bedford, for having refuſed him the command of the allied army during his abſence in England, and conferred that poſt on the earl of Warwick. Charles was likewiſe encouraged and aſſiſted in this ſcheme by ſome accidents which fell out about the time we are ſpeaking of, and of which the following may ſerve as a conciſe account.

The duke of Burgundy had lately married Bona of Artois, widow of the earl of Nevers, and ſiſter to the count of Eu, who ſtill remained a priſoner in England, and half-ſiſter to the count of Clermont,

* See Cotton's Abridgement, p. 568.

† Hall. Stowe.

princes

princes zealouſly attached to the Valois family: moreover, the duke of Burgundy had procured a bull from pope Martin V. which not only annulled the contract of Jaquelina with the duke of Gloceſter, but likewiſe declared, that, even in caſe of the duke of Brabant's death, it ſhould never be lawful for her to marry an Engliſh nobleman. Gloceſter, thus diſappointed in his hopes, eſpouſed another lady, of inferior quality, named Eleanor Cobham, daughter to Reginald lord Cobham, of Sterborough, who had been his miſtreſs: the news of this coming to the ears of Jaquelina, ſhe threw herſelf entirely upon the protection of the duke of Burgundy, and even put on the appearance of a reconciliation with her huſband, the duke of Brabant; and he dying ſhortly after, ſhe appointed the duke of Burgundy her heir, in caſe ſhe died without male iſſue, and promiſed never to marry without his conſent. The great acceſſion of dominion likely to fall to him by this compact, as it alarmed the Engliſh, ſo it not a little raiſed the duke's idea of his own conſequence; and the quarrel between him and the duke of Gloceſter ſtill rankling at his heart, he affected on all occaſions to treat the Engliſh with a ſuperciliouſneſs which they could not bear, and which gave riſe to frequent diſputes, ſo that it was eaſy to foretel that a total diſſolution of their alliance might be brought about without a miracle.

Charles was not wanting, by his intrigues and emiſſaries, to make the moſt of appearances ſo favourable to his intereſt: he knew, as we have already obſerved, that the count de Richemont was incenſed againſt the duke of Bedford; he was likewiſe well acquainted with the pride and vanity of the count, which he took care to flatter in the manner moſt likely to gain him. The ſtaff of conſtable of France had not been diſpoſed of, ſince the earl of Buchan's death, and Charles thought it the moſt proper bait he could lay before the count's eyes, at the ſame time cauſing him to be told how great an eſteem he had for him, and that he ſhould deem himſelf invincible if he had him at the head of his army. This was attacking Richemont in the moſt ſenſible part; he now thought he had a glorious opportunity of triumphing over the duke of Bedford, who had ſo ſcornfully refuſed him the firſt command in his abſence: in a word, he yielded to the ſolicitations of Charles's emiſſaries; he accepted of the conſtable's ſtaff, and even undertook to bring over his brother, the duke of Brittany, to the intereſt of Charles, provided that prince would baniſh from his councils Louvet, one of the principal authors of the Penthievrian confederacy againſt the duke.

Charles accordingly declared him conſtable of France; and next ſet about ſounding the duke of Burgundy, on whom he thought he ſhould eaſily prevail, conſidering how highly he was exaſperated againſt the Engliſh government, for ſupporting the duke of Gloceſter in the affair of Hainault; but in the courſe of theſe negociations the French monarch found that the duke, notwithſtanding his reſentments againſt Gloceſter and the Engliſh in general, had not ſo entirely forgotten his father's aſſaſſaſſination, as to liſten readily to propoſals from the author of his murder; and the biſhops of Puy and Chartres, who had been ſent by Charles with a carte blanche to the duke of Burgundy, could make very little impreſſion upon him: in vain did they plead that Charles was innocent of the blood of his father; or that, if he had any knowlege of, or part in it, his youth at that time was to be conſidered, and that he had been under the guidance of evil counſellors, by whoſe pernicious advice he had been miſled againſt his own ſentiments. The duke returned no other anſwer to theſe excuſes, only that when the king ſhould have given proof of his diſapprobation of that act, by removing from his preſence thoſe evil counſellors, or others who had availed themſelves of his authority to perpetrate it, that it would then be a proper time to talk of accommodations. This anſwer, however, carried with it a kind of inſinuation that he was not inexorable, eſpecially as he had already conſented to the count de Richemont's acceptance of the office of conſtable.

Charles, however, was not a little perplexed how to act on this occaſion: the obnoxious perſons, Tannegui de Chatel and Louvet, had ſacrificed all conſiderations to his ſervice; and he thought he could not, without great ingratitude, give them up to the power of their enemies. Tannegui, however, with a noble fidelity, reſolved to rid his maſter of his embarraſſment, and inſiſted upon quitting his court, and retiring to end his life in ſome remote corner of the world. Charles could not, without great reluctance, comply with his requeſt; but knowing that his affairs were inevitably ruined, if he could not effect a reconciliation with the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy, both of whom were implacably irritated againſt the two favourites, he at length yielded to neceſſity, and diſmiſſed Tannegui de Chatelet to the government of Boquere; but Louvet, deaf to all conſiderations but that of his own intereſt, clung as cloſe to his poſts as if he had reſolved that his own fall ſhould bring along with it that of his maſter; he even inſinuated to Charles, that the views of the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany were no other but to amuſe him with falſe appearances, and at length deliver him up to the Engliſh. Diſtreſs is ever ſuſpicious; Charles began to think himſelf betrayed, and took ſuch ſteps in conſequence of this falſe notion inſpired into him by the ſelf-intereſted favourite, as muſt have brought inſtant deſtruction upon him, had not all the noblemen of his party, by a ſeaſonable boldneſs, declared that they would abandon him to a man, if he neglected the only means in his power of making the two dukes his friends. Unable to withſtand theſe diſpoſitions, and, perhaps, ſhamed into compliance by the generous example of Tannegui, Louvet at laſt retired into Provence; and the conſtable de Richemont, having gotten rid of a perſon ſo obnoxious to him, performed his promiſe in bringing over his brother, the duke of Brittany, who came and did homage to Charles at Saumur, for his duchy and for the earldom of Montfort, on the ſeventh of October, 1425; and at the ſame time concluded a treaty with him, whereby he engaged to aſſiſt him in driving out the Engliſh from France, upon the following conditions: 1. That Charles ſhould be reconciled to the princes of the blood, particularly to the duke of Burgundy. 2. That he ſhould deſiſt from proſecuting the earl of Penthievre. 3. That the duke of Brittany ſhould have the adminiſtration of the finances in the Languedoit, that is, the country between the Loire and Languedoc: but this was proviſionally, in caſe the duke of Bur-

gundy could not be brought to break with the Engliſh likewiſe *.

The duke of Bedford perceiving the untowardly turn the Engliſh affairs were taking in France, haſtened his departure for England, that, by removing all animoſities there, he might direct the united efforts of all parties againſt their common enemies. He no ſooner arrived, than ſummoning a parliament, he laid before them the perfidy of the court of Brittany, as he choſe to term their conduct, and gave it as his opinion, that the only method to prevent the duke of Burgundy from purſuing the ſame meaſures, was to declare war againſt the Bretons, and to puſh it with the utmoſt vigour. This advice of the regent was unanimouſly approved; and, early in the year 1426, it was agreed by the parliament to declare open war againſt the duke of Brittany. In what manner the regent duke quieted the animoſities between his brother and uncle, we have ſhewn already, and therefore ſhall only obſerve that the biſhop ſeemed ſtill to retain ſome ſentiments of diſguſt, as we find him in this parliament deſiring to be diſcharged of his office of lord chancellor, which was accordingly done, and the great-ſeal was delivered to the biſhop of London.

In the mean while the earl of Warwick, who had been left governor of France during the abſence of the regent duke, took the field in perſon, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, and, laying ſiege to Pont Orſon, carried it by aſſault, and afterwards took and fortified the town of St. Jaques de Beauvron, where he fixed his head-quarters, and from thence terribly ravaged the adjacent country, up to the very gates of Rennes. But the conſtable de Richemont, having gotten together an army of twenty thouſand men, put himſelf at their head, and, entering Brittany, beſieged and took Pont Orſon, the earl of Warwick not daring to oppoſe him, on account of his great inferiority of numbers, contented himſelf with calling in all his detachments, and ſhut himſelf up in Beauvron with his little army, amounting to no more than eight thouſand men. The conſtable now thought he was at the eve of gaining great honour, and giving a mortal blow to the Engliſh intereſt by taking this place with the earl ſhut up therein; this he propoſed to do by blockade, from a perſuaſion that ſo numerous a garriſon muſt ſoon be ſtarved into a ſurrender. But de Giac, who had ſucceeded Louvet in his place in the king's councils, and had a hatred to the conſtable, neglecting to ſend him the neceſſary ſupplies of men and money, Richemont deſpaired of effecting his purpoſe; yet, mad with the thought of being baffled in his firſt campaign, he raſhly reſolved upon a general aſſault, but the garriſon made ſo brave a reſiſtance, that he was beaten back to his camp, and the beſieged, obſerving the diſorder of his ranks, ſallied out, and, falling upon them in the rear, put them to flight with great ſlaughter, taking all their baggage and artillery. The conſtable was almoſt at his wits end at this diſgrace; he vowed the ſevereſt revenge againſt de Giac, whom he looked upon as the author of it, which he ſoon after found means to effect, by cauſing that miniſter to be ſtrangled and thrown into the Loire. However, he found means after his late defeat to get together the ſcattered remains of his army, which he led into Anjou, and made himſelf maſter of la Flêche and Galerande belonging to the Engliſh.

All this while the regent duke was acting the part of a great and wiſe prince in England, by endeavouring at a reconciliation of all parties. With this view, having effected an apparent reconciliation between his brother and uncle, he next procured Richard Plantagenet, ſon of the late earl of Cambridge, to be reſtored to the honours and eſtates of the late duke of York, his deceaſed uncle, and to the honours and eſtates of the earldoms of Ulſter, Marche, and Rutland, belonging to the Mortimer family: at the ſame time this young lord, with twenty-one other noblemen, together with young king Henry himſelf, received the honour of knighthood from the hands of the protector.

The earl of Warwick ſeeing that the conſtable's defeat before Beauvron, the deſertion of his troops, and the broils in Charles's council had diſabled the French from appearing with any numbers in the field, formed a deſign of making himſelf maſter of Montargis, the poſſeſſion of which place would greatly facilitate the regent's intentions of carrying the war on the other ſide of the Loire: the earl accordingly ſat down before it with a ſmall but well-provided army, and was aſſiſted in his operations by the earl of Suffolk and his brother, John de la Pole, both experienced officers; and they had taken their meaſures ſo well, that the place was reduced to the laſt extremity, when the baſtard of Orleans, afterwards the famous count de Dunois, reſolved to march to its relief. This officer was not then above three-and-twenty years of age, but had ſerved with vaſt reputation in eight campaigns. He was natural ſon of that duke of Orleans who was aſſaſſinated by the duke of Burgundy, and had been bred to the church; but the good genius of France had ſo ordained it, that he had changed an eccleſiaſtic for a military habit. With a body of no more than ſixteen hundred men, this gallant young leader ventured to approach the Engliſh camp, and, with his handful of troops, made ſo furious an attack upon the enemy, who knew nothing of his approach, that he not only forced his way into the place, but even gave ſuch a ſevere blow to the Engliſh, as obliged the earl of Warwick to abandon the ſiege. This was the firſt action which diſcovered the great military genius of Dunois, and laid the foundation of that high character which he afterwards attained. However, the earl of Warwick loſt neither credit nor power by this misfortune; for we find that about this time he was nominated to ſucceed the duke of Exeter, deceaſed this year, as governor to the king; but he reſided long after this in France.

But the regent Bedford, who returned to France in the beginning of the following year, 1427, ſoon after his arrival, reſtored the honour of the Engliſh arms by an important enterprize, which he accompliſhed with a ſucceſs equal to the wiſdom with which he had planned it.

Having privately aſſembled a numerous army on the frontiers of Brittany, he fell ſo unexpectedly into that province, that the duke, unable to ſtop his progreſs, and the duke of Burgundy ſtill refuſing to declare himſelf againſt the Engliſh, the former was glad to comply with all the terms which the enemy thought proper to preſcribe; and, after having

* Du Tillet, p. 309, 363. P. Daniel, tome vi. p. 29.

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ſeen his territories waſted with fire and ſword during the whole ſummer, he at length conſented to an interview with the regent duke, and, on the eighth of September, a treaty was ſigned between them, by which the duke of Brittany not only returned to his old engagements with the Engliſh, but alſo ſigned the treaty of Troye, acknowleged the duke of Bedford for regent of France, and engaged to pay homage to the king of England for his duchy of Brittany, in the ſame manner as his predeceſſors and he himſelf had uſed to pay it to the kings of France †.

The regent duke juſtly looked upon this treaty as a great acquiſition; he now ſaw himſelf delivered from a troubleſome enemy, who lay behind him; he next reſolved to make himſelf maſter of Pont Orſon, the only place which now ſtood in the way of his carrying the war beyond the Loire; beſides, being in the hands of the French (for the reader may remember, that this place had ſome time before been taken by the conſtable de Richemont), it gave them an inlet into the dominions of the duke of Brittany, whom he now conſidered as his ally. Accordingly he ſat down before it, but met with a very vigorous reſiſtance, till at length the earl of Warwick coming to his aſſiſtance with ſeven thouſand men, he obliged the place to capitulate, and made the lords Rois and Talbot governors of the ſame, the latter of whom had lately diſtinguiſhed himſelf in recovering the town of Mons, which had been taken by treachery by the count de Foix, who was very near making the earl of Suffolk, who commanded therein, priſoner, had he not retired in time to the citadel; but Talbot arriving with a reinforcement, the French were driven out of the place with great loſs.

The regent duke, encouraged by his ſucceſſes, determined to attempt an undertaking, which, if crowned with like ſucceſs, would give a fatal blow to the affairs of Charles, and pave the way for the final reduction of France. With this view, after committing the care of the army to the earl of Warwick, he ſet out for Paris, there to concert the operations of the great expedition he meditated.

The biſhop of Wincheſter had by this time got himſelf dignified with the title of cardinal, which put him under the court of Rome's particular protection, and the pope having alſo inveſted him with a legatine power, his credit was ſo increaſed, that he had greater ſway in parliament than ever. The duke of Gloceſter, notwithſtanding the late ſeeming reconciliation, could not without jealouſy behold ſo much weight given to the cardinal; and ſome reflections which the latter threw out againſt his authority, as if he was no more than a ſubſtitute to the duke of Bedford, nettled Gloceſter ſo much that he made an attempt, in a parliament which was held this year, to increaſe his authority, either by change of his title into that of regent, agreeable to the declaration of the late king on his death-bed, or by getting ſome new powers annexed to his office of protector, but without ſucceſs; for, after deliberating upon the requeſt of the duke, the lords declared and ſigned the following reſolution, which was delivered to him in form:

"That he ought not to have been protector; notwithſtanding, to ſatisfy his deſire, it was granted that he ſhould be protector, and have farther power, as in anno 1 Hen. VI. The which name of protector, or defender, importeth only a perſonal duty of attendance to the actual defence of the realm againſt foreign enemies and inward rebels; and not any ſpecial government, as properly belongeth to tutors, lieutenants, governors, or regents; for if they had otherwiſe meant, they then would have expreſſed more whereby (i. e. by the office of protector) in council, as privy-counſellor, he had preeminence; but in parliament he had no other place than as duke of Gloceſter; ſo as they wiſhed him to ſupply his place in parliament, and to be content with the power aforeſaid, for the other they would not grant *."

We find little elſe remarkable in this parliament, which was held at Weſtminſter the thirteenth day of October, except an act which paſſed, that knights of the ſhire, who, in caſe of an undue election, were, by 11 Hen. IV. to loſe their wages, and ſheriffs who, making a falſe return, were, by the ſame ſtatute, to pay an hundred pounds, ſhould be permitted to have their anſwer and traverſe to offices before any juſtices of aſſize ‡.

It was towards the cloſe of this year that the affair of Jaquelina and Hainault was terminated by that lady's giving herſelf and dominions up to the duke of Burgundy, in the manner we have already related. The duke of Bedford had all along formed the deſign of attacking Charles in the provinces beyond the Loire, which had as yet felt nothing of the ravages of the war; but the quarrel between the dukes of Burgundy and Gloceſter had forced him to ſuſpend its execution: that diſpute being now determined, and the war of Hainault at an end, he knew that all the ſtrength of England might be united for the conqueſt of France, which ſeemed the more eaſy as Charles had not one body of troops in the field, and had lately given himſelf up to the pleaſures of indolence in the arms of a beautiful miſtreſs, named Agnes Sorel, as if he had laid aſide all thoughts of oppoſing the progreſs of the enemy.

The duke of Bedford therefore aſſembled the ſtates at Paris early in the year 1428, and propoſed to them the laying ſiege to Orleans, the taking of which would cover all the places on this ſide the Loire, whilſt thoſe beyond that river would be open to the ravages of the Engliſh. This enterprize was unanimouſly appproved, and it was reſolved to carry it into execution as ſoon as the earl of Saliſbury ſhould arrive with the ſupplies which were daily expected from England ‖. It was near Midſummer, however, before that nobleman came over with thoſe troops, which amounted to eight thouſand, and, with the forces already in France, were thought ſufficient to effect the conqueſt they meditated. Upon the arrival of the earl of Saliſbury, the earl of Warwick departed for England, to take upon him the education of the king.

† Act. Pub. vol. x. p. 378, 385. Du Tillet. p. 363.
* Cotton's Abridgment.
‡ Rot. Parl. 6 Hen. VI. n. 24.
‖ This nobleman's reputation as a general, was ſo high that he contracted to raiſe ſix hundred men at arms, ſix knights bannerets, thirty-four knights bachelors, and ſeventeen hundred archers, all well armed and provided; and for their pay he was to have himſelf ſix pence three farthings ſterling per day, for each knight banneret four pence ſterling, for each knight bachelor two pence; for every man at arms twelve pence per day; and each archer ſix pence: he likewiſe had an allowance for his artillery. Rymer, vol. x. p. 392.

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The arrival of the earl of Saliſbury gave prodigious ſpirits to the Engliſh party in France, and the regent duke immediately committed the management of the enterprize againſt Orleans to his care, who began his march from Paris with a body of ſixteen thouſand men, about the latter end of July, attended by the earl of Suffolk, the lord Talbot, ſir John Faſtolf, with other excellent officers. He immediately advanced through the county of Beauſſe, and made himſelf maſter of all the towns which lay in his way to Orleans ‡, and ſat down before that place on the twelfth of October, upon the ſide of Sologne, having paſſed the Loire at Beaugenci.

The French eaſily perceived, by all the Engliſh general's motions, that he meditated the ſiege of Orleans; accordingly, whilſt he was employed in reducing the places he found in his route, they exerted their utmoſt endeavours to provide for the ſafety of this important city; and, above all, the count de Gaucourt, an officer of great courage and conſummate experience, inviolably attached to the Orleans family, was appointed to defend it. Many other officers of diſtinction threw themſelves into the place; the troops which they brought with them, were accuſtomed to war, and familiar with dangers, and even the citizens had acquired that military turn which was ſo much the mode of the age, and were thereby extremely well qualified to aſſiſt the regular forces in the defence of the place: add to this, that they burnt with reſentment againſt the Engliſh, for making their maſter, the duke of Orleans, ſuffer ſo ſtrict, ſo long, and ſo rigorous a captivity. Many new fortifications were raiſed, and the old ones put in repair; and we are told by Monſtrelet, that they pulled down all the moſt conſiderable buildings in the ſuburbs, and among the reſt twelve churches and ſeveral monaſteries, that the Engliſh might not make uſe of them in carrying on the ſiege. The eyes of all Europe were fixed upon this important object, as it was commonly imagined that the French would exert their utmoſt efforts in ſupporting the rights of their king and the independency of their kingdom.

The firſt operation of the Engliſh † was againſt a bulwark, which the beſieged had raiſed in order to cover the little caſtle of Tourelles, which defended the head of their bridge over the Loire. This bulwark was attempted by mine; but the Engliſh perceiving they were countermined, their general, the earl of Saliſbury, deſiſted from that way of proceeding, and prepared to attach the bulwark with his cannon: theſe ſoon ruined all the parapets, and a breach being made ſufficiently large, the Engliſh prepared to ſtorm it: the French, on the other hand, ſenſible of the importance of the place, defended it with ſurprizing courage, and the earl of Saliſbury ordered a retreat to be ſounded, leaving two hundred and fifty of his beſt troops dead before the breach. This repulſe, however, ſerved only to increaſe the vigour of the beſiegers; they continued their batteries with ſuch inceſſant fury, that, on the twenty-third of October, the place, being no longer tenable, was abandoned by the French, and the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of it the next day. The beſieged, apprehenſive of this event, had erected a new fort between the Tourelles and the town, and had demoliſhed ſome arches of the bridge between them, leaving only ſome beams of timber to ſerve for a communication.

The Engliſh having made themſelves maſters of the Tourelles, erected four great towers, two above the bridge and two below, upon the banks of the Loire, from whence they battered the city itſelf. But all this time the place was inveſted only upon the ſide of Sologne, and all acceſs to it on the ſide of Beauſſe was ſtill open; by this ſide, two days after the taking of the Tourelles, the baſtard of Orleans found means to throw himſelf into the city with a reinforcement of eight hundred men, accompanied by la Hire and ſeveral other gallant adventurers; and the Engliſh not being numerous enough to encompaſs the city, it was continually receiving reinforcements, inſomuch that the garriſon, which originally conſiſted of twelve hundred men, was, by the latter end of December, augmented to three thouſand. In order to deprive the town of all poſſibility of receiving future ſuccours in this manner, the earl of Saliſbury ordered ſixty ſmall forts or redoubts to be built around it; but whilſt he was taking a view of the ſeveral ſpots moſt proper to erect them on, a ſtone diſcharged from a cannon of the city took away half his face with the right eye. He was immediately carried to Melun, and died there on the third of November, univerſally regretted by the army, who thought themſelves invincible while under his command. After his death numbers deſerted, and returned to England. Thus fell the gallant Thomas Montacute, earl of Saliſbury: he was the lineal deſcendant of Montacute, the favourite general of Edward III. and died without male iſſue, leaving only one daughter, married to Richard Neville, third ſon of the earl of Weſtmoreland, afterwards created earl of Saliſbury in right of his wife*.

The death of this nobleman was a great loſs to the Engliſh; for though they were in no want of able generals, they had few ſo well experienced in the art of attacking and defending places. However, the ſiege continued to be carried on with great vigour under the direction of the earl of Suffolk, who now took the command, aſſiſted by the renowned Talbot, one of the greateſt captains which that age produced: but as it would be tedious to relate all the particulars of this ſiege, the attacks, ſallies, and daily ſkirmiſhes, either to introduce or repulſe convoys, I ſhall therefore content myſelf with obſerving in general, that, on the twenty-firſt of December, a freſh reinforcement of Engliſh and Burgundian troops, to the amount of eight thouſand, arrived to inveſt the city on the ſide of Beauſſe, and took poſt in the ſuburbs; nevertheleſs, the army of the beſiegers was not yet numerous enough to encompaſs the whole extent of ſo large a place, and the forts which had been erected in conſequence of the earl of Saliſbury's plan, were at ſuch a diſtance from each other as ſtill allowed the enemy to introduce into the place ſuccours of men with large quantities of ammunition and proviſion, magazines of which had been prepared at Blois, in order to be thrown into the town

‡ Such as Nogent le Roi, Neufchatel on the Loire, Puiſet and Thuri en Beauſſe, Melun upon the Loire, Marignan, Beaujenci, Jargeau, and ſome other places. P. Daniel, tome vi. Monſtrelet.

† Mezerai. P. Daniel. Monſtrel. Hiſt. de Charles VII.

* Dugdale's Baron. vol. i. p. 652. The earl's widow was afterwards married to William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk. His body was brought over to England, and interred at Biſham, in Berkſhire. Ibid. p. 653.

as opportunity might offer; the count de Clermont had alſo taken up his quarters in the laſt-mentioned town *, with a large body of troops, for the greater ſecurity of their own convoys, and for intercepting thoſe of the Engliſh in their way from Paris to ſupply the army with neceſſaries.

Four months had already been ſpent in continual ſallies and engagements, when the regent ordered a convoy to ſet out from Paris, with ſalt-fiſh, herrings, and the like kind of proviſions, for the uſe of the beſiegers in Lent. This convoy was eſcorted by a guard of ſeventeen hundred men, under the command of ſir John Faſtolf, an officer of approved valour and great experience. Charles, who had come to Chinon, a town in Touraine, about twenty leagues diſtant from Orleans, that he might be nearer to this great ſcene of action, receiving intelligence of the day on which ſir John was to begin his march, ordered the count de Clermont to attack him with three thouſand men, on his road to Orleans; and that nobleman, agreeable to his orders, ſet out at the head of his party, and came in ſight of the enemy on the twelfth day of February, 1429, at Rouvrai St. Denis, in Beauſſe. Faſtolf being apprized of his approach, and knowing himſelf too weak to encounter in open field an enemy ſo much ſuperior in numbers, drew up his men behind a barricade of waggons, where they ſuſtained the firſt ſhock of the French, who attacked them with their uſual impetuoſity; but, far from being able to break through this entrenchment, they met with ſuch a warm reception as threw them into confuſion, and the Engliſh commander, ſeeing their diſorder, cauſed openings to be made in his barricado, through which his men charged the enemy before they could rally, and routed them with great carnage.

In this action, called the Battle of the Herrings, one hundred and twenty noblemen and officers of diſtinction loſt their lives, beſides a great number of common ſoldiers. The baſtard of Orleans (whom we ſhall henceforth call the count de Dunois) having received notice from Clermont of his intent to cut off this convoy, had found means to get out of Orleans, and join the count with a body of veteran troops; however, he ſecured his retreat to the town with four hundred men, in good order, accompanied by the count de Clermont.

This defeat, and the untoward face of Charles's affairs in general, had filled that monarch and his whole court with ſo great a deſpondency, that it was abſolutely propoſed in the council to abandon the Orleannois, Touraine, and Berry, and to retreat into Dauphiné: however, willing to try every expedient that was left, and had the air of practicability, he ſent Xaintrailles to the regent at Paris, to propoſe that Orleans might be ſequeſtered into the hands of the duke of Burgundy until the war ſhould be finiſhed. This propoſal being rejected by the duke of Bedford, Charles endeavoured to obtain a farther ſupply of men from Scotland. A treaty of marriage had been ſome time on foot between the eldeſt daughter of James I. of Scotland, and the young dauphin of France, Charles's ſon; and now offers were made to James, to conclude the match on any terms, provided the latter would ſend ſix thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of the loyaliſts in France; but James, who had, ever ſince his reſtoration, been upon good terms with the Engliſh, could not be brought to do any thing till the truce with England was expired. Much about the ſame time Charles's court ſeems to have renewed its negociation with the duke of Burgundy, in hopes of detaching him from the intereſt of England; but that prince was not to be then prevailed on to liſten to their propoſals.

Charles, thus baffled in every attempt to ward off the impending blow which threatened the loſs of his crown and dignity, actually laid aſide all thoughts of farther oppoſition, when his affairs were ſuddenly reſtored by the ſtrangeſt and moſt unlooked-for revolution ever recorded in hiſtory.

In the village of Domremi, or, as Rapin calls it, Dompré, near Vaucoleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, lived a luſty ſtout virago of a girl, about twenty-ſeven years of age, named Joan d'Arc, who was ſervant in a ſmall inn; and, being of a maſculine turn, uſed to take care of the horſes, and ride them to water, and do many other offices of that kind, which are generally performed by the oſtler. It is allowed on all hands, that the girl's character for chaſtity remained wholly unimpeached. She poſſeſſed a genius ſuperior to moſt in her claſs of life. Baudicourt, governor of Vaucoleurs, having ſeen and converſed with this girl, probably thought her properly qualified for acting the part of a divine miſſionary, and raiſe the drooping ſpirits of the French, naturally of a ſuperſtitious diſpoſition, and, in their preſent ſituation, eager to catch at any thing that promiſed ſafety, and to embrace even the moſt diſtant proſpect of aſſiſtance and relief from the ſucceſsful arms of the Engliſh. This girl having been a proper time in training, and Charles and his court having been apprized of the part ſhe was to play, Baudicourt ſent her to that prince, who was then at Chinon. Care was taken, however, to prepare the way for her reception among the people, by ſpreading the moſt amazing ſtories of he ſupernatural knowledge, intrepidity, virtue, and other qualifications never yet found in a mortal, eſpecially one of her ſex. Charles, on his ſide, being informed that Joan was upon the road, declared that Mary of Avignon, a nun and reputed ſaint, had formerly told him, that Heaven would deliver France from its enemies by the arm of one of her ſex; adding, that, perhaps, this girl was the perſon deſigned by Heaven. The opinion of a king is generally that of his courtiers, at leaſt outwardly ſo; the complaiſant infection catches, and each ſubordinate claſs thinks, or appears to think, like its ſuperiors; ſo that every one of the loyal party ſeemed to be ſatisfied before-hand, that Joan of Arc had a miraculous call in their behalf. This will clearly account for the moſt ſurprizing parts of the following relation.

When ſhe arrived at Chinon, which was about the latter end of March, 1429, ſhe appeared at court in a man's dreſs, and was received there in the manner moſt proper to favour the deceit. Being required to give an account of herſelf, and upon what foundation ſhe built her belief of being divinely commiſſioned, ſhe made no other reply than by immediately diſcovering to the king a ſecret known only to himſelf and his favourite miſtreſs, Agnes Sorel. The whole court appeared ſtruck

* Of Blois, which is about ten leagues, or thirty miles, to the ſouthward of Orleans. Buſching.

with amazement; and this circumſtance, ſo well calculated to ſtrike the minds of the vulgar with admiration, was carefully circulated. However Charles, willing to keep an appearance of impartiality, declared himſelf not thoroughly ſatisfied, and that he was reſolved to have her examined. The divines who had the interrogating her, declared (upon what grounds I leave the intelligent reader to judge) that her miſſion was of Heaven. After this ſhe was ſent to the parliament of Poictiers, who were of the ſame opinion. Laſtly, to put the matter beyond doubt, the king declared that ſhe had demanded of him, as the inſtrument of her future victories, a particular ſword which lay in the church of St. Catherine de Fierbois, and which, though ſhe had never ſeen it, ſhe deſcribed with ſuch a number of circumſtances as plainly proved her ſupernatural knowlege: in a word, the affair was ſo well managed, that the French common ſoldiers, heretofore trembling at the name of the Engliſh, by whom they had been ſo often beaten, now felt themſelves revigorated; and believing that Joan of Arc, to whom they gave the name of la Pucelle, or the Maid, was ſent from God to ſave France, they gave credit to all her predictions, and were ready to ruſh into the moſt daring actions, from an aſſurance of victory; while the wench, on her ſide, kept her imagination warm by inceſſantly declaring that ſhe had been told by a celeſtial viſitor, that ſhe ſhould reliever Orleans, conduct Charles VII. to be crowned at Rheims, and deliver France from its enemies, the Engliſh*.

Thus far, as Mr. Rapin very judiciouſly obſerves, here is nothing that appears very ſtrange: it is eaſy to conceive that the whole might be a contrivance to revive the courage of the French, and perhaps of the king himſelf, diſmayed at ſo many loſſes, and beholding the kingdom ready to fall under the dominion of foreigners. But that this contrivance ſhould ſucceed according to the deſign of the authors, is what may, indeed, be juſt cauſe of admiration, and afford ample matter for moral and political reflections. But to return.

This extraordinary engine being thus prepared, it was reſolved to try its force upon the enemy. The ſword of St. Catherine was ſent for, and preſented to Joan; ſhe was armed cap à pié, mounted on a fine ſteed, and in that military garb ſuffered to harangue the troops every day. At length ſhe had the command given her of a large convoy of proviſions, for the beſieged in Orleans. A body of twelve thouſand choſen men were prepared to eſcort it; and, to manage as much as poſſible the honour of the new female military ſaint and propheteſs in the firſt enterprize, the lords of Gaucourt, Ray, and St. Severe, the admiral de Crevant, and other excellent officers were ordered to aſſiſt her; and Florentine d'Illiers, governor of Chateaudun was ſent the day before, with a party of four hundred men at arms, who got into Orleans, and gave the garriſon intelligence of the deſign. A great number of boats were prepared to waft the convoy over the Loire; and when the eſcorte drew near the town, on the ſide of Sologne, on the twenty-ninth of April, the count de Dunois made a vigorous ſally upon the Engliſh on the ſide of Beauſſe, to keep them from ſending ſuccours on the other ſide of the river, whilſt the boats were taking in the proviſions deſtined for the town. The Engliſh on that ſide were too weak to encounter ſo ſtrong a force as eſcorted the convoy, and their inaction being interpreted by the French as a terror imprinted on their minds by Heaven, to facilitate the enterprize of the Pucelle, they fell upon the Engliſh with enthuſiaſtic fury, who, after a long reſiſtance, were defeated, and obliged to ſuffer the convoy to paſs in. A natural event ſerved not a little to heighten the ſuperſtition of the French: during the whole time of the action there was a moſt violent ſtorm of thunder, lightning, and hail: it may eaſily be ſuppoſed this was taken for the voice of Heaven declaring in their favour. However, Joan made her entry into Orleans amidſt the generals, and with the repeated acclamations of the people, who aſcribed to her preſence the ſucceſs of that day.

The Maiden was now looked upon with adoration, and the French troops glowed with impatience to retrieve their honour under the auſpices of the female champion. She herſelf appears to have worked her mind into a ſtate of enthuſiaſm, and to have miſtaken the warmth of her own paſſion to render herſelf remarkable, for the impulſes of heavenly inſpiration; for, while ſhe was at Blois in her way to Orleans, ſhe ſent the following letter to the regent and the Engliſh generals, to be by them communicated to their king.

" King of England,

" Give an account to the King of Heaven for his royal blood; ſurrender up to the Virgin the keys of all the good towns which you have taken by force; ſhe is come from Heaven to vindicate the royal blood of France, and is very ready to make peace, if thou wilt ſubmit to reaſonable terms; and, as equity and juſtice require, reſtore what thou haſt taken from him. King of England, if thou wilt not do this, I am the captain of the wars; and in whatſoever part of France, I ſhall find any of the Engliſh nation, I will drive them out, whether they will or no; but if they will ſubmit, I will take them to mercy: I am come from the King of Heaven to expel you out of France; and if you will not obey, I will make ſuch a ſlaughter and ſtir among you, as hath not been theſe thouſand years in France. Believe me, the King of Heaven will give me and my forces ſuch irreſiſtible courage and ſtrength, as you ſhall not be able to oppoſe: go, in God's name, into your own country, and be not obſtinate to your own opinions, for you ſhall not hold France of the King of Heaven, the ſon of the Virgin Mary; but Charles the true heir of it, ſhall again poſſeſs it, and be king of it; for God hath given it him, and he ſhall enter Paris with a goodly train. You, William Pawlet, earl of Suffolk †; John, lord Talbot; Thomas, lord Scales, lieutenants of the duke of Bedford; and you, duke of Bedford, who calleſt thyſelf regent of the kingdom of France, be ſparing of innocent blood, and give Orleans its liberty: if you will not do juſtice to thoſe whom you have wronged, the French will do the nobleſt exploit that ever was done in Chriſtendom. Mind this wholeſome advice given you by God and his Virgin."

* Hiſtoire de Charles VII. Paſquier Recherches, liv. vi. chap. v.

† An egregious blunder in this pretended propheteſs; the earl of Suffolk's name being de la Pole.

And

And when about to begin her march for Orleans, ſhe commanded the ſoldiers to make confeſſion; and ordered a ſtandard to be made, which ſhe carried in her hand at the head of the troops, in which God the Father was repreſented graſping the globe of the earth, encompaſſed by fleurs de lis: and ſhe inſiſted, by virtue of her prophetic ſpirit, that the convoy ſhould enter Orleans on the ſide of Beauſſe; but the count of Dunois, who thought it more prudent to adhere to the rules of military art than to her inſpirations, ordered it to approach by the other ſide of the ririver, where he knew the weakeſt part of the Engliſh army was poſted. This alone is ſufficient to ſhew what the real opinion of men of rank and underſtanding in France was of Joan's divine miſſion.

However, not to let the ſpirit of the ſoldiery cool after the late event, Joan was ſent, on the fourth day of May, to attack the fort of St. Loup, which was one of thoſe the Engliſh had raiſed for the blockade of the place, and after a furious diſpute of four hours, carried it ſword in hand, againſt a garriſon of twelve hundred men, four hundred of whom were killed in the aſſault, and, amongſt the reſt, William Gladdiſdale, captain of the fort, and the lords Molings and Poynings. Two days after this action, our heroine proceeded againſt the fort of St. John, where ſhe met with very little reſiſtance from the Engliſh, who had well nigh abandoned it before her arrival. Having ſecured this conqueſt, ſhe attacked the fort of London, as it was called, which was the moſt conſiderable of all, and took it by ſtorm, after a very obſtinate engagement. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the troops were led, without giving them the leaſt reſpite, againſt the fort of Tourelles, but, for want of day-light, were obliged to poſtpone the attack till next morning, when the French, with Joan ſtill marching with her ſtandard in the van, began the aſſault, which laſted fourteen hours without intermiſſion: the French were repulſed four ſeveral times, and as often returned to the charge, this extraordinary female always appearing in the foremoſt ranks. Under her eye the French thought themſelves invincible; they performed prodigies of valour, and at length made themſelves maſters of the fort, when ſix hundred of the garriſon were put to the ſword. During the action, Joan was wounded in the neck by an arrow; but inſtead of diſcovering the leaſt diſmay thereat, ſhe ſtepped aſide, pulled it forth, and returned to the fight as if no ſuch accident had befallen her. But we cannot paſs by unnoticed the words of Monſtrelet, a French author, who lived in the time of theſe events, who, in ſpeaking of the Pucelle, thus expreſſes himſelf; "Notwithſtanding that in theſe three aſſaults [of the forts], Joan is reported by common fame to have had the chief command, and the glory of them; yet they were chiefly performed by thoſe noble knights and captains, who had ſo bravely defended Orleans." And in another place he ſays, ſpeaking of the march of the French army, after the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans, "Joan was ever in the front before her ſtandard; and in all the marches her fame was cried up as if there had been no other general but herſelf."

In theſe attacks the Engliſh loſt near eight thouſand men, and the French not above one hundred. Such a ſeries of misfortunes filled the former with terror and conſternation: treating the divinity of her miſſion with contempt, they conceived a notion rather more abſurd, and ſuppoſed ſhe acted by compact with the devil*. The common ſoldiers were ſtruck with an unaccountable panic, and trembled with the very apprehenſion of being led againſt this terrible inchantreſs. The earl of Suffolk, with the lords Talbot and Scales, beheld theſe attacks, and the loſs of the forts, without being able to ſuccour their party, having ſcarce men enough to defend the forts on the ſide of the Beauſſe. There was now in Orleans an army full as ſtrong as that of the beſiegers, and a free communication was now opened with Berry, by taking the forts on the other ſide of the river, ſo that the Engliſh general, finding it impoſſible to reduce the place whilſt it could receive ſuccours every day on the ſide of Sologne, raiſed the ſiege on the twelfth of May, and abandoned the enterprize, after having lain before the place full ſeven months. Such was the iſſue of the ſiege of Orleans, on which the fall of France had, in a great meaſure depended, and the miſcarriage whereof gave a fatal blow to the Engliſh affairs in that kingdom.

Charles, to improve his ſucceſs while his troops were in heart, and terror poſſeſſed the Engliſh, ſummoned the nobleſſe from all the provinces which acknowleged his authority; and they attending him in great numbers, with a body of ten thouſand men, he put them under the command of the duke of Alençon, who had lately recovered his liberty upon the payment of his ranſom. The conſtable de Richemont joined him at the ſame time with a corps of twelve hundred Bretons; and theſe forces being daily ſtrengthened by the arrival of freſh ſupplies, reſolved to take the field in purſuit of thoſe from whom they had ſo long fled.

The Engliſh, by an inconceivable miſtake, after retiring from before Orleans, inſtead of keeping their forces in a body, had diſtributed great part of them into places near the Loire, which they had ſubdued before they laid ſiege to Orleans. The enemy thus divided, the French found little reſiſtance in the places they attempted. Joan ſtill kept along with their troops: the troops, with her at their head, looked upon themſelves as invincible. Gargeau, a ſmall fortreſs, into which the earl of Suffolk had been ſo imprudent to throw himſelf with four hundred men only (probably ſeized with the general panic), was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and the earl was taken priſoner. Melun had the ſame fate, with many other towns and caſtles that the Engliſh had garriſoned: Beaugenci only held out, and this place it was neceſſary to take before the entrance into Beauſſe

* Even the regent duke himſelf appears to have had the ſame belief, for in a letter addreſſed to king Henry he expreſſes himſelf thus:

"And alle thing there proſpered for you, till the tyme of the ſiege of Orleans taken in hand, God knoweth by what advis. At the whiche tyme, after the adventure fallen to the perſone of my couſin of Salyſbury, whom God aſſoile, there falle, by the hand of God as it ſeemeth, a great ſtrook upon your peuple that was aſſembled there in grete nombre, cauſed in grete partie, as y trowe, of lakke of fadde beleve, and of unlevefulle doubte, that thei hadde of a diſciple and lyme of the feende, called the Pucelle, that uſed fals enchauntments and ſorcerie. The whiche ſtrooke and diſcomfiture nought oonly leſſed in grete partie the nombre of youre peuple there, but as well withdrowe the courage of the remenant in merveillous wyſe, and couraiged your adverſe partie and ennemys to aſſemble hem forthwith in grete nombre," &c. Rymer, vol. x. p. 408.

could

could be ſecured: accordingly Alençon formed the ſiege of it, and in a few days, compelled it to open its gates to him.

Of the two-and twenty thouſand Engliſh lately before Orleans, there were left but ſix thouſand, under the lord Talbot, who had taken the command of the army after Suffolk was made priſoner. As ſoon as the French were maſters of Beaujenci, they marched after this little army (themſelves near twelve thouſand ſtrong), and overtook it, on the eighteenth of June, near Patay. The Engliſh general would willingly have declined a battle till his men were recovered of the general conſternation into which the pretended miſſion, and almoſt miraculous ſucceſſes of the Pucelle, had thrown them; but there was no remedy, and the event proved ſuch as might naturally be expected, when a handful of men, and theſe under the power of ſuperſtitious prepoſſeſſion and panic fear, are attacked by numbers greatly ſuperior to themſelves, and encouraged by a ſeries of ſucceſs. The Engliſh were totally defeated; two thouſand of them lay breathleſs on the field; and upwards of two hundred were taken priſoners, among whom whom were the lords Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford, ſir Thomas Rempſton, and ſeveral other officers of note. Monſtrelet tells us, that the Engliſh troops were in ſuch aſtoniſhment at beholding the banner of the Pucelle diſplayed in the front of the French line, and advancing towards them, that they forgot to fix the ſtakes, with which they were provided, to keep off the enemy's horſe, and ran away ſhamefully at the firſt onſet. In conſequence of this day's action, Jonville, a ſtrong place near Patay, though provided with a good garriſon, ſubmitted to the victors without any reſiſtance; and all the caſtles which held for the Engliſh about Orleans, were abandoned immediately, the garriſons retiring to Paris: in a word, both valour and victory ſeemed now to have changed ſides, and the once all-conquering Engliſh now fled like a herd of timorous deer before the enſigns of a female plebeian.

Charles VII. had never yet appeared at the head of his troops; but encouraged by this victory, declared he would take the field in perſon. This reſolution was worth an army to him: the French nobility, ever accuſtomed, on ſuch occaſions, to attend their ſovereign, even at their own expence, flocked from all quarters with their followers, to range themſelves under their famous oriflame *. Lewis III. duke of Anjou, and king of Sicily, Charles's brother-in-law, brought, immediately after the battle of Potoy, a ſupply of ſeveral brave officers, who had attended him into Italy ſome time before, and were come back with him into France: in a word, Charles ſoon found himſelf at the head of a conſiderable force, and his adherents daily increaſing; while the duke of Bedford was obliged to confine himſelf within the walls of Paris: ſo greatly had the late ſucceſs on the part of the French, and misfortunes on the part of the Engliſh, altered the ſtate of affairs.

Charles now made a general review and muſter of his troops at Gieau, and found that they amounted to fifteen thouſand fighting men; five of which he ſent off in two detachments, one under the command of the conſtable de Richemont, to make a diverſion in Normandy; and the other to carry the war into the heart of Guienne, under the conduct of the count de Pondriac. The king himſelf, at the head of the remaining ten thouſand, began his march for Rheims, at the preſſing inſtances of the Pucelle, who promiſed him that he ſhould be crowned in that city without oppoſition. The event anſwered the prediction; and, indeed, from the then ſituation of affairs, it required no ſupernatural gift to divine it would. Charles, in his route, received the ſubmiſſion of Troye and Chalons, while the inhabitants of Auxerre followed the example. The citizens of Rheims were no ſooner apprized of the king's approach, than they drove out the Engliſh garriſon, and ſent deputies with their keys to Charles, who entered the place in triumph; and in a few days after, viz. Sunday, July 17, was crowned there with great ſolemnity. As ſoon as this ceremony was at an end, the Maid of Orleans (for by this name Joan was called, ever after the raiſing of that ſiege), very prudently deſired leave to retire, affirming that ſhe had now accompliſhed the deſign of her miſſion; but the king was, or ſeemed to be, unwilling to part with his benefactreſs, and ſhe was at length perſuaded to continue at court, where it was more than probable her preſence might be ſtill thought neceſſary.

During this ſurprizing revolution in the affairs of Charles, the court of Henry in England was again embroiled by the revival of the quarrel between the duke of Gloceſter and the biſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe new dignity of cardinal, while it added both to his power and riches, had rendered him ſo inſolent and overbearing that the duke of Gloceſter reſolved to check him in his career; and, in order to humble his pride, he made a motion in the council, that he might not be permitted to keep the biſhopric of Wincheſter at the ſame time with the dignity of cardinal. After a very ſerious debate on this important point, the aſſembly, which conſiſted of moſt of the peers, ſpiritual and temporal, decreed, "that, becauſe it was an unknown thing to hold a cardinalſhip and the biſhopric of Wincheſter in England, they neither durſt nor would prejudice the king during his nonage, nor was it their intention to prejudge either him or the church; therefore they requeſt that the cardinal ſhould not appear as biſhop of Wincheſter next St. George's day, at Windſor †." This was a ſevere ſtroke to the cardinal's pride; nevertheleſs, he ſtill retained his temporalities and powers, and he now affected to decline the title of cardinal of Euſebius, under which he firſt received his hat, and to aſſume one leſs foreign in its room, namely that of cardinal of England; and, to conſole him for his late diſgrace, his good friend the pope appointed him his legate in Germany, and general of a cruſade againſt the Bohemian heretics, who were known by the name of Huſſites, and of whom we ſhall have occaſion to give a full account in our review of the State of the Church, at the end of the reign of Henry VII.

The cardinal was no ſooner inveſted with this commiſſion, than he applied to the council for leave to raiſe five hundred lances, and as many thouſand

* The royal ſtandard of the ancient kings of France.

† Though prelate of the order of the Garter, of which that ſaint is patron. The above are the expreſs words of the record, which ſee in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. x. p. 414.

archers,

archers, for that expedition; and his demand being granted, under certain reſtrictions and limitations ‡, he began his levies with great diligence, and they went on with equal ſucceſs. I cannot help obſerving here, that it is amazing, at a time when the Engliſh were ſo much diſtreſſed in their own intereſts, they ſhould conſent to ſupport ſo romantic, ſo ridiculous an enterprize: in the end, however, this ſtep of the council happened to turn to the advantage of the nation.

For when the levies were completed, news came of the loſs of the battle of Patay by the Engliſh, and the imminent danger in which the duke of Bedford and Henry's affairs were in France. Upon this a council was held, on the firſt day of July, at Rocheſter, in which it was propoſed to employ the troops, deſigned for the cruſade, in the French war, and they entered into an agreement with the cardinal, who engaged to ſerve in France, under the duke of Bedford, till the end of December, with the troops of the cruſade, provided they were not employed in any ſiege *. In a few days after this agreement the council received letters from the Engliſh regent and council in France, ſetting forth the ſucceſſes of king Charles, whom they ſtyle the dauphin, deſiring a reinforcement might be ſent over with all expedition, and in particular earneſtly requeſting that the young king ſhould, with all convenient ſpeed, be ſent over to be crowned in Paris, which, if complied with, might, they thought, remove a great number of inconveniencies they then laboured under †.

But before this laſt requeſt could be complied with, it was thought proper that Henry ſhould be ſolemnly crowned in England, which was performed upon the ſixth of November, at Weſtminſter, Henry being then in the eighth year of his age: the duke of Gloceſter acting as lord high-ſteward in his own perſon, and as lord high-chamberlain by his deputy.

The parliament, which was convoked on this occaſion, voted that the names of Protector and Defender of the Nation, ought not, from thenceforth to exiſt, as being inconſiſtent with the majeſty of a crowned head §. And a committee of the lords being being ſent to acquaint the duke of Gloceſter with this reſolution, he very readily came into parliament, and expreſſed his acquieſcence in it; but with a ſalvo to all the pretenſions which his brother, the duke of Bedford, might have. The houſe then voted the king a ſubſidy on tonnage and poundage, as formerly, and then broke up. We ſhall now reſume the ſtate of affairs in France.

While the Engliſh government was employed in making preparations for the king's voyage to France, the duke of Bedford repaired to Picardy, where he intended to wait for the ſuccours from England; and Charles in the mean time made himſelf maſter of Soiſſons, Pervins, Chateau Thierry, Creſſi, and ſeveral other towns and caſtles in thoſe parts.

The regent being at length joined by the troops belonging to the cardinal, as alſo by another body ſent from England, under ſir John Radcliffe, he found himſelf enabled, in the beginning of Auguſt, to bring near twelve thouſand men into the field, at the head of whom he advanced as far as Montereau on the Yonne, and from thence ſent a challenge to Charles, who was then at Mont Nangi, offering to give him battle in any indifferent place he ſhould name, to end the war by a general engagement, if it could not be done by a reaſonable treaty; but Charles, grown wiſe by his paſt misfortunes, forbore hazarding his preſent ſucceſſes on ſo precarious an iſſue; and he knew the arms of the Engliſh too well, to think of attacking them in their trenches: thus the two armies continued to face each other for ſome days, without either venturing to attack his opponent. At length the duke of Bedford, deceived in his expectations from the impetuoſity of the French, and ſeeing that Charles had the advantage of him by reaſon of the country being plain and level, which admitted this laſt to make uſe of the ſuperiority of his horſe, the regent returned back to the Iſle of France, in order, by his preſence, to keep the towns from revolting, as thoſe of Champagne had done, as alſo to keep the French nobility in temper, who began to grow tired of a campaign, in which they all ſerved at their own expence.

Charles, on his part, propoſed to paſs the Seine at Brai, and retire into Berry; but this project being fruſtrated by an Engliſh garriſon entering Brai the night before his arrival, Charles croſſed the Marne, at Chateau Thierry, and advanced to Dampmartin, the duke of Bedford following him cloſe; but as both ſides were determined to run no hazard without an apparent advantage, and la Pucelle, who ſtill attended Charles's camp, varying in her opinion, declaring at one time for, and at another againſt an engagement, they parted at laſt without coming to a general action.

Charles returning to Crepi en Valois, made new propoſals for bringing the duke of Burgundy over to his intereſt; but though his ambaſſadors were received with great reſpect, and Charles had many advocates amoug the duke's council, in hopes of preferments and favours, which the ambaſſadors were very liberal in promiſing, the negociation proved unſucceſsful. He received, however, the ſubmiſſion of Compeigne, Creil, Pont St. Maizant, Beauvais, and other places; and had he advanced to St. Quintin, Corbie, Amiens, and Abbeville, theſe towns would likewiſe have received him with open arms: but the inhabitants of Senlis took arms, and expelling the Engliſh garriſon, ſubmitted to Charles ‖.

It may be eaſily ſuppoſed that theſe loſſes muſt have given the duke of Bedford ſenſible uneaſineſs, and the more ſo, as it was partly in his power to have prevented them; but he had now an alarm from another quarter, whence he leaſt expected it. The conſtable de Richemont, who had lately retired from the French court, in ſome diſguſt with the miniſtry, being joined by his friend the count de Marche, who had alſo withdrawn on the ſame occaſion, they both reſolved to ſacrifice private pique and reſentment to the good of their country and the ſervice of their prince; and, uniting their forces, which amounted to about twelve hundred men, over-ran all the country about Evreux, in Normandy, with great ſucceſs; they even took the

‡ Rymer's Fœdera, vol. x. p. 420. * Ibid. p. 422. † Ibid. p. 432. § Ibid. p. 436.
‖ Monſtrelet. Journal de Charles VII.

ſtrong caſtle of Galliard, where they found the brave Barbaſon, the ſame who had defended Melun againſt the late king Henry*, and whom they now ſet at liberty; and this brave officer, ſecond to none in his age, immediately went and joined Charles, and was received by that prince with all the diſtinction due to his merit. The loſs of this place, together with that of Aumale, and ſome others of importance upon the confines of Normandy, alarmed the duke of Bedford ſo much, that, leaving two thouſand men, under Radcliff, in Paris and recommending the government of the city to Lewis Luxemburg, biſhop of Torouanne, Henry's chancellor in France, and Morluer, the provoſt of Paris, he marched with the main body of his troops to Normandy, to ſtop the conſtable's progreſs there.

Charles thought the abſence of the regent a favourable opportunity for making an attempt upon Paris, whither he now marched. Lagni and St. Denis making no reſiſtance, he poſted his troops at Montmartre, Aubervilliers, and the neighbouring villages, in hopes of ſome commotions in the city; but the regent had taken ſuch ſalutary precautions, that not a man ſtirred. Diſappointed in this reſpect, he yielded to the continual inſtances of la Pucelle, who was ſtill in high vogue with the people; and on Monday the twelfth of September, made an aſſault on the ſuburbs of St. Honoré: the event proved rather diſgraceful to the prophetic talents of the Maid, who was herſelf wounded in the attack, and the French were repulſed with great loſs; upon which Charles, ſeeing no likelihood of carrying his point, marched off with his troops, and retired into Berry. His departure was probably haſtened by receiving news that the regent was about to return from Normandy, which he accordingly did, after having drove the conſtable out of that duchy; and, ſoon after his coming back to Paris, recovered, by ſcalade, St. Denis and Lagni, which very much annoyed that city: Chateau Galliard was alſo retaken in the month of December.

Before we cloſe the occurrences of this year, it will not be improper to take a view of the conduct obſerved by the duke of Burgundy, ſince the revolution in the Engliſh affairs. Though this prince had about eight hundred men all this time in the ſervice of England, yet nothing is more certain than that, ever ſince the ſiege of Orleans, he had not acted with the ſame ſpirit and forwardneſs in the common cauſe, as he had ſhewn before that time: and the event pretty clearly ſhewed that he had formed other meaſures. His policy ſuggeſted to him, that by aſſiſting the Engliſh too powerfully, he might procure himſelf troubleſome maſters, as he had already experienced in the affairs of Hainault; and therefore, ſince he was to have a ſovereign, he choſe rather to have a prince of his own blood in poſſeſſion of the throne of France than a foreigner: his own ſubjects were alſo greatly prepoſſeſſed in favour of the houſe of Valois. Nevertheleſs, he carefully concealed his own ſentiments, leſt both parties ſhould take the advantage of them againſt him; and he reſolved to continue to aſſiſt the Engliſh, but at the ſame time to give Charles ſome hopes that his reſentment for the aſſaſſination of his father was not inſurmountable: in a word, his intent appears to have been to have made his own terms at the expence of the Engliſh, though he did not think fit to open himſelf ſo early. The duke of Bedford, on his part omitted no means for fixing this important ally; and a conference having been held between them at Paris, in the month of September, they entered into freſh agreements: but, from the effect of that inſincerity too common among men, and from which princes in particular are not free, notwithſtanding their treaties, they could not truſt one another, but lived in continual fear of being deceived, and that either the one or the other would, without ſcruple, break his engagements upon the proſpect of any conſiderable advantage.

During thoſe buſy ſcenes in France, very little of any importance ſeems to have paſſed in England: in ſhort, the principal thing we find done this year in England, was confirming the truce with Scotland, by a meeting of the commiſſioners from both kingdoms, by which the ſupplies which king James had ſtipulated to ſend to France, were farther delayed†: nor, indeed, did they take place till ſome years afterwards.

The year 1430 was opened by the duke of Bedford by a freſh negociation with the duke of Brittany, to whom he reſigned all the Engliſh pretenſions in Poictou. Having thus fixed this prince and the duke of Burgundy in the intereſt of England, at leaſt for ſome time, the regent next applied to the duke of Savoy, who was, to appearance, a zealous partizan or the houſe of Valois; but as that prince was both needy and ambitious, a little money and large promiſes ſoon gained him from the French intereſt; and, together with the prince of Orange, it was agreed that he ſhould attack Charles's dominions on the ſide of Dauphiné. The prince of Orange was to have Vienne, and all its dependencies, for his ſhare; while the duke was to poſſeſs Grenoble and the reſt of Dauphiné. Gaucourt, who acted for Charles in thoſe parts, ſoon had intelligence of this treaty, and managed matters ſo well, that he ſurprized the prince of Orange, who was to carry on the enterprize, and cut in pieces his troops, while he himſelf narrowly eſcaped being made priſoner; but it was only to ſee his whole principality and city of Orange fall into the French king's hands.

The revolution of affairs in France gave occaſion to great murmurs and complaints in England; and the parliament meeting in the beginning of this year, ſeveral warm debates enſued upon this ſubject. There were not wanting many who accuſed the generals of negligence and remiſſneſs in the execution of their duty; while others aſcribed the bad ſucceſs of the Engliſh to the miſconduct of the king's council, and particularly to the ambition of the duke of Gloceſter, who, by his obſtinate proſecution of the war in Hainault, had occaſioned ſuch a diverſion to the Engliſh arms, as had prevented the entire conqueſt of France, which muſt have

* See p. 24. of this volume. The deliverers of this great man being about to bring him forth in triumph, he abſolutely refuſed to ſtir, having given his word and honour to ſir William Kingſton, the Engliſh governor of that place, not to leave his confinement without his knowlege or conſent: Barbaſon's friends therefore were obliged to apply to Kingſton, who was about to leave the place in virtue of the capitulation, and who readily gave his conſent. Monſtrelet.

† Rymer's Fœdera, vol. x. p. 450.

been

been the certain conſequence of the whole ſtrength of England being united.

But what gave riſe to the warmeſt altercations in this aſſembly, was the opinion of a certain party, who inſiſted that the untoward ſituation of affairs on the continent, had been owing to the imprudence of the council in detaining the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon priſoners in England, at a time when, had they been ſent home, they would probably have renewed their old quarrels and diſſentions with the duke of Burgundy, which had brought ſo much advantage to the Engliſh heretofore; and that prince, having theſe powerful adverſaries to encounter, would have found his intereſt in aſſiſting the Engliſh more heartily than he had done of late: in ſhort, the detaining theſe two princes captive, had procured France a tranquility deſtructive to England. It was farther urged by the abettors of this opinion, that it was not yet too late to releaſe them, and that, in the preſent ſtate of the Engliſh finances, their ranſoms might afford a reaſonable recruit.

This laſt argument had ſuch weight with the parliament, that nothing but the expreſs deſire of the late king could have prevented them from practiſing an expedient which bore ſo plauſible an appearance. At length it was thought that the government might diſpenſe with the royal reſtriction, in favour of the duke of Bourbon, who, by a private contract with the late king, had engaged to ſwear to the peace of Troye, to pay a certain ſum by way of ranſom, and to deliver his two ſons, and two fortreſſes, as hoſtages for the performance of his promiſe; and though Henry V. died before this treaty could be executed, it had been renewed, with ſome alteration, in 1428, and young Henry, as king of France, received the duke's homage: the treaty was ratified, but ſome intervening obſtacles retarded the duke's releaſe, and, after a captivity of eighteen years, he died at laſt a priſoner in England, in the beginning of the year 1434.

The parliament was the more diſpoſed to this accommodation, as it would have afforded a fund to defray the expences of the king's voyage to France; but this reſource failing, they practiſed another ſhift, which anſwered the purpoſe: all perſons poſſeſſed of lands to the value of forty pounds per annum, were ſummoned to receive the honour of knighthood; the jewels of the crown were pawned; and large ſums were borrowed from the towns, corporations, and individuals; and cardinal Beaufort, who accompanied the king, ſupplied him, on this occaſion, with about ten thouſand pounds for his uſe.

Every thing was in readineſs for the king's voyage about the beginning of May this year. The duke of Gloceſter was named keeper of the kingdom during the royal abſence in France, and Henry, with his court, ſet out for Canterbury, on his way thither; but the Engliſh in general were ſo deeply impreſſed with the notion of Joan's magic ſorcery and diabolical power, that many officers and ſoldiers, belonging to the forces who were to accompany the young monarch over, deſerted before their embarkation; and ſeveral of thoſe who had actually croſſed the ſea, terrified with the accounts they heard of the ſurprizing atchievements of la Pucelle, withdrew privately and returned to England.

Henry arrived on the nineteenth of May at Calais. The council of England had conſented to this voyage as a ſtep that was abſolutely neceſſary for retrieving their ſovereign's affairs; but thinking his perſon would be too much expoſed at Paris whilſt the enemy was ſtrong in the neighbourhood, they inſiſted on his reſiding at Rouen, till he might remove to the capital of his French dominions with ſafety†. Accordingly Henry, inſtead of marching directly to Paris, after repoſing ſome time at Calais, went to Rouen, where he continued moſt part of the year.

But this ſtep had almoſt loſt Paris to Henry; for the French intereſt in that capital, perceiving the affections of the duke of Burgundy's party ſenſibly cooled towards the Engliſh, laid a plan for betraying the city to Charles. The vigilant duke of Bedford, however, who was always on the watch againſt deſigns of this nature, having diſcovered the plot by intercepted letters, and by the confeſſion of the bearer, one hundred and fifty of the conſpirators were ſeized, and many of them executed with great ſeverity. This was done by way of example, to ſtrike terror into others; but, at the ſame time, it greatly alienated the affections of the Pariſians from the duke of Bedford, who thus ſecured his maſter's intereſt at the expence of his own popularity.

Whilſt young king Henry was at Rouen, the regent, apprehending that the duke of Burgundy began to lend a favourable ear to the propoſals that were inceſſantly making to him by the emiſſaries of Charles, endeavoured to attach him more firmly to his intereſt by yielding to him all the places that the Engliſh held in Champagne and Brie; but by this ceſſion the regent knew he ſhould be enabled for ſome time to ſtop the progreſs of Charles, who had carried on his conqueſts with wonderful rapidity.

The duke thus influenced, entered France at the head of a powerful army; and, after having reduced Torcy and Soiſſons, he ordered the earls of Suffolk and Arundel to join their troops with his, and to inveſt Compeigne. This place was defended by Flavi, a brave experienced officer, and provided with whatever could ſerve to make a long and vigorous reſiſtance. Upon the firſt news of this enterprize, the Maid of Orleans and Xaintrailles, one of Charles's beſt generals, threw themſelves into the place, which gave new ſpirits to the garriſon.

This happened on the twenty-fifth of May. Next day, which was the laſt of her liberty, Joan put herſelf at the head of five or ſix hundred men, with whom ſhe made ſo furious a ſally upon the quarters of John of Luxemburg, count de Ligny, the Burgundian general, that ſhe drove him from his poſt; but, in making her retreat into the city, ſhe was intercepted by a party of the Engliſh, and, after a moſt heroic defence, and having her horſe killed under her, ſhe was obliged to deliver herſelf priſoner to the baſtard of Vendoſme, who immediately gave her up to the Burgundian general *.

The Engliſh, long unaccuſtomed to deciſive advantages, looked upon the capture of the Maid in that light: Te Deum was publicly ſung at Paris;

† Rymer, vol. x. 449—459.

* P. Daniel. Monſtrelet, p. 58.

the

the duke of Burgundy, and all his chief officers, ſent for her, to ſatiate their curioſity by gazing on the perſon, before whom they had ſo lately trembled. Luxemburg, whoſe priſoner ſhe was adjudged to be, ſent her to be confined in a caſtle on his own eſtate. The garriſon of Compeigne, however, ſtill continued to make a gallant reſiſtance under its brave governor, till the latter end of the year, when it was relieved by the the count de Vendoſme: beſides, the army of the beſiegers was, during the courſe of the ſiege, much weakened by the duke of Burgundy's going off with a large corps, in order to take poſſeſſion of the duchies of Brabant and Limburg, which had fallen to him by the death of his couſin Philip; and by the ſending off another detachment to oppoſe the Liegeois, who had invaded the county of Namur‡.

Nothing could have happened more lucky for Charles than this advantage at that time. It reanimated his party, who thereby ſaw that his fortune was not ſled with the liberty of the gallant Maid. Many places in the neighbourhood of Compeigne ſurrendered to the French, and Xaintrailles defeated Heny, a Burgundian general, at Germini, where ſir Thomas Knyvet, a brave Engliſh officer, who had ſome time before defeated the count de Clermont near Beauvais, was taken priſoner.

The king of England remained all this time at Rouen. The various ſucceſſes of the war had for ſome time ſuſpended all talk of his coronation; but the duke of Bedford, who ſeems to have reſided all this ſummer at Paris, preſſed it ſo warmly, that, about the middle of November, Henry ſet out for that city, to be crowned, accompanied by the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, and a ſplendid train of nobility of both nations. The ceremony of the coronation was performed in the church of Notre Dame, on Sunday the ſeventeenth of December, and was as magnificent as the nature of circumſtances would admit; but the cardinal of England was ſo impolitically ambitious as to place the crown upon his head, to the great diſguſt of the archbiſhop of Paris and the French nation in general.

We ſhall ſpare our readers the dry and unintereſting detail of the numberleſs attempts and ſkirmiſhes between the troops of Charles and Henry, as they contributed but little to the deciſion of the general affair. It will, however, not be improper to recount one inſtance of the deep impreſſion that Joan's pretended inſpiration had made upon the minds of the French: a ſhepherd, in the neighbourhood of Rouen, addreſſing himſelf to the marſhal de Bouſſac, aſſured him that, by virtue of a revelation from Heaven, he could conduct him through a ſecret path into the very heart of Rouen; and the marſhal communicating the propoſal to Xaintrailles, they agreed to embrace the opportunity, which they thought was offered them by Providence. Having, therefore, aſſembled a body of choſen troops, they followed the ſhepherd, who conducted them into an ambuſcade formed by the Engliſh, who deſtroyed the greater part of their forces, and took Xaintrailles priſoner.

With a view to convince their enemies of the mere mortality of this heroine, but more eſpecially to cure their countrymen of the terrors with which the belief of her ſupernatural agency had filled their minds, the Engliſh generals reſolved to leave nothing undone to get her into their power, that, by intereſting religion in the caſe, by proceeding in the forms of the church againſt heretics, and, by getting her condemned as a ſorcereſs and an impoſtor, they might more effectually anſwer the end they aimed at, of erazing from the minds of the people the idea of her virtue and divine commiſſion. Accordingly the duke of Bedford demanded her ſo earneſtly of the count de Ligny, that this general could not refuſe his requeſt: he required, however, a reward ſuitable to the importance of ſuch a priſoner; and Joan, being delivered up to the Engliſh, was brought to Rouen.

As ſhe had been taken in the dioceſe of Beauvais, Peter Cauchon, biſhop of that city, obtained leave of the chapter of Rouen (the ſee being vacant) to exerciſe his juriſdiction there, and proceed againſt the captive Maid. His requeſt was granted; and, in conjunction with a brother-inquiſitor, he began the proceſs, which laſted between four and five months; and being carried on with all the formalities of juſtice, was approved by the faculties of law and divinity, and in the parliament of Paris. Whether the imagination of this Maiden was really ſtruck with the notion of her being deſtined to be the deliverer of France, or ſhe had coined her ſtory in order to make a figure in the world, ſhe appeared before her judges with an air of intrepidity that ſtruck all preſent with awe and admiration: ſhe boldly avowed the deſigns ſhe had formed againſt the Engliſh; ſhe told them, with an air of confidence as from God, that they ſhould ere long be driven out of France.

Being interrogated about her pretended revelations, and whether ſhe would ſubmit to the judgment of the church in that point? ſhe only anſwered, "That ſhe was certain they came from God, to whoſe judgment ſhe would leave the deciſion; determined not to give them up to any other authority, even though the church ſhould declare them to be illuſions." This declining the judgment of the church was made uſe of, by her examiners, as a ſufficient ground to charge her with hereſy. When ſhe found theſe conſequences, ſhe would afterwards have ſubmitted to the pope, on condition ſhe might be ſent to Rome; but it was not the practice to admit ſuch appeals in caſes of hereſy, and the propoſal was conſidered as a mere contrivance to gain time for making her eſcape*: and as ſhe ſtill perſiſted in the ſtory of her heavenly viſitation, ſhe was at length condemned "as a blaſphemer againſt God, and an impious pretender to divine inſpiration, and the knowlege of future events; and as an idolater (on account of her kneeling to the ſaints, angels, or ſpirits which appeared to her as ſhe pretended), a witch, a heretic, a breaker of the decorum and modeſty of her ſex, by going in man's apparel, and leading the life of a ſoldier, and as an impudent impoſtor; and as ſuch condemned to perpetual impriſonment†.

‡ Hall, p. 115.

* As ſhe had before attempted to do, while under the cuſtody of Ligny, by jumping from the top of the tower, where ſhe was confined, down to the ground; but ſhe was ſo bruiſed with the fall as not to be able to walk, and was retaken, and put into irons.

† Monſtrelet, p. 71. Paſquier Recherches.

While

While this ſentence was reading on a ſcaffold, erected for the purpoſe, before the abbey of St. Ouin, in the hearing of a vaſt concourſe of people, Joan interrupted the officer that read it, declaring "That ſhe ſubmitted to the church and her judges; that, ſince they were of opinion ſhe ought not to maintain her revelations, ſhe ſhould not do ſo for the future; and that, as the ſpirit which ſpoke to her had aſſured her ſhe ſhould be delivered, ſhe was fully convinced ſhe had been deceived." After which ſhe made and ſigned a full recantation, in the preſence of all the ſpectators.

She now left off her man's dreſs, which ſhe could never before be perſuaded to lay aſide, though tempted by the promiſe of being admitted to hear maſs and to communicate, from which ſhe was debarred whilſt ſhe wore it: but as ſhe ſtill diſcovered a ſtrong inclination to that garb, thoſe who were bent on her ruin having, to tempt her, left a man's ſuit in the room by her all night, ſhe was found dreſſed in it next morning, pretending that ſhe had a viſion the preceding night, commanding her ſo to do. The fact being proved, the court met again, and declared her a relapſed heretic, and delivered her over to the ſecular arm, to be burnt alive; which ſentence was executed upon her in the Old Market-place of Rouen, on the thirtieth day of May, 1431.

Such was the end of this famous amazon, la Pucelle, or the Maid of Orleans, whoſe reputation in point of chaſtity was never impeached even by her enemies. Her actions were certainly extraordinary, and her courage can never be too much admired, whether it aroſe from her natural conſtitution, or was the effect of enthuſiaſm. The French had ſuch a regard for her memory, that, on a reviſion of her proceſs, in which, not ſo much the form, as the ſubſtance of the affair was examined, ſhe was, on the ſeventh of July, 1456, adjudged innocent. Father Daniel tells us, that there were ſeveral deſcendants from her family living in his time, who took the ſurname of du Lys *.

It cannot be denied that the Engliſh, on this occaſion, appear to have been actuated by a barbarous policy and bigotted ſuperſtition, in thus condemning to death a perſon, whoſe noble atchievements, in defending the liberty and independence of her country, ought to have recommended her to the eſteem of every humane and generous breaſt: beſides, they were guilty of a flagrant act of injuſtice, in puniſhing one who, being a native under another government, and taken in fair war, could neither legally be tried by their courts, nor put to death by their award. But it is now time to ſee what was tranſacting in England, during the courſe of this year.

Soon after Henry's departure for the continent, the duke of Gloceſter, taking advantage of the cardinal's abſence, who had accompanied the king over ſea, declared in the council that Wincheſter intended to quit the king and return to England, to excite freſh troubles in this kingdom, as well as to avail himſelf of the pope's authority for diſſolving his engagement to ſerve againſt the French king. This remonſtrance met with ſuch credit, that the council publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding all the king's ſubjects, of what rank or condition ſoever, on pain of impriſonment, to accompany the cardinal, ſhould he leave the king without the royal permiſſion †.

On the eighteenth of November, a truce for one year was concluded at London with the king of Caſtile, to commence on the firſt of May, 1431 ‡.

About the middle of December the ambaſſadors of England ſigned, at Edinburgh, in Scotland, a five years truce with that nation, to begin the ſame day with that made with Caſtile ‖.

On the twelfth of January, 1431, a parliament was held at Weſtminſter by the duke of Gloceſter, keeper of England, which gave the king one tenth and one fifteenth, and a third of both; a grant of tonnage and poundage for two years, with a ſubſidy of like value on all merchants ſtrangers, over and above the ſaid tonnage and poundage §, with other grants, and ſeveral public acts were alſo made, which will be found in their proper order under the head of Laws.

When the ſinews of war are defective, no great enterprizes can be expected: the moſt conſiderable undertaking on the continent this year, was the raiſing of the ſiege of Vaudemont by the troops of the duke of Burgundy, who ſupported Anthony, count de Vaudemont, in his pretenſions to the duchies of Lorraine and Barr, as heir male of his uncle Charles, the late duke, in oppoſition to René of Anjou, who claimed theſe two duchies as huſband to Iſabella, daughter to the aforeſaid Charles. René and the famous general Barbaſon riſing from before the town which they had beleaguered, met the Burgundians at Sandricourt, and offered them battle, which the others accepting, a bloody engagement enſued, in which the troops of René were routed, himſelf taken priſoner, and the gallant Barbaſon left dead upon the field of battle. All the advantages gained by the Engliſh conſiſted in the recovery of Louviers, which had been ſurprized by Stephen de Vignolles, called la Hire; and in defeating a party of French, near Beauvais, by the earl of Arundel. It is extremely difficult to trace all the rambling encounters which happened at this juncture, or to fix either the times or ſcenes of action: we muſt not, however, paſs by unnoticed the ſurpriſal of Montargis by the Engliſh, through a correſpondence they held with a young woman, who prevailed with her lover to admit them into the town by a back gate. On the other ſide, Loré, a French captain, made an inroad to the very gates of Caen, upon a fair-day, and carried away two thouſand perſons, with a very great booty: after which he retired to Sellé le Guillaume, a ſmall town in Maine, where he was beſieged by the earl of Arundel; but the duke of Alençon ſuddenly coming to his relief, obliged the Engliſh to retire ¶.

* There appeared ſuch another extraordinary maid in the laſt century, in Muſcovy. After the ſuppreſſion of a rebellion againſt Alexis, father of Peter the Great; amongſt the priſoners brought to the general there was a nun, who wore a man's habit, over that of her order.—She had commanded ſeven thouſand men, and ſhown great bravery on all occaſions. Death did not terrify her, though ſhe was condemned to be burnt, for leaving her monaſtery; and when ſhe went to the place of execution, ſhe ſaid, if every one had behaved as valiantly as herſelf, the general and his whole army would have been cut to pieces. Mem. of the reign of Peter the Great.

† Act. Pub. vol. x. p. 472.

‡ Ibid. p. 473.

‖ Ibid. p. 482—487.

§ Cotton's Abridgment, p. 597, 598. Rot. Parl. 9 Hen. VI. n. 1, 13, 15, 18.

¶ Complete Hiſt. Rapin. J. Chartier Hiſt. de Charles VII.

This is all that paſſed worth notice in France between the two parties. In England, the duke of Gloceſter proved ſucceſsful in quieting ſome commotions which appeared there during this year. It ſeems the ſpirit of the lower people under Tyler and Straw, in the reign of Richard II. was not yet entirely rooted out of the nation; for, ſoon after the riſing of the parliament, numbers of diſorderly people aſſembled near Addington, under one Mandeville, a weaver, and bailiff of the place. This Mandeville took the name of Jack Sharp of Wigmoreland, in Wales; which being the chief manor of the Mortimer family, carries an appearance of ſome important deſign being in agitation, though it has not come to our knowlege: it is certain that the duke of Gloceſter thought it of ſo much conſequence, that he went down himſelf, at the head of ſome troops, and diſperſed the inſurgents. Their leader, Mandevil, was taken priſoner, and, according to Stowe, from whom we have inſerted this tranſaction, he confeſſed that the intention of his party was to have deſtroyed all the prieſts: upon this confeſſion, and his overt-acts of treaſon, he was executed as a traitor at Addington, his head was ſet upon London bridge, and the reſt of the principal abettors were put to death in other parts of the kingdom.

Young Henry had, ſoon after his coronation, left Paris and retired to Rouen, where the duke of Bedford thought him in greater ſafety; but here he was in danger of being ſurprized in the night of February 3, 1432. One Peter Audebœuf, a native of Bearne, but in the Engliſh ſervice, entered into a plot with one Ricarville, a French officer, to get poſſeſſion of the city and Henry's perſon, by introducing Ricarville, with one hundred and twenty men, into the great tower of the caſtle: and had this ſmall party been ſupported by a larger corps of troops, which were poſted within a league of the place for that purpoſe, it is more than probable the deſign would have ſucceeded; but the officers quarrelling about ſharing the booty which they ſuppoſed they ſhould find in the place, many of them refuſed to march, though they had advice of the lucky beginning of their enterprize by the ſafe introduction of Ricarville and his party, and the whole body returned to Beauvais. Thoſe who had entered the great tower being thus abandoned, were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion: Audebœuf, the traitor, was quartered; fifty of the French had their heads ſtruck off, and the reſt detained priſoners of war. The French had better ſucceſs in their attempt upon Chartres, which, on the twentieth of April, was ſurprized by the count de Dunois, and the garriſon, conſiſting of five or ſix hundred Engliſh, taken priſoners.

The late danger which he had ſo narrowly eſcaped alarmed king Henry to ſuch a degree, that he immediately ſet out for England, and arrived at Dover the middle of February. He was received with great ſhew of affection by his Engliſh ſubjects: and the firſt act of his government, after his arrival, was to take the great-ſeal from the chancellor, the archbiſhop of York, and give it to the biſhop of Bath and Wells: and a parliament being ſummoned on the ninth of May, the biſhop, in conſequence of his new dignity, made a ſpeech at its opening. John Ruſſel, eſq. was choſen ſpeaker to the commons.

The differences between cardinal Beaufort and the duke of Gloceſter appear to have been revived with great bitterneſs in this parliament. It ſeems the duke had, as keeper of the kingdom, given orders, ſome time before, for ſeizing at Sandwich ſome of the king's jewels, which were mortgaged to the cardinal, and which the latter intended to carry over with him to France, whither he was going to join the king. The cardinal complained of this to the houſe as a violent inſult offered to his perſon and property, and prayed that the duke might be obliged to make reſtitution; but the affair being ſtrictly enquired into, the houſe made an order, that, before they were reſtored to him, he ſhould pay the king ſix thouſand pounds more on them, and lend him ten thouſand marks beſides. The cardinal, who ſeems now to have been worth more money than almoſt all the other noblemen of England, ſubmitted to this mulct; and it was moreover ordered, that, if it ſhould appear upon a fair and equitable trial, that the baggage had been juſtly ſeized, the money ſhould be forfeited to the king. The cardinal, however, apprehending ſome other attacks againſt him from the ſame quarter, made ſuch intereſt in the parliament, that the commons were prevailed on to preſent a petition in his favour, and by which he, the cardinal, obtained an ample pardon, with a Non obſtante of all ſtatutes and ordinances, for all the offences and actions he might have been guilty of, either againſt the king or the ſtate †.

Very little elſe of moment paſſed in this parliament, which now proceeded to grant the king a continuance of the ſubſidy upon wool, tonnage, and poundage: and, before the houſe broke up, Richard Plantagenet, ſon to the earl of Cambridge, beheaded in the beginning of the late reign, being now of age, was reſtored to all the hereditaments belonging to the late Edward, duke of York (ſlain at the battle of Agincourt), and of Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche; and ſir John Cornwall was, by a very honourable patent enrolled in full parliament, created baron of Fanhope ‡.

In the courſe of this year ſeveral ſkirmiſhes and ſurprizes happened between the troops of Charles and thoſe of the regent duke, chiefly to the diſadvantage of the latter; but the loſſes of the Engliſh were in ſome meaſure repaired by the ſurprize of Montargis, which facilitated, ſome time after, the recovery of Previns: but, in the month of July, Bedford having laid ſiege to the town of Lagni on the Marne, with an army of ſix thouſand men, notwithſtanding all his vigilance and precaution, the count de Dunois (baſtard of Orleans) found means to throw ſuccours into the place; and afterwards marching with all his forces towards Paris, the duke of Bedford, alarmed at this ſtep, and fearing that he might be in private correſpondence with the Pariſians, raiſed the ſiege, and retired with his troops to cover that capital. Here he was mortified by an event that gave the Engliſh intereſt a great blow: his wife Anne, ſiſter to the duke of Burgundy, and the chief means of that harmony and friendſhip which had hitherto ſubſiſted between them, died on the fourteenth of November, and was buried in the church of the Celeſtines, in the city of Paris *.

† Rymer, vol. x. p. 590—593. ‡ Dugdale. Sandford. * Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 201.

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The regent duke had always taken a particular care to keep the duke of Burgundy and the duke of Brittany in the Engliſh intereſt, to which the latter was but very little inclined; and it was purely owing to his fear of not being able to defend himſelf from the reſentment of the Engliſh, that he had not long ago quitted their party, and openly ſided with king Charles, a ſtep which his brother, the count de Richemont, was inceſſantly ſoliciting him to take. The death of Anne of Burgundy diſſolved the cloſe connection that ſubſiſted between her brother Philip and the regent duke; and a ſtep which the latter took ſoon after, helped to bring matters to an open rupture between them. Bedford, being a widower, married, in March, 1433 (not quite four months after the deceaſe of his late duchefs), Jaquelina of Luxemburg, a young lady of about ſeventeen years of age, eldeſt daughter of Peter of Luxemburg, earl of St. Pol †. This haſty marriage was extremely reſented by the duke of Burgundy, who not only conſidered it as a ſlight put upon the memory of his ſiſter ſo lately deceaſed, but as an affront to himſelf, it having been done without his knowlege, whereas he thought the duke of Bedford ſhould have ſhewn him more reſpect, ſince, beſides the conſideration of the many ties by which they were united, he married the daughter of one of his vaſſals. The duke of Bedford, who was very prudent and circumſpect, had doubtleſs his reaſons for acting with ſuch ſecrecy and reſerve: be that as it may, ſeveral bitter recriminations were thrown out on this occaſion by both ſides; and cardinal Beaufort, fearful of the conſequences, laboured to make up the quarrel, and prevailed ſo far upon both parties as to obtain their conſent to a conference, in May, at St. Omer's, in order to adjuſt all differences. The two dukes came to the place appointed, but an unhappy diſpute about precedency prevented their reconciliation, and cauſed them to part extremely diſguſted with each other. It ſeems the conference was to have been held at a third place, and not at either of their houſes; the duke of Bedford, however, inſiſting on the firſt viſit, the other refuſed to comply with it, though in a town of his own dominions, and that the other was the ſon, the brother, and uncle to kings, but, above all, the repreſentative of his nephew, who, as king of France, was the duke of Burgundy's maſter. But the truth ſeems to be, that the latter had already reſolved to deſert the Engliſh intereſt, and laid hold of this pretext to break with the regent; though, at the ſame time, he determined to have it in his power to extort ſuch terms from Charles as he ſhould think proper to preſcribe, and for that reaſon he ſtill continued his hoſtilities againſt the French. Thus the war continued to be carried on, not only in Burgundy, where Philip's forces acted alone, but alſo in Picardy, where they were joined by the Engliſh, and where the French had ſurprized ſeveral places: the moſt conſiderable of theſe was St. Valery; but it was afterwards recovered by the earl of St. Pol, the duke of Bedford's new father in-law, and the lord Willoughby; but the death of St. Pol, who was ſoon after carried off by a peſtilential diſtemper, which raged this year in all the Engliſh part of France, almoſt ruined the regent duke's beſt-concerted ſchemes; for there being no general of eminence to take the command of the troops, the war was left to the conduct of the commanders of garriſons, and produced nothing but depredations, which ruined all the provinces on this ſide the Loire, rencounters of ſmall parties, and attempts on petty forts, without giving occaſion to one remarkable action. It was on this account that the duke of Bedford propoſed to king Charles the exchange of the gallant lord Talbot for Xaintrailles; and his offer was accepted. The duke of Bedford could not do without ſuch a general as Talbot, though, to procure him, he was forced to give his equal to the enemy.

If the affairs of the Engliſh were upon an ill footing in France, they wore not a much better face in England, where the people began to be heartily tired of the war, and were extremely deſirous of procuring a fair and equitable peace, ſo that there was an univerſal murmuring throughout the nation, and the parliament granted ſubſidies with the greateſt reluctance. The duke of Bedford had ſeverely felt the effects of this backwardneſs, and, deſirous to carry on the war with ſuch a force as, whilſt Charles's affairs were low, might at once clear the provinces on this ſide the Loire of the enemy, and, by the reputation which ſuch ſucceſs would give to the Engliſh arms, keep the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany firm in their alliances with England, appointed a meeting with the duke of Gloceſter at Calais. He expected ſome comfort, or at leaſt council, at this conference; but Gloceſter giving him no hopes of obtaining any aid from England, unleſs he came over himſelf, the regent duke, though he could be very ill ſpared from Paris, was forced to take this ſtep, and ſet out for England about the middle of June.

On the eighth of July this year, the parliament met at Weſtminſter; and on the thirteenth the duke of Bedford appeared in the houſe, when he acquainted the aſſembly, that, however neceſſary his preſence might be in France, the ſervice of his king had required his attendance in England: he then proceeded to give the two houſes an account, as well of what had paſſed of late years in France, as of the preſent ſtate of that country. His conduct was unanimouſly approved, and the parliament not only expreſſed their high opinion of his ſervices in France, but requeſted him to ſtay in England, and take the direction of affairs upon himſelf; with which the duke complied for the preſent, and actually remained in England till the year 1434.

In the mean time the duke of Orleans, who had, ever ſince the battle of Agincourt, been a priſoner in England, and who had long ſolicited his freedom in the moſt earneſt terms, but to no purpoſe, thought he now found, in the general diſpoſitions of the Engliſh towards a peace, a favourable opportunity for recovering that ineſtimable bleſſing. As he was indulged with a free correſpondence with France, he was perfectly well acquainted with the diſpoſitions both of that court and its enemies. There had lately happened a revolution in Charles's court: Tremouille, the firſt miniſter to that prince, having rendered himſelf obnoxious to the queen and the princes of the blood, they, with his capital enemy, the conſtable de Richemont, conſpired to deſtroy him: the deſign took effect; Richemont found means to ſeize his perſon at Chinon, where

† Hall. Monſtrelet, p. 87

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the French court then reſided, and cauſed him to be carried to the ſtrong caſtle of Mount Treſor, and there ſhut up. Charles at firſt appeared greatly enraged at this inſult put upon himſelf in the perſon of his miniſter; but ſoon growing calm, he received Charles of Anjou, count of Maine, as his prime miniſter; and in a ſhort time the count became a greater favourite than his predeceſſor.

This change in the French miniſtry proved of infinite advantage to Charles's affairs. New ſchemes for peace were now laid, and hopes were entertained, that, if an interview could be brought about between Charles and the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, theſe princes might be induced to exert their endeavours for that purpoſe, or be brought to deſert the Engliſh, if they continued obſtinately bent to proſecute the war. The bringing about this deſirable interview was now undertaken by the duke of Orleans, who wiſely judged, that if the parties could ſecurely truſt each other, they would be all of one mind, and join in ridding their country of an enemy who had lorded it there in the moſt imperious manner.

To bring about his favorite view, therefore, he, in Auguſt this year, gave in a paper of propoſals for a general congreſs towards eſtabliſhing a peace. He propoſed that the queen dowager of Sicily, her ſon, Charles of Anjou, the duke of Brittany, with his two brothers the counts de Richemont and St. Giles, the duke of Alençon, the counts of Armagnac, St. Foix, Perdriac, and Clermont (ſon to the duke of Bourbon), and the archbiſhop of Paris, ſhould meet ſuch plenipotentiaries as the Engliſh court ſhould nominate, at Calais; and he deſired permiſſion to aſſiſt at the congreſs, in order to enforce the negociation. At the ſame time he preſented a ſet of articles, which were ſo favourable for England, that the council embraced his propoſal without heſitation*, and he ſigned, ſealed, and ſwore to the treaty which he had planned: but, notwithſtanding, theſe ſolemn appearances of truth and real intention on the part of the duke of Orleans, and though ſafe-conducts were actually expedited by the government of England for the perſons who were to aſſiſt at the conferences, yet nothing can be more plain than that the whole was, on the part of the duke, an artful juggle, to give his countrymen an opportunity of underſtanding one another's ſentiments, and to divert the council of England from liſtening to the requeſt of the duke of Bedford, and making preparations for recovering their late loſſes in France. That this was the real ſtate of the caſe will clearly appear in the ſequel.

In the mean time the affairs of the Engliſh went very badly in France, through the abſence of the duke of Bedford, who, on his return thither, in the autumn of 1434, found the Lower Normandy in danger of being loſt: the peaſants, who were utterly ruined by the incurſions of parties, having, in the beginning of that year, taken arms to the number of fifty or ſixty thouſand men. Two thirds of theſe invaded the Vexin, and the other body of twenty thouſand attacked Caen, which, together with Harfleur, Dieppe, and Lillebonne, they ſoon reduced. The earl of Arundel was ſo ſooner informed of this inſurrection, than he advanced againſt thoſe who had fallen into the Vexin, and, attacking them in the night, obtained an eaſy victory.

It might have been more difficult to reduce thoſe in Caen, as they were headed by the marſhal de Rieux, but they were ſo terrified at the fate of their companions, that they immediately diſperſed, and the greateſt part of them returned to their own habitations. The marſhal, with a few of the moſt courageous, threw themſelves into Dieppe, which, together with Harfleur, was ſtill in the hands of Charles; though Arundel recovered Caen and Lillebonne, and afterwards marched againſt the French in Picardy, who had taken the ſtrong town of Rue: but being informed on his way, that the enemy was fortifying Gerberoy, near Beauvais, he thought it more adviſeable to drive them thence before the works could be completed. Accordingly he appeared before that place; but hearing that la Hire and Xaintrailles were approaching with twelve hundred men to its relief, he raiſed the ſiege, and marched to meet them in order of battle, when a bloody diſpute enſued. Sir Ralph Standiſh, with about one hundred horſe, were cut in pieces at the firſt onſet; and three culverins, which la Hire had brought into the field, did ſuch execution, that of five hundred horſe which the earl had with him, two hundred were killed, and one hundred and

* Theſe were of ſo very extraordinary a nature, that it would be unpardonable in us not to give our readers a ſight of them. The paper is worded in the moſt abject terms, for he there calls Henry "his lawful Lord of France," and gives Charles no other title but that of the dauphin.

I. He propoſes that the king of England and France ſhould ſend commiſſioners with full powers to treat of a peace; and that the queen dowager of Sicily, &c. as above

II. He, the ſaid duke, propoſes, if the peace ſhould take place, to continue for a year after its commencement a priſoner within England; after which time he is to be ſet at liberty without any ranſom, upon his ſwearing fealty, homage, and allegiance to Henry, as true king of France and England, and never to recognize any other perſon or family in that capacity, and to fight for him to death againſt all living, and to bring all his tenants and ſubjects to do the ſame, under grievous penalties; but if they ſhould agree to this, they were to enjoy all the benefits ſtipulated by the treaty of Troye.

III. He promiſes the ſame for his friends, the duke of Alençon, the earl of Armagnac, the earl of Perche, and his own brother the earl of Angouleſme; and likewiſe to employ all his good offices with his friends who had dominions without France, ſuch as the dukes of Milan and Savoy, to acknowlege Henry as king of France, and to enter with him into a firm league and friendſhip.

IV. In caſe the peace ſhould not take place, he offers to put into the hands of the Engliſh the cities of Orleans and Blois, with all the forts and poſſeſſions belonging to his own family; and likewiſe to procure them the poſſeſſion of an infinite number of other places, not immediately depending upon himſelf, particularly Rochelle and Mount St. Michael, with Liſieux, Xaintes, Bourges, Chinon, Poictiers, Tourney, &c. or an equivalent for them all, except the two firſt-mentioned, which were to be delivered up without admitting an equivalent; and that if, in the mean time, king Henry ſhould pleaſe to confer on him any eſtate or poſt in England, he was, in like manner, ready to ſwear homage, fealty, and allegiance to him.

V. In caſe a general peace ſhould not be concluded, he, the ſaid duke of Orleans, agrees, for the greater ſecurity of performing his promiſes, to re-deliver himſelf a priſoner in England until all his engagements ſhould be fullfilled, unleſs the king and council of England ſhould find it expedient for their ſervice to give him leave, under the great-ſeal, to depart from England.

In another article he ſuppoſes the dauphin (as he affects to call king Charles) would be contented with an honourable and conſiderable appenage, or proviſion, for him and his heirs; which was the very thing the Engliſh aimed at in the negociation: and there cannot be a clearer proof than this very article, that the duke of Orleans was in concert with the court of France to impoſe upon England; for can it be ſuppoſed that Charles ever would entertain a thought of being ſatisfied with the above appenage in lieu of a crown and kingdom, to which he had an undoubted right? This hope, therefore, was inſinuated only to cauſe the Engliſh the more readily to fall into the ſnare. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. x. p. 556—559.

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fifty taken priſoners. As to Arundel himſelf, he was mortally wounded and taken priſoner, and in a few days expired, to the great ſorrow of the duke of Bedford, who in him loſt one of his braveſt generals, and England one of the moſt accompliſhed of her noblemen.

But the loſs of this great man was in ſome meaſure ſupplied by the ſervices of the gallant lord Talbot, who arrived about the latter end of the ſummer from England, with four or five thouſand men, to whom he joined ſome troops drawn from garriſons; and being joined by the marſhal de Liſle Adam (whom Henry had made marſhal of France), at the head of about three thouſand troops, he recovered Creſpi in the county of Valois, Beaumont on the Oyſe, Creil, Pont St. Maixence, and Clermont in the Beauvoiſis, which had been ſurprized by the French: he even began the ſiege of Beauvais, but the bad weather obliged him to deſiſt. During theſe petty excurſions Charles went into Languedoc and Dauphiné*.

This year died the duke of Bourbon, a priſoner in England, being ſucceeded by his ſon, the earl of Clermont, in his honours and eſtate. This prince had ever continued zealouſly attached to the French intereſt; and, putting himſelf at the head of a formidable body of troops, he made a terrible irruption into the duke of Burgundy's eſtates; and his progreſs was ſo rapid, that, before that duke could get together an army to drive him out of his dominions, he laid waſte with fire and ſword great part of the open country, and ſurprized many of the towns. Upon notice of this, the duke of Bedford altered the deſtination of certain troops, which were to have beſieged Manche, and ordered them to march, under the lord Willoughby, to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Burgundy. It was not long before they came up with the main body of the French, at Lyonnois, and, after an obſtinate encounter, the Engliſh and Burgundians remained maſters of the field.

The duke did not fail to lay hold of this opportunity to repreſent, in very warm terms, to the council of England, this invaſion on his territories as the effect of the great load he was obliged to take of the war through their inactivity, and which extremely exhauſted his ſubjects: in ſhort, he began to ſhew himſelf greatly diſcontented; he complained of the duke of Bedford as having treated him diſreſpectfully in the affair of his marriage. His violent averſion to Charles, on account of the murder of his father, began now to abate; and having, in purſuit of his vengeance, done enough to ſatisfy his honour, by reducing France more than once to the brink of ruin, he was not averſe to a reconciliation with Charles, and no longer to perſiſt in ſetting a foreign family on the throne, even to the excluſion of himſelf and his blood. In this diſpoſition he lent a willing ear to a propoſal made him by the conſtable Richemont, of a conference at Nevers, under pretence of adjuſting matters between him and the count de Clermont, now duke of Bourbon. Accordingly, in January, 1435, the two dukes and the conſtable repaired to Nevers: the latter and the duke of Bourbon were accompanied by their wives, who were Philip's ſiſters; and this conference finiſhed the work, and determined him to drop his reſentments, and make peace with France. But there was, however, no pretence in decency for breaking off the propoſed conferences at Calais; and this might greatly have embarraſſed the duke in his newly adopted views, had not the council of Baſil, which was then ſitting, interpoſed; for the cardinal of St. Croix, who had ſome time before been ſent by that council to labour for an accommodation between France and England, now received freſh inſtructions to continue and redouble his efforts; and, under colour of his authority, it was reſolved that the conferences for a general peace ſhould be held at Arras inſtead of Calais. In the mean time, however, the French court had intrigued ſo well, that the duke of Burgundy, in a meeting he had with the archbiſhop of Rheims, chancellor of France, and others of Charles's miniſters, put the final hand to a ſeparate agreement with that monarch; but this was to be kept a profound ſecret till the event of the congreſs of Arras ſhould be known; and, the more effectually to cover their deſigns, they ſeemed impatient to fix a day for opening the congreſs, which was accordingly appointed for the month of July; and notices were ſent to the council of Baſil, and to almoſt all the powers of Europe, not even excepting the court of England, to ſend their plenipotentiaries to aſſiſt at the negociation, which, it was ſaid, was intended not only to cloſe the wounds of France, but to reſtore peace to the Chriſtian world.

In a word, the duke of Bedford and the government appear to have been completely duped in this affair, and not to have entertained the leaſt doubt of the duke of Burgundy's ſincerity: this is clearly evinced in that, when they came to nominate their plenipotentiaries at the approaching congreſs, they put the duke at the head of the commiſſion: this, indeed, laid that prince under a difficulty how to act, both as a plenipotentiary for England, and a principal contracting party in the negociation; but this difficulty he got partly over by the inſtructions which he gave to his commiſſioners, who appeared there for him as duke of Burgundy: on the whole it muſt be confeſſed, that this prince acted a very treacherous part through the whole affair.

A little before the opening of the congreſs, the Engliſh council received intelligence that the duke of Burgundy had ſolicited pope Eugenius to abſolve him from the oath which he had taken to the late king Henry. Eugenius being applied to on this ſubject, declared that the French prince had not made any ſuch demand; and that, for the future, he would obſerve ſuch conduct as would be ſatisfactory to the king of England. How religiouſly his holineſs obſerved his promiſe will appear by the ſequel.

The congreſs of Arras was not opened till the ſixth of Auguſt, though the firſt of July was the day appointed, all the plenipotentiaries not being arrived at that time. Thoſe on the part of Henry were partly Engliſh and partly French, as Henry treated in quality of king of both people: the Engliſh commiſſioners (beſides the duke of Burgundy, as chief) were the biſhops of Norwich and St. David's, the earls of Huntingdon and Suffolk, the lord Hungerford, Lyndwood, the famous canoniſt, keeper of the privy-ſeal, ſir John Radcliffe, conſtable of Guienne, ſir John Popham, ſir Robert Shotſ-

* Chartier Hiſt. de Charles VII.

borough, ſecretary Reynel, with the doctors Everard, Ruſſel, and Sprevor, all of them civilians*.

The chief of thoſe for Charles were the duke of Bourbon, the count de Richemont, conſtable of France; the count de Vendoſme, great-maſter of the houſhold; Renaud of Chartres, archbiſhop of Rheims and chancellor of France; Chriſtopher d'Harcourt, and Gilbert de la Fayette, marſhal of France.

Thoſe for the duke of Burgundy were, Rolin, his chancellor; the biſhops of Liege, Cambray, and Arras; the duke of Gueldres; the counts of Eſtampes, St. Pol, de Ligny, Vaudemont, Nevers, Naſſau, Montfort, Magie, and ſome others.

The kings of Poland, Caſtile, Navarre, and Sicily, the dukes of Brittany, Barr, and Milan ſent likewiſe their ambaſſadors, as the city of Paris and the great towns of Flanders did their deputies. The conferences were to be held under the mediation of the cardinal of St. Croix, who aſſiſted as repreſenting the pope, and the cardinal of Cyprus, who appeared on the part of the council of Baſil. In ſhort, no fewer than ten thouſand people extraordinary repaired to Arras on this occaſion †.

The conferences were begun by the duke of Burgundy, as firſt plenipotentiary for England: he demanded of the French commiſſioners the terms they were inſtructed to proceed upon, in writing; which they accordingly gave in, and were to the following purpoſe:

"That Henry ſhould lay aſide his ſtyle of king of France, and renounce, for himſelf and his heirs, all claim to that crown; and alſo that he ſhould give up Paris, and all the places he held in other parts of the kingdom: in conſideration of which he ſhould enjoy what he actually poſſeſſed in Guienne, together with the entire duchy of Normandy, but on condition of ſwearing homage and doing fealty to Charles, as king of France, for thoſe territories, agreeable to the ancient uſage."

The Engliſh plenipotentiaries were next called upon to give in their propoſals, which were,

"That Charles ſhould be left in peaceable poſſeſſion of all he already held on both ſides the Loire, on condition that the Engliſh ſhould retain the like poſſeſſion of all they held in France; but that to prevent any future differences, the places of the one power that lay in the heart of the other's poſſeſſions, ſhould be exchanged for the like places to be given up by the other power, or for ſome other equivalent." They likewiſe offered, "That their king ſhould marry a daughter of Charles; and that the duke of Orleans ſhould be ſet at liberty for a moderate ranſom."

The conferences on the ſubject did not laſt long; the French not receding from their demands, and the Engliſh abſolutely rejecting them as ſo remote from what the duke of Orleans had made them expect, all farther proceedings towards a peace between the two crowns were ſtopped, and the Engliſh plenipotentiaries (all but the duke of Burgundy), with all their retinue and attendance, left Arras on the ſixth of September, and proceeded to Calais, from whence they ſent the duke of Orleans over to England; for the Engliſh had been ſo far impoſed upon by that prince, that they had actually brought him with them to Calais, hoping that his preſence, and the reflection of his captivity, might have a great influence with the French commiſſioners in the proſecution of the negociation; but this ſtep had a very contrary effect, for the duke underhand wrote to his countrymen, encouraging them not to abate aught of their demands, nor to ſuffer his confinement in the leaſt to influence their proceedings.

The haſty departure of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries was by no means a ſubject of ſurprize either to the duke of Burgundy or the French ambaſſadors; they muſt have foreſeen that the offers they made, would be refuſed; nay, it may very reaſonably be preſumed, that it was for this very purpoſe they projected the plan of a congreſs for a general peace, well knowing that the Engliſh would reject the conditions they meant to propoſe, and their refuſal would furniſh the duke of Burgundy with a pretext for concluding a ſeparate accommodation: and here we may learn the true motives of the magnificent offers made by the duke of Orleans to the king of England, in caſe the conferences ſhould prove ineffectual.

Agreeable to this plan, on the Engliſh plenipotentiaries quitting the congreſs, their abrupt departure was exaggerated, and repreſented as a clear evidence they never intended to make peace; and the duke of Burgundy now openly declared, that he was not obliged to be governed by their humour, or render the war everlaſting for their ſake, but thought himſelf at full liberty to act for his own own intereſt; and, by the aſſiſtance of the mediating cardinals, the accommodation between him and Charles was very quickly finiſhed, for on the twenty-firſt of September (only fifteen days after the departure of the Engliſh ambaſſadors), the cardinals having previouſly abſolved the duke from the oath he had taken to the late and preſent kings of England, concluded a ſeparate treaty of peace with France, on the following terms.

"I That king Charles, though he excuſed himſelf from the murder of the duke of Burgundy, his father, yet he ſhould make ſatisfaction for his death, by puniſhing all that were found guilty of it, if they could be diſcovered and apprehended, by death; if not, by perpetual baniſhment: and ſhould build a church in Montberras, with a monaſtery of twelve monks and a ſuperior, which he ſhould endow with a ſufficient maintainance, to pray for his ſoul for ever.

"II. That king Charles ſhould pay to the duke of Burgundy fifty thouſand crowns, for the jewels that were taken from his father at the time of his death; and ſhould have liberty to recover thoſe that were not named, particularly the fleece, which was of a very great value, from any in whoſe poſſeſſion they were found.

"III. That the following countries, cities, and towns, with all their pre-eminences and juriſdictions, ſhould be immediately delivered up to Philip, duke of Burgundy, and ſettled on him and his heirs, whether male or female, viz. Maſon in Xaintoinge, the city of Auxerres, with the juriſdiction of Barr up the Seine, the city of Caſtel, with the lay patronage of the church and abbey of Leuxeule, pretended to, but never poſſeſſed by the dukes of Burgundy before, the cities of Montidier, Peron, St. Quintin, Corbie, Amiens, and Abbeville, the county of Ponthieu and Poictou, with the outbounds of Champagne.

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. x. p. 611, 612.

† Ibid. p. 616, 617. P. Daniel. Monſtrelet.

"IV. That,

"IV. That, in case the king of England should make war upon the duke of Burgundy and his subjects, king Charles should assist him both by sea and land, as in his own cause, and should not make peace with him, unless he concluded him in it: and that, if king Charles should not fully keep to his agreement, his own subjects should not be bound to obey him; but being free from all oaths of allegiance to him, might assist the duke of Burgundy against him.

"V. That Charles, count Charlerois, son to duke Philip, should marry the lady Catherine, king Charles's daughter, and have with her in portion one hundred and twenty thousand crowns †."

The princes of the blood in France, and the noblemen of Burgundy, ratified this agreement under their hands and seals; and, on the fifth day of November, it was confirmed by the council of Basil, which denounced sentence of excommunication and interdict against that prince who should infringe the articles. Never had king of France made so dishonourable a peace; but it seems as if the French court thought nothing too much to bring the duke of Burgundy off from his alliance with England, as the surest means to extricate Charles from his difficulties.

If the defection of the duke of Burgundy was an unlucky incident for the English interest in France, it received a still more fatal blow, and almost at the same instant, by the death of the duke of Bedford, which happened this year, on the fourteenth of September, in the castle of Rouen. Very probably his indignation to be thus imposed upon by Charles and the duke of Burgundy, and his foreseeing that the affairs of his nephew were going to be irretrievably ruined, helped to throw him into the sickness of which he died. We have already given the chararacter of this prince; and shall only add, that it is hard to say, whether he shone most in the field or the cabinet, whether he was a greater hero or politician, and whether he was most esteemed or admired for his valour, his equity, or his moderation. There cannot be a greater proof of the veneration in which the memory of this excellent prince was held, even by his enemies, than the reply which Lewis XI. son of Charles VII. gave to one of his courtiers, who advised him to demolish the monument of Bedford *: "God forbid (said Lewis) that I should be guilty of such a base and ungenerous action, as to disturb the ashes of a prince, who, were he alive, would make the boldest of us all tremble; I rather wish that a more stately monument were erected to his memory ‖."

About the same time died Isabella, queen dowager of France, at Paris, very little lamented by the French, who considered her as the principal cause of all those miseries and calamities with which the kingdom had been so long oppressed.

The death of the regent, as we have already observed, was a terrible blow to the English interest in France; and the misfortune was made still greater by the squabbles of parties in the council of England, which caused a delay of seven months, in a juncture where a moment was not to be lost, before they could agree in the choice of a successor. The French found their advantage in this delay; and the garrison of Pontoise going out to forage, the townsmen rose, seized the place, and applied for assistance to the marshal de Lisle Adam, who, taking upon him the government of the town, delivered it afterwards to Charles VII. and was confirmed by him in that charge, as well as in the dignity of marshal of France. This general had never been hearty in the service of the English; and though young Henry had created him constable of France, yet he gladly embraced the first opportunity of returning to his allegiance to his lawful sovereign. The marshal de Reux, who had thrown himself into Dieppe, getting an army of eight or ten thousand men together, before the end of this year, reduced Feschamp and Mortvilliers, with all the towns and castles in the Upper Normandy, except Arques and Caudebec.

All these misfortunes, which were but so many preludes to far greater ones, struck a deadly damp into the minds of the English. A parliament had been assembled, on the tenth of October this year, at Westminster, in which the bishop of Bath and Wells, lord chancellor of England, in his speech at the opening of the session, gave the members a particular detail of the negociations at Arras, in which he represented the conduct of the duke of Burgundy in the blackest colours; and the nation was so exasperated at the news of that prince's defection, that they voted a large subsidy for carrying on the war, and to punish the faithless conduct, as it was termed, of the duke of Burgundy ‡.

Mean time the duke, willing to shew still some regard for Henry, sent two heralds with letters, to excuse his concluding a separate peace, in which he declared it was through no disaffection to the English that he had taken that step, but to comply with the earnest wishes and remonstrances of his harassed people, sinking beneath the load and calamity of so long a war; and concluded with exhorting Henry to enter into the like pacific sentiments, and conclude a peace upon just and moderate terms, offering his mediation between him and Charles for that purpose. This offer was looked upon as a fresh insult; besides, it was observed that the superscription of his letters was now in a different style to that he was wont to use; for whereas he had before always directed to Henry as his sovereign lord and king of France and England, he now only gave him the appellation of "Henry, by the grace of God king of England, our well beloved cousin §." It was resolved to return no answer to his letters; his heralds were treated with indignity; the parliament even took no precaution to conceal their indignation from the public; and the populace getting a hint of the affair, the mob rose in London, and fell upon the Flemings and others of the duke of Burgundy's trading subjects then in that city, killing some and plundering

† Monstrelet. Du Tillet. Hall.

* He was buried in the church of Notre Dame, in Rouen, under a plain tomb of black marble, with an epitaph upon a tablet of brass, affixed to a pillar at the foot of his tomb, above the epitaph stood his escutcheon of arms (of silver, now lost) within the Garter, betwixt two ostrich-feathers; and underneath a root is represented which the priests call "la racine de Bedford," or Bedford's root. Sandford's Genealog. p. 314.

‖ Hall, p. 129. Rapin.

‡ During the sitting of this parliament the duke of Glocester received a commission to be governor of the town of Calais, the tower of Risbank, the castles of Haines, and Guesnes, with all the English acquisitions in the neighbourhood, in the room of sir Richard Woodvile, who had succeeded, on the duke of Bedford's death, as governor of Calais. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. x. p. 648.

§ Monstrelet. Du Tillet. Hall.

others,

others, till a proclamation was iſſued to ſtop thoſe diſorders, and protections were granted to ſuch as, being ſettled in England, would take the oath of allegiance; but thoſe who would not, were immediately expelled. This ſtep had a great effect, for moſt of the Flemiſh, or Brabanders, ſettled here, immediately naturalized themſelves Engliſhmen†.

The duke of Burgundy, after the treatment his ambaſſadors and ſubjects had met with, thought he had no meaſures to keep with the Engliſh court; and, to give Charles an earneſt of his ſincerity, he corrupted the Engliſh commanders of Vincennes and Corbeil to betray them into his hands, and immediately reſigned them into thoſe of the French king. Several towns in Normandy alſo revolted to the French, and theſe conqueſts paved the way to the reduction of Paris itſelf.

Nothing could give a greater reputation to king Charles's affairs than reducing the capital of his realm; but his finances not being in a condition to ſupport ſo large an army as was neceſſary to beſiege it in form, the only way left of ſucceeding in the enterprize was to amuſe the court of England with freſh propoſals, while he might find means to eſtabliſh ſome intelligence within the place, ſo as to ſurprize it before the Engliſh could be upon their guard. With this view he made overtures of peace to Henry in the beginning of the year 1436, and offered to confirm it by giving that monarch the eldeſt daughter of France in marriage; and, amazing as it may ſeem, notwithſtanding the court of England had ſo lately, and with ſo much haughtineſs, rejected all terms with France, and when they could not be ignorant of the diſpoſitions which Charles and the duke of Burgundy were taking to drive the Engliſh entirely out of France, they liſtened ſo attentively to this propoſition, that Henry even named the duke of York and ſome others as his plenipotentiaries to treat of a peace; nay, he likewiſe named for his commiſſioners to conclude the marriage, the cardinal of England and the duke of Burgundy, with whom he was actually at war*. Let others account for this glaring contradiction, in the beſt manner they are able; I muſt confeſs myſelf utterly at a loſs herein, and ſhould look upon it as incredible, did it not ſtand as a fact vouched upon the face of our records.

This inconſiſtency or fluctuation in the Engliſh councils, however, regained to Charles his capital and his crown; for while his agents, in concert with the duke of Orleans and the count d'Armagnac, were amuſing Henry's court, he diſpatched the conſtable de Richemont, the marſhal Liſle Adam, and the count de Dunois, to attempt the great and deciſive conqueſt, which he had ſo much at heart. Corbeil and Vincennes had been already betrayed into the hands of thoſe generals; and they now made themſelves maſters, by the like treacherous artifices, of Eſcouan and St. Denis; ſo that Paris was in a manner blocked up, and its ſupply of proviſions greatly ſtraitened: it is true, that the conſtable's troops did not amount to above ſix thouſand men, even after he had been joined by a body of five hundred lances ſent by the duke of Burgundy; but the French generals found means to procure ſuch exact intelligence from within the place, that, with this handful, they proceeded to the reduction of it.

The lord Willoughby at this time commanded for Henry in Paris: he had no more Engliſh regular troops within the place than fifteen hundred, ſo that he was obliged to depend upon the French-Engliſh (or rather Burgundian) party among the citizens themſelves to guard the gates. It was by the help of this party that Liſle Adam had ſurprized the place, about fifteen years before, for the Engliſh; to them therefore he ſecretly applied on this occaſion; and finding the ſole difficulty they had as to their giving up the city, was leſt Charles, if ſucceſsful, ſhould puniſh them ſeverely for their long diſloyalty, the marſhal, who had foreſeen this objection, and wiſely provided againſt it, produced an act of amneſty under Charles's own hand, and guarantied by the duke of Burgundy, ſtipulating a full pardon, and reſtitution of all their privileges, to the Pariſians. This ſatisfied the conſpirators, and they undertook to let him into the town, early in the morning of Friday, the thirteenth of April, by the gate of St. Michael.

On the day appointed, Liſle Adam, with a choſen party, ſcaled the walls, by ladders let down by thoſe within; at the ſame time another party let down the draw-bridge, that the conſtable might enter with all his forces. The alarm ſoon ſpread, the Engliſh took to arms immediately, and Willoughby, with a wonderful preſence of mind, gave ſuch orders, that the conſtable would have been driven out of the city; but the French and Burgundian parties joining in his favour, drew chains acroſs the ſtreets, and roſe in every quarter, and while the garriſon endeavoured to repel the aſſailants, they were overwhelmed with a ſhower of ſtones from the windows and battlements of the whole city, echoing with repeated acclamations of "Long live king Charles VII. and the duke of Burgundy!"

The governor, unable to oppoſe ſuch a multitude of enemies, retired to the Baſtile, where he might have defended himſelf for a conſiderable time, had it been properly furniſhed with ſtores and amunition; but finding it deſtitute of every thing neceſſary for ſuſtaining a ſiege even of a ſhort continuance, he capitulated a few days after, upon condition of being allowed to retire unmoleſted, with his garriſon and their baggage, to Rouen ‡. St. Germain and Charenton ſoon followed the fate of the capital.

Upon the death of the duke of Bedford, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, was nominated to the regency of France; but Edmund Beaufort, third ſon of John Beaufort, earl of Somerſet (by an unaccountable miſtake, in all our hiſtorians called duke of Somerſet, though no ſuch title then exiſted §), and himſelf earl of Mortaigne in Normandy, and lord of Chirkland in the Marches of Wales, conteſted with him that dignity; and having gotten the duke of Gloceſter on his ſide, they managed their intrigues with ſuch art in the council, that the expediting of the duke's patent was delayed from time to time, which had given the

† And from theſe are deſcended many of our moſt frequent ſurnames, ſuch as Warner, Ware, Johnſon, James, Robertſon, Wilſon, Michel, Dyſon, Crabbe, Tait, Nicholſon, Hunt, Herne, Tilman, Cowper, with many others, too tedious to mention. See Rymer's Fœdera, vol. x. p. 636—653.

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. x. p. 442, 643.

‡ Monſtrelet. Hall.

§ See on this head Guth. Hiſt. Eng. vol. ii. p. 570, 571.

partizans

patrizans of Charles in France leiſure to extend their conqueſts without oppoſition; but the loſs of Paris ſeems to have awakened the council of England out of the lethargic diſpoſition which had made them hitherto ſo ſhamefully neglect the affairs of France, and to have convinced them of the neceſſity of proſecuting the war there with vigour; at the ſame time certain intelligence arriving, that the duke of Burgundy was meditating a great blow upon ſome other of the capital poſſeſſions of the Engliſh in that country, the cardinal of Wincheſter, who had warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of the duke of York, at length prevailed to have the ſeals put to a commiſſion, appointing him the king's lieutenant-general in France ‡, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition of the duke of Gloceſter; and the duke of York ſet out for France with an army of eighty thouſand men; but theſe unhappy diſputes had ſo much retarded the public ſervice, that he did not arrive in that kingdom till the middle of May, when he landed in Normandy, where he recovered many ſmall places and caſtles, which the French had taken ſince the death of the duke of Bedford. While he was thus employed, he received intelligence that the duke of Burgundy was making great preparations for the ſiege of Calais; in conſequence of which he wrote over to the council in England, preſſing them to put that place in a poſture of defence. Nothing could alarm the court of England more than this news: orders were immediately iſſued for equipping a fleet and army, the former to be commanded by the earl of Huntingdon (John Holland), and the latter by the duke of Gloceſter, who, on this occaſion, obtained from Henry, as king of France, a grant for life of the county of Flanders; as John, lord Beaumont, did that of Boulogne.

In the mean time the duke of Burgundy, glowing with reſentment to find his good offices, towards bringing about a peace, ſo contemptuouſly treated by the Engliſh, had been continually endeavouring to diſtreſs Henry all he could; and having aſſembled the ſtates of his dominions, before whom he laid the proceedings and practices of the Engliſh court in the moſt odious lights, he at length prevailed with that ever fickle people to reſolve upon entering heartily into a war with England, and to begin by forming the ſiege of Calais. He had drawn together an army of fifty thouſand men, of which ſeventeen thouſand were inhabitants of Ghent, and with theſe he ſurprized the caſtles of Oye Marque, Sangate, and other fortreſſes of importance about Calais.

Before this laſt place he ſat down about the latter end of June, with his numerous army. The Flemings fancied that they ſhould have little more to do than ſhew themſelves, and that the garriſon would be terrified into an immediate ſurrender; but they ſoon found their miſtake. The beſieged made a moſt gallant defence, the place was well ſupplied with all neceſſaries, and the beſiegers found themſelves moſt terribly harraſſed by the ſucceſsful and well-conducted ſallies of the enemy. Philip, who hoped to acquire immortal fame by taking of one of the ſtrongeſt places in Europe, began to perceive with regret, that the attempt was beyond his power; however, as he knew that the duke of Gloceſter was daily expected to the relief of the place, he reſolved to omit nothing to prevent their ſuccours from entering, and ordered five or ſix great hulks, loaded with ſtones, to be ſunk at the mouth of the harbour, to choak up the entrance; but theſe veſſels lying aground on the ſands at low-water, the people of Calais, when the tide was out, found means to burn them, and otherwiſe render them uſeleſs.

The deſign of blocking up the port by ſea thus miſcarrying, a ſmall wooden fort was erected on the land-ſide, and well ſupplied with cannon and other military engines, to batter the place, and hinder the ſallies of the beſieged: this was taken by the Engliſh, and the Flemings, who guarded it, all put to the ſword. In the mean time the duke of Gloceſter arrived, with about fifteen thouſand men: he found the garriſon in ſo high ſpirits, and ſaw ſuch manifeſt ſigns of fear in the approaches of the beſiegers, that he immediately ſent a meſſenger to the duke of Burgundy, offering him battle. The latter accepted the challenge, as the only chance he now had for ſucceſs, deſpairing of ever being able to carry the town; but his boaſtful Flemings had experienced too much of the Engliſh valour to dare to meet it, even with ſuperior numbers, in the field: they pretended they were betrayed, the place not being inveſted by ſea, as they had been aſſured it would; in a word they ſhamefully broke up their camp, and made a moſt precipitate retreat. Philip, fearing that the garriſon of Calais might take advantage of the confuſion cauſed by this ſudden deſertion, drew up his regular troops to ſecure their retreat; and, leaving his artillery, baggage, and proviſions in the hands of the Engliſh retired to Gravelines *.

The duke of Gloceſter, having provided for the ſecurity of Calais, marched, with about ten thouſand men, into the very heart of Philip's county of Artois, burning and deſtroying all before him, and taking great plunder; but, for want of proviſions, he was forced ſoon after to return back to Calais. Nor was this the only loſs that the duke of Burgundy ſuſtained: hardly had he returned to his own dominions, when he had the mortification to ſee the maritime coaſts of his poſſeſſions in Flanders ravaged by an Engliſh fleet, while he himſelf was even in danger of loſing his life in a ſedition at Bruges, after having ſeen the marſhal Liſle Adam almoſt torn in pieces by the furious populace †.

This year Margaret, princeſs of Scotland, daughter of James I. who, the reader may remember, was affianced ſome time before to the dauphin of France, Lewis, having now completed her twelfth year, was ſent over to France, and the marriage was celebrated with the utmoſt pomp, on the fourteenth of June, at Tours.

The truce between England and Scotland expiring much about the ſame time, hoſtilities were recommenced between the two nations. The earl of Northumberland, with the other lords of the Marches, invaded Scotland, but were encountered, at a place called Pepperden, by William Douglas, earl of Angus, and ſome other Scottiſh noblemen, when, after an obſtinate engagement, victory fell to the Scots, who routed the Engliſh, killing fifteen hundred of their men, and taking above four hundred priſoners; while their own loſs did not amount to more than two hundred in all. The

‡ Rymer, vol. x. p. 635, 637. * Hall. Monſtrelet. † Monſtrelet.

Engliſh council being apprized of the intended paſſage of the princeſs Margaret over to France, fitted out a fleet, which was ſtationed in the Channel in hopes to intercept her; but the Scottiſh ſquadron, ſailing round by the Weſtern Iſles, eſcaped the enemy's cruiſers, and landed their precious charge ſafely at Rochelle.

In the beginning of the year 1437 died queen Catherine of Valois, widow of Henry V. at the end of whoſe reign we have given an account of this lady's ſecond marriage, the deſcendants from which afterwards ſat on the throne of England. This princeſs was followed by Joan of Navarre, the other queen dowager of England, relict of Henry IV. beſide whom her remains were interred; a proof that, before her death, ſhe had got the better of the aſperſion that had been caſt upon her conduct and loyalty to the royal family.

Early this year a parliament was held at Weſtminſter, who made ſeveral regulations for the benefit of the marine and trading intereſt; and provided for the farther ſecurity of Calais, in conſequence of a repreſentation from the duke of Gloceſter, governor of that place, ſetting forth the danger it was in, and proteſting in form, that the loſs thereof ſhould not be imputed to him, if its preſervation was not attended to in time. In this parliament likewiſe ſir Richard Woodville, a gallant young ſoldier, and who had been captain or deputy-governor of Calais, owned his marriage with Jaquelina of Luxemburg, ducheſs dowager of Bedford, which having been contracted without the king's licence, the bridegroom was obliged to pay a thouſand pounds fine for that, and to obtain livery of her dowry; but he was afterwards (in the twenty-ſixth year of this reign) created earl of Rivers by patent. The remarkable acts of this parliament will be found in their proper place: taking leave of the civil, we will now proceed to the military tranſactions of this year.

The two parties in France paſſed the greateſt part of this year in daily inroads and ſurprizes upon each other, unchecked by the ſevere cold of the early part of the ſeaſon; for the brave and indefatigable Talbot found means to turn this very circumſtance to the advantage of his maſter's arms. Having undertaken to ſurprize Pontoiſe, he effected his deſign by a ſtratagem worthy of his military genius: knowing that the ditches of the place were frozen, and the country all about being covered with ſnow, he ordered a large body of his men to march by night, with white cloths over their armour; and coming before day to the foot of the walls, he made them lay down in the ditch, where they could not be diſtinguiſhed from the ſnow with which it was filled: the centinels being to be relieved at day-break, the Engliſh, on hearing the garriſon's drums, clapped their ſcaling-ladders to the wall, and entered the place ſo ſuddenly, that neither the garriſon nor Varambon, the governor, had time to make the leaſt defence, but took to precipitate flight for their own ſafety. The taking of this important poſt enabled the Engliſh to waſte the country and make incurſions to the very gates of Paris, to the great annoyance of that capital.

The garriſon of Crotoy, which was commanded by ſir John Standiſh, encouraged by the ſucceſs of Talbot, committed the like ravages in the adjacent parts of Ponthieu, and greatly harraſſed Abbeville and other towns, belonging both to Charles and the duke of Burgundy; this made the latter reſolve to lay ſiege to Crotoy in perſon: he accordingly ſat down before it with about ten thouſand of his beſt troops, but had the mortification to find his project baffled; for the duke of York, after having reduced Tancarville, Beauchatel, and Mateville, detached the lord Talbot with a body of five thouſand men, to relieve the place; and this experienced general, having paſſed the Somme at Blauquetaque, without oppoſition, advanced to Crotoy with ſo much reſolution and good order, that the duke thought proper to decamp, and ſuffer him, without reſiſtance, to ſupply the place with all neceſſaries, and even to ravage the neighbourhood for ſome days, after which the Engliſh general went and joined the regent's army in Normandy.

In the mean time Charles, after having ſpent the concluſion of the preceding year in celebrating the marriage of his ſon Lewis, the dauphin, with the princeſs of Scotland, in aſſembling the ſtates of Languedoc, and in ſettling matters in his other provinces ſouth of the Loire, made preparations for marching to Paris, which he had not yet honoured with his preſence. Accordingly, getting together an army of ſix thouſand men, he advanced to Brai, a town on the river Seine, and, after having taken Chateau Landon, Charni, Nemours, and ſome other Engliſh garriſons that lay in his way, he inveſted Montereau ſur Yonne, a poſt of conſequence as interrupting the communication of the county of Gatinois with Champagne and Burgundy.

This garriſon was commanded by ſir Thomas Gerard, a brave Engliſh officer, who made a gallant defence, though his numbers in the place did not amount to more than four hundred men. Hitherto Charles had not been remarkable for his perſonal courage, but on this occaſion he performed ſuch noble exploits as greatly ſurprized his friends and his enemies: having, after a long ſiege, given orders for a general aſſault, he was the firſt who jumped into the ditch, where the water came up to his middle, and was the firſt who mounted the walls; and ſo greatly were his men animated by his example, that the town was taken ſword in hand. After this conqueſt, by which he acquired great reputation, Charles went to Melun, having ſent the conſtable Richemont to diſpoſe things for his entry into Paris, where he arrived in perſon on the fourteenth of November this year, and was received with the warmeſt expreſſions of loyalty and joy; while he, on his part, ſeemed to forget that the city had ever ſhut her gates againſt him. His firſt care was to re-eſtabliſh the parliament and courts of juſtice there, and to provide for the future good government of the city. But a ſtop was put to theſe ſalutary regulations; for a terrible famine, followed by a peſtilence, broke out among the impoveriſhed and long-harraſſed inhabitants, which carried off ſuch numbers as rendered it unſafe to live within the walls; and the king and court leaving the city, with the greateſt part of the remaining people, it became a perfect deſart.

But France did not alone experience calamities; England was rent by factions: the Somerſet party

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at that court, ſworn enemies to the duke of York, of whom they had conceived a jealouſy, founded upon reaſons of blood, had intrigued ſo effectually againſt him, that he was recalled from the government of France this year, and Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, was appointed Henry's lieutenant-general in that kingdom. The old feuds between the cardinal and the duke of Gloceſter were alſo revived, with the moſt rancorous animoſity: the latter was indefatigable in attacking him whereever he lay open; and the other entrenched himſelf deep behind repeated general pardons from the crown for all treaſons or treſpaſſes he might be guilty of. Gloceſter had ever been a ſtrong oppoſer of the releaſe of the duke of Orleans, and the dying charge of the late king gave his oppoſition no ſmall weight; but, notwithſtanding, the cardinal-biſhop, glad of any opportunity to humble his antagoniſt, even though at the expence of his country's intereſt, lent a favourable ear to the propoſal made him by Charles, for bringing about the ranſom of the duke of Orleans, as the only perſon whoſe merit and rank could balance the credit of a party which, to Charles's infinite regret, he ſaw daily increaſing in his court, and of which his own ſon, the dauphin, a young man of a reſtleſs and ambitious diſpoſition, was at the head, and had engaged the dukes of Alençon and Bourbon, with the counts de Vendoſme and Dunois (the famous baſtard of Orleans), to enter into his counſels and deſigns. Accordingly we find, at the end of this year, that not only a treaty for the enlargement of the captive duke was ſet on foot, but there was alſo a project for a final accommodation between the two crowns, by means of that prince.

But, in order to have a clear view both of the deſigns and intereſt of the court of England at this time, we muſt attend the events of neighbouring courts, which, had they been as carefully improved, as they favourably happened, for the Engliſh might have once more given them the aſcendency on the continent. And firſt we ſhall take a view of the Scottiſh affairs at this period, and give ſome account of the conſtitution of that nation, as it has been gathered from their beſt writers by a modern hiſtorian, whoſe words we ſhall nearly tranſcribe.

"The feudal law, which had been eſtabliſhed in that country, continued at this time in much greater rigour than in England, or perhaps any part of the world: but the Scots, receiving it more early than the Engliſh, received it with much greater imperfection. It was not like the great ſyſtem introduced by the Norman Conqueror (and afterwards alternately improved by the crown and the people, as the ſcale of power preponderated in favour of either), modelled ſo as to keep the balance even among the conſtituent parts of the legiſlature; for, in Scotland, it had an evident tendency to agrandize the middle order, that of the barons. What made this a misfortune was, the ſmallneſs of the qualifications of thoſe barons, by which ſuch vaſt numbers of them enjoyed the feudal rights to the higheſt extent.

"That there ſeems to have been no ſuch order among them as that of a knight, in the Engliſh ſenſe of the word, viz. as one depending upon a baron, and holding his lands for the ſervices he performed to his lawful lord in the field; by this, the militia, in effect, was in the hands of the barons; and, in all domeſtic differences, the only ſafety of the crown was, that when the diviſion was pretty equal, as it generally happened, the king's weight caſt the balance upon the ſide into which it was thrown. It is true, in all diſputes with England, the crown had very great influence, the cauſe being common, the king their common leader; and in this his ſubjects agreed, though they often agreed upon nothing elſe. As to the form of their government, that too retained all the fierceneſs of its Gothic model, without any of thoſe ſoftenings introduced into that of England; and, it muſt be owned, that the commons ſeem to have had no manner of ſhare in their government, before they were introduced by the Engliſh, under Edward I. Robert Bruce was too good a politician not to perceive that the continuing this order might in time prove ſome kind of balance to the formidable power of the barons; he therefore encouraged it, and burgeſſes now ſat in parliament, in the ſame chamber with the barons.

"From this ſhort view of the Scottiſh conſtitution, the reader may perceive, that there was not any intermediate order between the crown and the commons, as peers of the king's court. There was no other difference between the barons and the commons, than that the former ſerved hereditarily and collectively, the other elective and repreſentatively. The meaneſt commoner, even to the lateſt period in which the people could boaſt of a parliament, had the ſame deliberative and deciſive voice as the greateſt baron; they joined in the ſame proteſt, and enjoyed the ſame privileges, while their political capacity laſted. There were, it is true, in Scotland, as in other parts of Europe, diſtinctions of nobility, ſuch as dukes and earls; but this gave them no pre-eminence in voice above the meaneſt commoner returned to ſerve in parliament: by thoſe means there was no proportion between the influence of the barons in parliament, and their power in the field, the latter ſo greatly outweighing the former, that the appeal was generally made to the ſword.

"As to what was afterwards looked upon to be the repreſentation of the commons from counties in Scotland, it was, in effect, no fundamental in their conſtitution, but a mere matter of conveniency, and, apparently inconſiſtent with the feudal law, which ſuppoſes every baron to be a Par Curiæ, and therefore repreſenting himſelf. But they were not the commons that thoſe members from counties repreſented, they were actually the barons, who at firſt ſerved collectively, till (as it happened in ſome caſes in England) they, in general, began to think their attendance too expenſive and inconvenient*, and James, as a matter of grace, diſpenſed with the attendance of the ſmaller barons, upon their joining to ſend up a repreſentative for their county. But it is to be remembered that this was not the caſe of all the barons; for the king obliged the moſt able and the moſt conſiderable of them to attend his court. Upon the whole, therefore, the original of nobility in Scotland was purely accidental, and, as all nobility ought to be, was annexed to great property and great parts. As to a peerage, they never had any, in the Engliſh ſenſe

* Black Acts, fol. 17. c. 112.

of

of the word; and in this Gothic form ſtood the conſtitution of Scotland at the time we now treat of‡." I have been the more particular in this account of a people to whom the Engliſh are now ſo intimately related, not only becauſe it has a connection with Engliſh hiſtory, but becauſe the reader, from this repreſentation, may form ſome conjecture how far the Engliſh had gained or loſt, by the alterations which had been introduced into their own feudal ſyſtem.

James I. of Scotland, though endowed with great abilities for government, had an education too foreign from the manners of the Scots, which had puſhed him upon ſome impolitic ſeverities. He had undertaken to humble the overgrown power of the barons, and he ſeems to have had it in view to worm them out of the militia, by bringing the parliament to paſs ſeveral acts eſtabliſhing a kind of reformed militia, which was to be commanded by the reſpective ſheriff of each county. He brought to juſtice many of his great men, who, during his exile, had acquired exorbitant powers: and, as he had the commons on his ſide, who were glad of the royal authority to ſhelter themſelves from the tyranny of their more immediate lords, he proceeded ſo far as to take off every man whoſe temper or power he dreaded, and that with a ſeverity too much ſavouring of cruelty.

Theſe proceedings neceſſarily gave diſguſt to many of the great men, but to no one more than Walter Stuart, earl of Athol, who, with the aſſiſtance of a bold outlaw, called Græme, and a briſk ambitious young man of his own name, and heir to his eſtates and honours, formed a conſpiracy for taking off a prince whom they looked upon as a bloody tyrant, for oppoſing the ambitious and oppreſſive proceedings of his nobles. The plot was carried on with ſuch ſecrecy, that James knew nothing of it till he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by the conſpirators at dead of night, in the convent of Dominicans at Perth, where he then lodged. The king had juſt time to ſtart from his bed and ſeize his ſword, when the ruffians entered his apartment and attacked him; he bravely defended himſelf for ſome time, and his queen interpoſed her own body between that of her huſband and the ſwords of the traitors, receiving ſome dangerous wounds in his defence; but this noble exertion of conjugal affection proved ineffectual, and ſhe had the grief to behold her royal conſort expire under twenty-eight wounds, many of them mortal.

This tragical event might have been improved to the advantage of England, who was not only freed thereby from a dangerous neighbour, attached to its enemy of France, but ſaw him ſucceeded by an infant, during whoſe minority the government of Scotland was chiefly influenced by the queen-mother, an Engliſh woman by birth, and related to Henry; but the domeſtic diviſions of the Engliſh court prevented the ſuitable meaſures, which ſuch a ſituation of affairs ſeemed to point out, from taking place: on the contrary, on the laſt day of March, 1438, a new truce was concluded with Scotland for nine years, viz. form the firſt of May, 1438, to the firſt of May, 1447; and a meeting was appointed for fixing the Marches of both kingdoms. Thus did the Engliſh loſe the faireſt opportunity they could have of breaking the connexions between France and Scotland, and of recovering their intereſts in both countries.

Nor was their conduct leſs impolitic with regard to the former of theſe courts. Charles, the French king, as we have already obſerved, began to be diſtracted by civil jealouſies. Some of his great men, who had ſerved him faithfully, and who, thinking themſelves but indifferently rewarded, had begun to form a party under the young dauphin againſt the government. This had put Charles upon uſing all his endeavours to obtain the enlargement of the duke of Orleans, and he ſucceeded ſo well in this, that it was actually agreed to in the Engliſh court, by the influence of the cardinal-biſhop. This unpopular ſtep was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the duke of Gloceſter, but not all his credit could prevent a new train of negociations from taking place, for we find, in the Collection of Public Acts *, this year, 1438, that a treaty with France was ſet on foot, at the requeſt of the duke of Brittany, who it ſeems had been importuned thereto by the pope.

Thus the court of England ſuffered itſelf to be amuſed at this critical juncture, without taking advantage of the many happy circumſtances that preſented in its favour.

This year produced but few remarkable military events; England as well as France being afflicted with the peſtilence, the war languiſhed for want of reinforcements, and nothing was undertaken, on either ſide, of greater importance than ſome petty ſiege or pillaging excurſions. The duke of Burgundy, indeed, chagrined at his late miſcarriage before Calais, reſolved, if poſſible, to retrieve his honour by a ſecond attempt againſt that place, from the nature of which he hoped for greater ſucceſs than in his laſt. He employed a great number of pioneers, and other workmen, to cut a dyke, through which he imagined the town would be ſuddenly overflowed by the ſea ruſhing in, and he propoſed entering the town ſword in hand, when the inhabitants ſhould be in the midſt of the terror and confuſion cauſed by ſuch an unexpected event; but the town being higher than the ſea, his deſign was baffled, and the earl of Huntingdon arriving with a numerous ſupply of men from England, the duke was obliged to give over his undertaking.

No other event of conſequence happened this year, excepting William Brunellard, governor of Dreux, giving up that place to the French for eighteen thouſand crowns; and ſir Francis Surienne receiving ten thouſand ſaluts d'or† for himſelf, with five thouſand for his garriſon, for the ſurrender of Montargis. On the other hand, the lord Talbot made himſelf maſter of Longueville, Cales, Manille, and ſeveral other places.

But the famine and peſtilence ceaſing in England and France, both ſides prepared to renew the war with vigour, as the moſt effectual method to haſten the concluſion of a peace, which each court was equally deſirous of bringing about. Accordingly, in the month of March, 1439, the conſtable de Richemont, with an army of four thouſand men at arms, laid ſiege to Meaux, one of the ſtrongeſt places in France, which had formerly held out ſeven

‡ Guth. vol. ii. p. 393.
* Vol. x. p. 638.
† This was a piece of money worth about twenty-five French ſols, or ſix pence of our money. It was ſo called from being impreſſed with the repreſentation of the angel's ſalutation of the Bleſſed Virgin.

months

months againſt Henry V. This city was commanded by the bailard of Thian, an officer of diſtinguiſhed military talents and valour, who had under him ſir John Ripley and ſir William Chamberlain; but, notwithſtanding this general made ſo brave a defence as aſtoniſhed the beſiegers, yet the town was taken by ſtorm, after holding out three weeks, and the gallant governor was taken priſoner in the action; when the conſtable, by a cruel ſeverity, of which, to ſay the truth, the Engliſh had, in the courſe of the war, ſet him but too frequent examples, ordered his head to be ſtruck off, becauſe he was a Frenchman, and, as ſuch deemed a rebel.

The work of the beſiegers was, however, but half completed by the taking of the town; for the garriſon, conſiſting of about five hundred men, headed by Ripley and Chamberlain, retired into the Marché, or Market-place (that part of the city ſo called, which is ſeparated from the other by the river Marne which runs through it), and breaking down the bridge of communication over the river, the conſtable found that he had a new ſiege to undertake, more difficult than the former; however, determined to carry the place at all events, he drew lines of circumvallation, flanked with redoubts, quite round it.

The active Talbot, hearing of the brave defence made by his countrymen, got together a body of about four thouſand troops, and advanced with a reſolution of relieving them; and, falling upon the French camp ſuddenly, and with great fury, he cut his way through the enemy, and threw four hundred men, with a ſupply of proviſions, into the city; after which he retired, without the French daring to follow him, or come to an engagement. But Charles, being informed that Talbot meditated a return, with a ſtill more conſiderable ſupply, he reinforced the conſtable ſo ſeaſonably, and the latter puſhed the ſiege with a vigour and impetuoſity, that obliged thoſe within to capitulate †.

The reduction of this important fortreſs greatly raiſed the conſtable's reputation, who, to make the moſt of the ardour of his ſoldiers, elated by ſucceſs, immediately formed the ſiege of Avranches, now in the hands of the Engliſh; but Talbot, who was on his way to Meaux with a body of troops deſigned for the relief of that place, hearing of its fate, and how the conſtable was at preſent employed, he advanced againſt that general, attacked and forced his lines, and forced him to abandon his undertaking.

Talbot then turned his victorious arms againſt Harfleur; but as his army was not ſtrong enough to form a regular ſiege, he contented himſelf with blocking up the town, and at the ſame time entrenched himſelf in ſuch an advantageous manner, as to bid defiance to almoſt any numbers to force him; in the mean time the earl of Mortaigne kept the place beleaguered by ſea. The earl of Eu, lately arrived from England, where he had been long priſoner, and now exchanged for John Beaufort, earl of Somerſet, approached, at the head of a body of troops, to attack the Engliſh entrenchments; but perceiving the nature of their ſituation, he thought proper to retire, after making a ſlight attempt, in which the count de Gaucourt was made priſoner by the Engliſh. Talbot, after continuing the blockade for above four months, at length made himſelf maſter of the town. He then proceeded to clear the reſt of Normandy of the French garriſons that occupied ſeveral caſtles there, until he conquered the whole province, the ſingle town of Dieppe only excepted.

Though the war was thus carrying on in France with equal fury, yet both courts ſeemed to lean towards peace. We have already taken notice, that negociations had been ſet on foot the preceding year for that purpoſe, at the requeſt of the duke of Brittany; and the duke of Orleans took an opportunity to offer his mediation in conjunction with that of the beforementioned prince, and for that end renewed his inſtances for leave to go to Calais to confer with that duke. This was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Gloceſter, who plainly ſaw, and loudly declared, that the duke of Orleans could not be an impartial mediator; but his great antagoniſt, the cardinal of England, began to gain an aſcendant over him, in proportion as the king advanced in years: poſſeſſed of greater wealth than any other ſubject in the realm, he was always able to furniſh Henry with ſupplies of money on every emergency, and by this and ſeveral other means, he ſo engaged Henry's affection, that he truſted wholly to him for information; and being naturally of a weak capacity and jealous diſpoſition, was eaſily induced to believe that the duke of Gloceſter deſigned to keep him in perpetual dependence; this raiſed in him ſo violent an averſion to his uncle, that he omitted no opportunity of thwarting him, ſo that Gloceſter's oppoſition was of more ſervice to Orleans than all the power and intereſt of his friends, or the largeneſs of the ſum he offered for his ranſom: in fine, it was agreed that he ſhould have liberty to go to Calais and confer with the duke of Brittany. But the moſt remarkable circumſtance of all, was a power which Henry gave to the cardinal-biſhop of repairing to Calais, and there opening the conferences with the French miniſtry. This is a further proof in how ſmall conſideration the duke of Gloceſter now was at his nephew's court. What is here related paſſed in the preceding year; but, as we choſe to keep the account of this negociation entire, we reſerved it for this place.

In the month of January this year, Iſabella of Portugal, ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, and the cardinal of Wincheſter, had an interview between Calais and Gravelines, when they agreed that the negociation ſhould be double on the part of England, one with the duke of Burgundy, which was to be managed between the ducheſs and the cardinal-biſhop; and another between the commiſſioners of England and France, the ſaid ducheſs and cardinal, together with the dukes of Brittany and Orleans, acting as mediators. Purſuant to this agreement, the very place where the ducheſs and cardinal were, was choſen for holding the congreſs; and plenipotentiaries were nominated on both ſides from the princes of the blood and the chief noblemen of both kingdoms *.

† Monſtrelet, p. 162, 163.

* The commiſſioners for Henry were, beſides the cardinal, John, archbiſhop of York; John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk; the biſhops of Norwich and St. David's; with the earls of Stafford and Oxford, and the lords Bourchier and Hungerford; beſides ſeveral civilians and other officers of ſtate: thoſe for the king of France, beſides the duke of Orleans, were the chancellor archbiſhop of Rheims, the counts of Vendoſme and Dunois, the lord of Buſche, and ſome other French counſellors. Rymer, vol. x. p. 728.

We have, in Mr. Rymer's Collection, a full copy of the inſtructions given to the Engliſh plenipotentiaries on this occaſion, of which we ſhall here give the ſubſtance, as it will ſerve to ſhew how the council of England ſtood diſpoſed with regard to a peace; as alſo enable the intelligent reader to judge which of the two parties is to be blamed for breaking off the conferences. The chief heads were:

Firſt, that they ſhall inſiſt upon the king of England's hereditary right to the crown of France, and enforce it by mentioning the many ſignal victories obtained by the Engliſh againſt the French; and that they ſhall propoſe to leave Charles in poſſeſſion of Languedoc, and as many other eſtates beyond the Loire as ſhall amount to twenty thouſand pounds a year, to be held of Henry.

Secondly, that if this offer ſhould be rejected, the cardinal, in his quality of a prelate of the church, and a mediator, ſhould make pathetic repreſentations to the aſſembly upon the miſeries of war, and the damage which it has already entailed upon the whole Chriſtian world; he is likewiſe to repreſent, that the indiviſibility of the monarchy is a mere chimera, ſince both before and after the reign of Charlemaign, ſeveral princes had divided it among themſelves: but that if thoſe repreſentations ſhall have no effect, the plenipotentiaries are to proceed to offer Charles all the dominions beyond the Loire (the duchy of Guienne, and the earldom of Poictou excepted, and thoſe other eſtates which the kings of England were poſſeſſed of there before they ſucceeded to the crown of France.) But we are to underſtand that Charles is ſtill to hold the ſame of Henry, as ſovereign.

Thirdly, if this propoſal ſhould be likewiſe rejected, the plenipotentiaries were further empowered to offer all the territories beyond the Loire, excepting thoſe places which Henry was then actually poſſeſſed of,; and they were to expatiate greatly upon this conceſſion, which gave up ſo many fair towns and fruitful provinces, &c.

Fourthly, if the laſt propoſition ſhould likewiſe be rejected, the plenipotentiaries are to offer, that their maſter ſhall accept of all that part of France, which his predeceſſors enjoyed, not as kings of France, but in their own private right, comprehending the towns and marches of Calais, the county, caſtle, and lordſhip of Guiſnes, according to the limits and bounds ſpecified in the treaty of Bretigny; but without holding them of the crown of France, or any other power.

They are likewiſe inſtructed, that, if the French plenipotentiaries ſhould inſiſt upon the crown of France being reſtored to the eſtates it held in Normandy, and other places, while they were poſſeſſed by the kings of England, they ſhall agree to the ſame, provided thoſe eſtates are not already given or granted away to Henry's ſubjects; but that Henry will conſent that Charles ſhall have the reverſion of them, or purchaſe them from their preſent owners.

This laſt article ſeems to have been the ultimatum of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries, for the reſt of their inſtructions proceeded upon two points, which were in the breaſt of the cardinal: the firſt of which was Henry's renouncing the title and arms of France; the other was the marriage between Henry and the daughter of Charles, upon which the plenipotentiaries were to ſay they had no inſtructions.

It is extremely plain, from the tenor of theſe inſtructions, that though the council were earneſtly deſirous of a peace, they durſt not preſume ſo far upon the patience of the people to purchaſe it too dear, for they deſcend no farther than what we have ſeen; but at the ſame time the plenipotentiaries are inſtructed at the end of the writing, to conclude a truce for any term of time, between forty and eight or ten years, in caſe that a final peace could could not be agreed upon, and that towns ſhould be exchanged for the better obſervation of the ſame. By the ſame inſtructions, likewiſe, the ranſom of the duke of Orleans was fixed at one hundred thouſand marks, of which Henry would accept of Harfleur, Dieppe, and Mount St. Michael, for one half.*

Very different were the inſtructions given to the French plenipotentiaries; all that they were empowered to offer, was "That the Engliſh ſhould enjoy all they poſſeſſed in the duchy of Guienne, with the balliages of Evreux, Caen, and the Contentin, Calais and Guiſnes, with their marches and dependencies, the ſovereignty of the duchy of Alençon, and what they held in Picardy; but then Henry was, on his part to do homage and fealty to Charles for all thoſe territories, to make an abſolute renunciation of his claim to the crown of France, and to deſiſt from bearing either its arms or titles †."

The ducheſs of Burgundy and the duke of Orleans ſaw very plainly that it was impoſſible peace could be concluded, whilſt both ſides continued ſo ſtiff, the Engliſh for the arms, titles, and crown of France, which they were required to renounce, and the French for the homage and ſuperiority of the ceded territories, that, far from either yielding aught to the other, they would not agree to a ſuſpenſion of their claims for fifteen, twenty, or thirty years, as propoſed in a plan of accommodation drawn up by the ducheſs of Burgundy and the duke of Orleans. Accordingly, after the ambaſſadors had exerted their utmoſt ſagacity and penetration, in order to diſcover the extent of each other's powers, but without effect, it was propoſed to adjourn the conferences till both parties had the ſenſe of their courts upon the heads in diſpute: this was agreed to, but the terms propoſed were ſo diſagreeable to both parties, that the negociation never was reſumed.

Whilſt this affair was in agitation, the court-diviſions among the French aroſe to ſuch an height as to endanger their newly recovered ſtate. The dauphin and many of the princes of the blood were joined in a league againſt the king, which tended to no leſs than the dethroning him, and ſetting the crown upon the head of his ſon. The particular reaſons that cauſed this commotion are foreign to our purpoſe to relate; we ſhall, therefore, only obſerve, that Charles, by his reſolution and the aſſiſtance of the conſtable Richemont, reduced the refractory to obedience towards the latter end of this year; and that, though theſe diſturbances continued in France for near twelve months, the Engliſh, either for want of ſtrength to improve the opportunity, or from ſupineneſs and

* Rymer, vol. x. p. 724.

† Du Tillet Recueil de Traités, &c.

neglect,

neglect, derived not the leaſt advantage therefrom to their affairs in France.

Early in the year 1440 died Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, regent or lieutenant-general of France: he was ſucceeded by the duke of York, who was now ſent thither in that quality, though he had been before recalled to give place to the earl. The duke was probably indebted for this honour to the cardinal-biſhop, who had the ſole management of Henry's government.

About this time the affair of the duke of Orleans was again reſumed. This prince had, by his zeal for bringing about the late treaty to a concluſion, or by ſome other means, ſo recommended himſelf to the council of England, that they reſolved to ſet him at liberty upon the payment of forty thouſand nobles in hand, and giving ſecurity for fourteen thouſand more, payable at different terms, and engaging not to bear arms againſt Henry, nor do any thing to his prejudice ‡.

The duke of Gloceſter had always oppoſed the releaſe of the duke of Orleans: the late king his brother's will was with him an inviolable law; beſides, he was perſuaded the giving Orleans his liberty, would only increaſe the number of the enemies of England; and now, when he ſaw this matter drawing towards an iſſue, he renewed his oppoſition with the greateſt firmneſs; but finding all his endeavours in vain, and that the majority of the council were for admitting the duke to ranſom, he drew up a formal proteſt againſt that meaſure, with the reaſons for his opinion. The ſum of the duke's proteſt was as follows:

"His chief reaſons, he ſaid, were taken from the known weakneſs of Charles VII. and the dauphin his ſon, and the diſſentions between them, which, in all probability, would influence the ſtates of France to truſt the duke of Orleans, whoſe great and extenſive knowlege has been well approved, with the adminiſtration of the affairs of the kingdom: the diſcouragement his enlargement would give to the eſtates of Normandy, which had hitherto contributed ſo largely, and with ſo much alacrity, to the defence of that country: the uncertainty whither the duke would not think himſelf more obliged to obey his ſovereign's commands, than to obſerve his own oath; and the want of a remedy, in caſe the bonds and obligations for his ranſom-money ſhould not be paid: the danger of loſing Guienne, that ancient inheritance of the crown, from the alliance between the duke of Orleans and the counts of Armagnac and Foix, and the lord d'Albret: the late reconciliation between the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, at Calais, during the negociations, which ought to create a dread of their joining forces to drive the Engliſh out of France, inſtead of expecting any advantage by their diſſention: the ill look it would have abroad, as if the crown of England (which had no alliance but with Portugal) could not maintain the war without raiſing money by a ranſom, which would endanger the loſs of all it as yet poſſeſſed in France: laſtly, that it was known to every one, the late king, wiſely weighing the danger which would ariſe from the enlargement of the duke of Orleans, forbade, upon his death-bed, to releaſe that prince till a peace was concluded †."

Theſe reaſons, however, appeared to have no weight, and the duke of Orleans obtained his liberty, after an impriſonment of twenty five years, on much eaſier terms than thoſe he had offered before the conferences at Arras; and, having taken an oath, before he left London, to perform all the conditions of his ranſom, he was finally enlarged at Gravelines, on the twelfth of November: and being met there by the duke of Burgundy, went with him to St. Omer's, where he ſoon after married that prince's niece, Margaret of Cleves, agreeable to an agreement that had been made with the ducheſs of Burgundy, in her ſon's name, during the conferences at Calais.

Very little, beſides what we have related, paſſed either in England or on the continent, during this year, if we except an attempt made by Charles, who had now taken a liking to military avocations, to recover Pontoiſe, which, being ſtill in the hands of the Engliſh, greatly annoyed the Pariſians. He laid cloſe ſiege to this place for ſome months; but the duke of York arriving in France about the middle of Auguſt, with an army of twelve thouſand men, advanced to the place, and offered the French king battle; and, upon his declining it, paſſed the river Oyſe, in ſight of the French army, in order to attack Charles's head-quarters at Maubueſſon; upon which that prince, whoſe unvarying maxim it was, never to fight the Engliſh but with the moſt deciſive advantage on his ſide, thought proper to retreat, and the Engliſh entered Pontoiſe in triumph. After leaving a thouſand freſh men in the place, they marched out, and again offered Charles battle at Poiſy, but not finding themſelves able to force him to fight, they were obliged to return into winter-quarters at Rouen.

But Charles could not eaſily digeſt the affront put upon his almoſt maiden arms at Pontoiſe; determined to retrieve his baffled honour and ſtill the clamour of his people, who looked upon their late ſucceſſes as earneſts of their future invincibility. In this diſpoſition he aſſembled a greater army than he had for many years commanded; the French hiſtorians tell us that it amounted to twenty thouſand men. He was attended by the dauphin, the earl of Maine (or Anjou), and Richemont the conſtable; and, taking the field in the ſpring of the year 1441, his firſt attempt was againſt Creil, a town ſituate on the Oyſe, which he carried without much reſiſtance. He next formed anew the ſiege of Pontoiſe, with twelve thouſand of his beſt troops. Charles was bent on the reduction of the place, but he had a great general to oppoſe. Talbot, commiſſioned by the duke of York to introduce a convoy into the town, deſpiſing the moſt difficult enterprizes, marching up with only four thouſand men, made ſuch a ſeaſonable and vigorous attack upon the enemy's quarters, that he obliged them to give way, and introduced his ſupplies into the place.

Charles, however, behaved on this occaſion with equal bravery and conduct; he was the foremoſt in all poſts of danger. The garriſon, on their ſide, conſtantly harraſſed the French by their ſallies; while the beſiegers continued to batter the walls furiouſly with their cannon: at length, having made three breaches, and beaten down the church of Notre Dame, they attacked and took a fort,

‡ Rymer, vol. x. p. 756, &c.

† Rymer, vol. x. p. 764--767.

which,

which, overlooking the town, enabled them to annoy the beſieged with their long guns and culverins. Soon after Charles gave orders for a general aſſault, and, forcing his way in deſpite of all the efforts of the enemy, he mounted the battlements ſword in hand, and was himſelf the firſt who planted the French colours on the walls. Sir Nicholas Burdet, with five hundred of the garriſon, were ſlain in the defence of the breaches, and about as many more taken priſoners. Four days after the taking of Pontoiſe, the town of Evreux was ſurprized by the French, as was likewiſe Beaumont le Rayer. Thus, before the end of this year's campaign, the Engliſh were ſtripped of all their places of ſtrength in the neighbourhood of Paris, excepting Vernon and Mante †.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in France, there paſſed a ſcene in England that attracted the whole attention of that people; a ſcene infamous by its agents, and more ſo by its motives. We have already obſerved, that the duke of Gloceſter's credit ſenſibly declined; in ſhort, he had no other footing in the cabinet than what his perſonal integrity gave him. But the cardinal of Wincheſter, his implacable enemy, not contented with having ruined his intereſt, concerted ſchemes even againſt his life, by endeavouring to fix upon him the imputation of high-treaſon; but the duke's known attachment to his ſovereign getting the better of theſe arts, Wincheſter was obliged to change his battery. Eleanor, ducheſs of Gloceſter, had formerly been that prince's miſtreſs: ſhe loved him with the greateſt warmth of affection; the duke, however, was not ſtrictly true to her bed. She was apprized of this; and a certain fanaticiſm, compoſed of ſuperſtition and ignorance, prompted her to apply to certain perſons, who pretended to underſtand necromancy and to deal in love-powders and incantations. This coming to the cardinal's ears, who had planted emiſſaries to obſerve all that paſſed in the duke's family, he from thence took occaſion to have the ducheſs ſeized, together with her accomplices, who had all along impoſed upon her credulity; and a charge was immediately made out againſt her, for having practiſed ſorcery againſt the life of the king, by making an image of wax to reſemble Henry, and melting it gradually before the fire, in hopes that as this conſumed, the king's conſtitution would decay. A ſlight indiſpoſition under which Henry had for ſome time laboured, favoured this charge; the credulous populace, ready to adopt every idle tale, gave into the ſnare. Judges were appointed to try the ducheſs and her accomplices on this abſurd charge: as there are always wretches to be found, in every degree, ready to ſacrifice honour, virtue, truth, and religion at the altar of preferment, it was not long before ſhe was adjudged guilty, and ſentenced to do public penance for three days ſucceſſively, by walking bare-footed and bare-headed, with a waxen taper in her hand, through the ſtreets of London, to St. Paul's church, and then to be committed priſoner for life to Cheſter caſtle, under the cuſtody of ſir Thomas Stanley*. This ſentence was literally executed: the enemies of the duke of Gloceſter hoping that this public diſgrace would either ruin his popularity, or provoke him to take ſome deſperate meaſures againſt the government; but they were diſappointed in part of their expectation; the duke was an enthuſiaſt in loyalty, and bore his wrongs with the utmoſt reſignation: however, this dreadful mortification ſhook his credit ſo much, that he could never again recover his ground.

As for the accomplices of the ducheſs, or rather her deceivers, who were one Roger Bolinbroke and Thomas Southwell, two prieſts, a woman named Margery Gurdeman, a pretended witch, with Hume and another prieſt, and one Woodham an eſquire, the two former were hanged, and the woman was burnt alive; but Hume and Woodham received their pardon, which gave moſt people reaſon to believe that they had been in concert with the duke and ducheſs's enemies, eſpecially as they kept up to the ſtory of the image, thereby to ſerve the cardinal's inſatiate malice, while the others diſclaimed all knowlege of ſuch a circumſtance even with their dying breath.

Nor was this the only triumph which the cardinal gained over his antagoniſt, the duke of Gloceſter: he ſhewed his ſuperiority of intereſt in other affairs of more importance to the nation. He always ſeconded every propoſal of accommodation with France, with which the court of England was continually amuſed; this occaſioned a heavy deſponding inactivity all the remaining part of this year, and the French were left in quiet poſſeſſion of their late acquiſitions.

But while England was ſuffering by theſe ſhameful diſſentions, the ſtate of affairs at the court of France wore not a much better face. Charles had ſcarcely time to repoſe himſelf after the ſiege of Pontoiſe, when he was alarmed by the ſtrongeſt cabal of oppoſition that ever threatened his government. Almoſt all the princes of the blood were in a freſh league againſt him, with the duke of Orleans at their head. This prince was highly offended at the cold reception he received from the king, after a twenty-years captivity for the intereſt of France, and even during which he had done him ſignal ſervices. Probably this league would have entirely ruined the king's affairs, if, by his prudent conduct he had not found means to gain over the head by conſiderable favours; the duke of Orleans deſerting the faction, all their meaſures were broken, and they were forced to throw themſelves upon the king's mercy, who, with a politic gentleneſs, gave them pardon, and thus put an end to their league ‡.

In the year 1442, the Engliſh ſeemed to awake from their infatuation. At that time the duke of York was in France, and all the beſt officers in England ſerved under him. It was reſolved to take advantage of the before-mentioned diſſentions in the French court, which laſted for ſeveral months: and the duke of York formed the army into three diviſions, one of which he commanded in perſon, another he committed to the charge of the lord Willoughby, and Talbot was at the head of the third; while the earl of Huntingdon, who had a ſeparate command in Guienne, was appointed to act in that province. By theſe diſpoſitions the French found themſelves extremely harraſſed; but the chief and moſt vigorous operations were carried on by the lord Talbot, whom the king this

† Hiſt. Chronol. de Charles VII. Monſtrelet,

* Stowe's Annals, p. 381, 382.

‡ P. Daniel.

year

year created earl of Shrewſbury ‖, and the earl of Huntingdon, we ſhall therefore confine ourſelves to the narrative of theſe.

Talbot's firſt operation was againſt the caſtle of Conches; and the count de Dunois ſeeking to divert him from his undertaking, ſat down before Gaillardon: but the ſtratagem turned againſt the inventor, for Gaillardon making a better reſiſtance than Conches, Talbot, after taking poſſeſſion of the latter, marched to beat up the quarters of Dunois before Gaillardon; but this general knowing that he could not engage but under a diſadvantage, retired before the other could come up. By this retreat Talbot found himſelf at liberty to purſue a more extenſive plan which he had formed, and which he now began to put in execution by laying ſiege to Dieppe, which was defended by de Forêt, a brave French gentleman, who had under him ſeveral gallant officers. Talbot having made himſelf maſter of an eminence above the ſuburbs on the land ſide, erected a fort there, from whence he moſt furiouſly battered the tower of Polet and the walls of the place with almoſt two hundred cannon. Nevertheleſs it continued to hold out obſtinately for above nine months, the count de Dunois having found means, during the ſiege to throw himſelf into it with nine hundred ſoldiers; but Talbot, having likewiſe gotten a new reinforcement, muſt at length have carried it, had not the dauphin, ſent by his father Charles, arrived before the place, now almoſt in ruins, about the middle of Auguſt, and attacked the Engliſh with great fury: the earl of Shrewſbury was then gone to Rouen, and had left the care of the ſiege to his ſon, John Talbot, who made a moſt gallant reſiſtance, but was taken priſoner, and the place relieved. On this occaſion the dauphin behaved in ſo gallant a manner as gained him great reputation.

While the ſiege of Dieppe was carrying on, the earl of Huntingdon undertook that of Tartas, which lay in the lordſhip of d'Albret, in Guienne. The ſiege laſted for ſeveral months, with equal obſtinacy on both parts, at laſt the garriſon capitulated to ſurrender, if not relieved by Midſummer; but Charles, being ſtrongly ſolicited by the lord d'Albret to march to the relief of the beſieged, the latter began his march at the head of no fewer (ſays Monſtrelet) than eighty thouſand horſe, and appearing before Tartas on the twenty-fourth of June, offered the Engliſh battle; but the latter being much inferior in numbers, broke up the ſiege, and Charles reſtored the place to d'Albret. After this, the French king attacking St. Sauveur, the ſtrongeſt place the Engliſh held in Guienne, carried it by aſſault, and no leſs than eight hundred Engliſh were ſlain, and the governor, ſir Thomas Rampſtone, made priſoner. Following the tide of his ſucceſs, he next laid ſiege to Acq, which held out five weeks, but at length ſurrendered. La Reole was carried by ſtorm; and Marmande fell likewiſe into the hands of the now victorious Charles, who ſoon after put an end to the campaign on that ſide, and went himſelf to Montauban, where he paſſed the reſt of the winter.

There happened about this time a civil tranſaction on the continent, which had great effects upon the affairs of England, and therefore claims a place in this work. The circumſtance was this: John IV. count d'Armagnac, in conſequence of a grant of the earldom of Comminges, made, for a valuable conſideration, to his uncle John III. by Margaret, heireſs of that eſtate, and counteſs of Comminges, claimed the ſucceſſion of that county after her death; but Charles, after the breaking up of the laſt campaign, coming to Montauban, had delivered the old counteſs from a confinement in which ſhe had been kept near twenty years by her huſband Matthew de Grailly; in conſideration of which, Charles procured from the lady a ceſſion of Comminges in his own favour *; and not only ſtripped the count d'Armagnac of all he poſſeſſed from the Comminges family, but alſo compelled him to lay aſide the title of Earl by the Grace of God. All this mortified the count to the greateſt degree, and put him upon making a treaty with England, in the ſpring of the enſuing year, 1443, and upon offering one of his daughters in marriage to Henry, in hopes of ſuccours from thence to ſupport his title to the earldom of Comminges. Charles, getting ſome intelligence of his treaty with Henry, who had actually given orders to Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, to ſupport the count †, laid a deep and well concerted ſcheme for defeating the confederacy; and, before the earl of Shrewſbury could raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies of men for taking the field, Charles ſent his ſon Lewis, the dauphin, with the marſhal de Loheac, at the head of a powerful army, to cruſh the count before he could receive the intended aſſiſtance from the Engliſh. Lewis uſed ſuch diligence, that he appeared before l'Iſle Jourdain ere Armagnac had the leaſt notice of his march. This vigorous proceeding had its deſired effect: neither the counts of Foix, Perche, nor Marche, who had entered into the confederacy, durſt appear to ſupport him, and the count d'Armagnac found it neceſſary to throw himſelf on the mercy of Charles, who ſent him priſoner to Carcaſſonne, with all his family except his eldeſt ſon, who fled to Navarre. The dauphin, before the end of this year, entirely reduced the counties of Armagnac and Roſay, belonging to that count, excepting two fortreſſes, which were obliged ſome time after to capitulate likewiſe. Thus did the Engliſh, by an unaccountable ſupineneſs, ſuffer themſelves to be deprived of an ally, who, if they had properly ſupported him, might have been as ſerviceable to them in the defence of Guienne, as his anceſtors had been to the French towards the reduction of it.

In the beginning of this year a private negociation was ſet on foot between Henry and the duke of Burgundy: the latter ſeeing that the diſpute between the two kings was not likely to be decided, reſolved to extricate himſelf from a ruinous war by concluding a ſeparate peace with England. He was particularly excited to this by the behaviour of Charles, who betrayed an evident coolneſs towards him; and he was apprehenſive, in caſe that monarch's affairs ſhould be reſtored, either by peace or war, he might reſume his old enmity againſt him; he therefore thought it his intereſt to deſiſt ſupporting him him in a war, which, if it ſhould prove ſucceſsful, might render him too

‖ His patent of creation bears date March 20, 1442. Dugdale's Baron. vol. i. p. 329.

* Hiſt. Genealog. de la France, tome iii. p. 420, 422.

† Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xi. p. 6, 7.

 powerful,

powerful, and gave his ducheſs full powers to conclude a general truce for all his dominions, with the king of England *. There had been one already made, which related only to the commerce between the Low Countries and that kingdom; but this, which was concluded the twenty-third of April, comprehended Burgundy and all the duke's territories in general, and was to continue in force until one of the parties renounced the engagement, in which caſe he ſhould give notice of his intention three months before the actual rupture.

The earl of Somerſet was ſent over this year to France, with an army, in order to aſſiſt the earl of Shrewſbury in the reduction of Dieppe; but, on his landing at Cherbourg, he received advice of the place being relieved; upon which all he could do, was to commit ravages in the open country: he took the caſtle of la Guerche, in Brittany, probably for the ſake of plunder, ſince it belonged to a neutral prince, to whom it was ſoon reſtored. He afterwards made great depredations in Anjou, lying two months near Pouanié, without attacking the place, and though joined by ſuch numbers from Normandy that his army amounted to above twelve thouſand men, he continued theſe petty hoſtilities without doing any action worthy of notice, and at length returned to Cherbourg.

It is about this time we may date the beginning of that diſſention between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, that afterwards drenched their unhappy country in the blood of its own natives. The duke of York, who had now acquired a great power, both in the nation and the cabinet, found his family intereſt ſtrengthened by the birth of a ſon, whom we ſhall ſee hereafter mount the throne of England by the name of Edward IV †. He had prudently diſguiſed thoſe ambitious ſentiments he really entertained, and appeared a devoted and zealous partizan of the court and its meaſures; he had entered into all the cardinal's pacific ſecrets, and therefore ſuffered the war in France to languiſh under his command; there was, moreover, a mutual animoſity between him and the earl of Somerſet, who had alſo a chief command in that country, and was particularly favoured by Gloceſter; and as York foreſaw that prince could never be brought to favour his ſchemes, however heartily he might be diſguſted with the cardinal, he uſed all means to weaken that prince's credit with the nation, and rival it in the council. And here we cannot forbear taking notice of the great error in politics committed by the late duke of Bedford, in aggrandizing the houſe of York, of whoſe claim and pretenſions he could not be ignorant. There is no accounting for this miſtake, but by ſuppoſing him to have had a great perſonal friendſhip for, and an high opinion of that duke; and that he thought, by the kindneſs he ſhewed him, to cancel in his mind all family reſentments and prejudices: a ſuppoſition, however, which does more credit to the duke's own goodneſs of heart, than to his knowlege of mankind.

On the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, this year died John V. duke of Brittany; and was ſucceeded in the ſovereignty of that duchy by his eldeſt ſon Francis.

The cardinal-biſhop of Winchеſter, who had now acquired the whole direction of ſtate affairs, had taken care to fill the king's council with eccleſiaſtics, to ſtrengthen his party. The cardinal-archbiſhop of York, an aſpiring prieſt, was taken by Winchеſter for his colleague; the biſhop of Bath and Wells, a profeſſed courtier, was, upon the death of Chicheley, a prelate of great abilities and integrity, promoted to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury: in a word, the king and council were no better than cyphers to fill up the ſum of Winchеſter's conſequence, who had ſtarved the Engliſh intereſt in France, and whoſe pride, inſolence, and ambition had by this time rendered him odious to the whole nation. The common people could by no means reliſh his politics, nor could they bear the thoughts of any connection between England and the duke of Burgundy, who, they imagined, had ſo infamouſly betrayed them. The public diſcontents were ſo violent, that they broke out into ſeveral dangerous riots, particularly in Yorkſhire and Norfolk, eſpecially in the latter of thoſe counties, where the citizens of Norwich attempted to fire the priory of that city, and proceeded to ſuch outrages, that the court ordered the duke of Norfolk to march with ſome troops to ſuppreſs them: he ſucceeded in his undertaking, but ran into ſuch impolitic ſeverities on the occaſion, that the common people in general were exaſperated afreſh.

The cardinal of England, however, not to be diverted from his purpoſe, called a great council in the king's name, which met ſoon after the Chriſtmas holidays; and here Beaufort laboured with all his might to enforce his pacific plan, and ſupported his opinion by various arguments, which were more ſpecious than ſolid. He alleged, that as matters were then ſituated, it was utterly impoſſible for the Engliſh to extend their conqueſts in France, or even to retain thoſe which they had already made; the parliament, he obſerved, was extremely backward in granting ſupplies for the maintenance of the war; the Engliſh affairs in Normandy were involved in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion; the power of the French king was daily becoming more formidable: and from all theſe circumſtances he inferred, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy's arms by a temporary ſuſpenſion from hoſtilities, which might allow the Engliſh time to recruit their ſpirits, and retrieve their ruined fortunes.

The duke of Gloceſter, naturally bold and ambitious, could not reliſh theſe dilatory meaſures; he could not be perſuaded to reſign all hopes of prevailing over France; nor could he patiently endure to ſee his own advice over-ruled by the ſuperior power and intereſt of his rival. But all his oppoſition had no effect, for a freſh negociation was ſet on foot for a definitive treaty, in January, 1444; and the Engliſh miniſtry was ſo tame as to conſent to the congreſs being held at Tours, where Charles reſided: the earl of Suffolk, Dr. Moleyns, keeper of the privy-ſeal, the lord Roos, ſir Thomas Roe, ſecretary, and Reeve, a civilian, with John Wenlock, were plenipotentiaries for England; while the duke of Orleans and the count de Vendoſme were the principal of thoſe for France ‡.

The conferences being opened, ſeveral propoſitions were ſtarted on both ſides, on the ſubject of a

* Rymer, vol. xi. p. 13.
† Sandford ſays he was born on April 29, 1441, at Rouen. Geneal. p. 403.
‡ Hall, p. 144.

general

general peace, but, as they were mutually rejected, the whole result of the negociation was a truce for about two years between the two crowns, which was to commence at land the following first of June *, and at sea on the first of July ensuing, and to end the first of April, 1446 †: it included the allies of both princes ‡.

The powers given to the other English ambassadors, related only to the peace or truce, but Suffolk was entrusted with a commission of another nature, which was no less than chusing a queen for his sovereign; a point of far greater consequence than may be at first imagined. Henry himself was naturally of such weak intellects, and of such a milky disposition, that he seemed formed to be implicitly governed by any person who could gain the ascendancy in his affections.

The court of England, as we have seen, was divided into two parties, that of the cardinal of Winchester, and that of the duke of Gloucester; and though the former had greatly gained upon the latter, in point of influence and credit, yet the superiority was not so great but that it might be easily destroyed, and even the balance cast upon the other side, by the interest of a queen, provided she was a woman of capacity and address; each party therefore was extremely desirous of having the honour to provide their prince with a consort, as it was more than probable that this circumstance would for ever decide the victory between them. The duke of Gloucester had warmly recommended the match with the daughter of the count d'Armagnac, while the treaty was depending between that prince and the court of England; but the cardinal and his friends had fixed their eyes upon Margaret of Anjou, daughter to Regnier, duke of Anjou and Lorraine, a princess who possessed all the requisites they wanted in a wife for Henry, and a powerful protectress for themselves: she was of a lively and daring spirit; of great penetration, uncommon resolution, and not to be intimidated by opposition or difficulties.

The lady's father was brother to the queen of France, and enjoyed the pompous title of king of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, but without being possessed of a foot of land in these kingdoms; he was still in debt to the duke of Burgundy for his ransom, and unable to give any dowry with his daughter: this defect, however, was looked over, and Suffolk took care to send such an animating description of her beauty and merit to his court, and to represent this alliance as the surest means of obtaining a lasting peace, which Henry extremely coveted, that the ductile monarch readily gave his consent to the match, nay he even empowered Suffolk to promise, in his name, to cede the duchies of Anjou and Maine, then in the hands of the English, to Charles of Anjou, brother to the lady's father, Regnier pretending that it was inconsistent with his honour to marry his daughter to the usurper of the estates belonging to his family. On these terms, then, the treaty was concluded, and the English plenipotentiaries returned home. Many of our historians have taxed the earl of Suffolk with having of his own accord proposed this match, in order to establish his own favour at court; but, from what has been said above, I think it is highly probable, that it was a scheme contrived between Suffolk and the cardinal before the former was appointed chief of the embassy.

However that might be, when, upon Suffolk's return home, the negociation came to be laid before a council, purposely called on the occasion, the duke of Gloucester violently exclaimed against the whole of the proceedings, particularly the intended match; and exerted his utmost endeavours, as did all his party, to get the council to set it aside; the superior advantages that would arise by a marriage with a daughter of the count d'Armagnac, the poverty of the intended bride's family, and the important territory that was to be given up, were all strongly urged; but, in spite of all he could do or say, the contract was ratified at London; Suffolk was dignified with the title of marquis, and even received the thanks of the parliament for concluding the marriage, and sent over, in November this year, to Nanci, in Lorraine, where he espoused the princess Margaret by proxy, in presence of the king and queen of France, the dauphin, and a great number of the French nobility. She was conducted in the ensuing spring to England, attended by the marchioness of Suffolk, and an honourable train of English ladies; and being married, on the eighteenth of April, 1445, at the priory of Southwick, near Portsmouth, where she landed, was crowned, on the first Sunday after Trinity, May 30, in Westminster abbey ‖.

On this occasion a great promotion was made in the English nobility: John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, was made duke of Exeter, with precedency in parliament next to the duke of York; Humphrey, earl of Stafford was made duke of Buckingham; and Henry Beauchamp, son to the late earl of Warwick, created duke of that title. The king also granted this nobleman, in reversion, from the death of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, the isles of Jersey, Guernsey, Sark, and Alderney, and also the manor and hundred of Bristol; and, what is very extraordinary, crowned him king of the Isle of Wight with his own hands, in consideration of his father's great descent. Henry also granted him place in parliament next the duke of Norfolk, and before Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, which created great animosities between them: by a special act made in parliament, it was established, that they should have precedency by turns yearly, the duke of Warwick to begin the first year; but his death, which happened shortly after, put an end to this matter §.

The new queen had not been long in possession of her dignity, when she shewed her intentions of being mistress of her husband's conduct as well as his affections. The opposition which the duke of Gloucester had made to her marriage, had fixed her to a personal aversion for that prince; and she entered into close correspondence with the cardinals of Winchester and York and the marquis of Suffolk, who, strengthened by her friendship, and

* This truce was signed on the twenty-eighth of May.

† Mr. Carte says 1450. making the term for six years; but in this (unless an error of the press) he differs from all records and history.

‡ At the same time the truce between England and Scotland was prolonged, at Edinburgh, for seven years, to begin the first of May, 1447, the day the former was to expire. Rymer, vol. xi. p. 58.

‖ Antiq. Britan. a MS. in the Heralds Office, n. 45. Hall, p. 148. Monstrelet, vol. iii. p. 1, 2.

§ Dugdale, vol. i. p. 248. Stowe, p. 384.

animated

animated by their common hatred againſt Gloceſter, reſolved to effect the ruin of that worthy and patriotic nobleman, in which, as the ſequel will ſhew, they ſucceeded but too well. But we muſt now attend to other matters.

The truce being made only in order to a peace, this whole year was ſpent in general negociations concerning the time and place of a new congreſs. It was thought likewiſe, that an interview of the two kings might promote the concluſion of a peace, but Charles inſiſting upon the meeting being held within his dominions, this propoſal was laid aſide, and the archbiſhop of York, the duke of Buckingham, the marquis of Suffolk, with the lord Sudley, were appointed plenipotentiaries, to meet commiſſioners from France in London; but all they could agree upon, was a confirmation of the former truce, and a prolongation of the ſame for ſome months.

The parliament, which was aſſembled at Weſtminſter on the twenty-fifth of February this year, was, on account of an epidemic diſtemper which raged in London and the parts adjacent, prorogued till the twenty-fourth of January, 1446, when the marquis of Suffolk made a ſpeech to each of the houſes, ſetting forth the benefits which the nation had already received from the truce, and expatiating on his own conduct, labours, and ſervices in war, as well as his great prudence and diſcretion in treating for a ceſſation of hoſtilities, and ſettling the contract of marriage. His conduct thus favourably blazoned by himſelf, and ſupported by the court-party, who had now a majority in the parliament, was approved by both houſes, who joined in an act declaring the marquiſs of Suffolk a true and faithful ſubject; and, to ſecure him from being called to an account in any future parliament for his advice or conduct in the affair of the truce, they repealed a ſtatute made in the time of Henry V. that no peace or truce ſhould be made with the common enemy, without the conſent of the three eſtates of the kingdom. And in the ſame fit of good humour they granted the king a conſiderable ſubſidy for a vigorous proſecution of the war with France, as ſoon as the truce ſhould be expired; and half a fifteenth to Suffolk, for the charges of going over ſea to eſpouſe and bring over the queen*.

The duke of York, having now little to do in France, returned to England in the beginning of this year, 1446, while the parliament was ſitting. He met with a very gracious reception from the king, and the parliament thanked him for his ſervices to the ſtate: but, as he ſtill wiſhed to continue at the head of the army, which he was daily modelling agreeable to his own ſchemes, he took occaſion to recommend a vigorous proſecution of the war, and in ſuch terms as gave great offence to the cardinal and his party; and the earl of Mortaigne (Edmund Beaufort), who had ſucceeded to the title of earl of Somerſet on the death of his brother John in the preceding year, and was the implacable enemy of York, and who had followed him over from France, took this opportunity to do him ſuch ill offices, that, after he had procured a renewal of his commiſſion as lord-lieutenant of France for five years, the ſame was revoked. This the duke of York could not but highly reſent, and ſwore revenge againſt Somerſet; and he even made ſome overtures towards a coalition with the duke of Gloceſter.

The court ſeems to have foreſeen and dreaded this event, and to have exerted themſelves to the utmoſt to prevent the fatal effects that might ariſe therefrom to themſelves. The queen, who was of a bold and enterprizing genius, and who had a mortal hatred to Gloceſter, encouraged this reſolution, and it was determined to remove him, not only from all poſts of profit and honour, but alſo from his place at the council-board. This reſolution was no ſooner taken than put in execution, and the duke was diſmiſſed in form. But this barefaced proceeding againſt ſo great a ſubject, and one ſo very popular, raiſed ſuch commotions in the nation, that the authors of his diſgrace thought it neceſſary to colour over this ſtep with a ſhew of juſtice.

With this view they plauſibly gave out, that they would bring an impeachment againſt him before the parliament, and one was ſummoned to meet on the tenth of February, 1447, at Weſtminſter; but the place being too near London, which was known to be devoted to the duke's intereſt, it was thought proper to alter the place of its meeting, which was fixed at St. Edmundſbury; and the term in January was put off†, and all pleas were adjourned till a fortnight after Eaſter, that the juſtices of the King's Bench might attend the parliament at St. Edmundſbury, as if articles of treaſon were to be exhibited againſt him; and the duke was ſummoned by writ to appear before the king in parliament on the day appointed.

The duke, ſecure in the conſciouſneſs of his own innocence, thought he might bid defiance to the malicious efforts of his enemies, and, in obedience to the writ, left his caſtle of Devizes, the chief place of his reſidence ſince he retired from court, and came, apprehenſive of no danger, to Bury, where he was preſent, on the tenth of February, at opening of the parliament; but the very next day he was arreſted by the viſcount Beaumont, conſtable of England, aſſiſted by Edmund, earl of Somerſet, and Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, and put under a ſtrong guard‡. To give a plauſible colour to this ſevere treatment, care was taken to publiſh, that he was accuſed of conſpiring to kill the king in order to ſeize the crown, and, with an armed force, to deliver his ducheſs from her impriſonment. This ridiculous charge, however, gained no credit with the people, though, indeed, it anſwered the end deſigned by it in one way, for, as it was univerſally believed, that he would exculpate himſelf upon his trial, there was no ſtir in his favour.

But a fair and open trial was by no means the thing deſigned or wiſhed by his enemies; for the lords, who were to try him as his peers, did not appear ſo obſequious to the directions of the court as they generally had been: this circumſtance, together with the ill-grounded charge ſet up againſt the duke, and which his perſecutors were ſenſible they could not ſupport, have given occaſion to moſt of our hiſtorians, perhaps too raſhly, to aſſert, that Wincheſter and his party had recourſe to a more certain and ſanguinary method of accompliſhing their purpoſe, and by a ſecret and violent death

* Cotton's Abridgment, p. 629, 630. † Clauſ. 25 Hen. VI. m. 22. ‡ Hall, p. 151.

to

to rid themſelves of a man, whoſe popularity might prove dangerous to their power, and whoſe reſentment, ſhould he eſcape, they had reaſon to dread.

Of the truth of this aſſertion, however, we dare not to decide, becauſe not warranted therein by any abſolute fact, which, in ſuch caſes, ought to be the only guide of the impartial hiſtorian. Thus much is certain, that, after having been confined ſeventeen days without any trial, he was found dead in his bed, on the twenty-eighth of February; but, as it is unanimouſly granted by our hiſtorians, that the dead body of the duke was expoſed for ſome time to public view, and that not the leaſt mark of violence was found upon it, it may be preſumed, that a man, endued with ſuch ſtrong paſſions he was, might feel ſuch an exceſs of grief and reſentment for the affront put upon his perſon and character, as might bring on an apoplexy, or ſome of thoſe violent diſorders which inſtantly ſtop the ſprings of life.

However this might be, the death of Humphrey, duke of Gloceſter, was bitterly lamented by the people in general, and particularly by learned men and ingenious artiſts, of whom he was a conſtant protector and patron *. After his death, his adverſaries induſtriouſly circulated reports to the prejudice of his character, in order to impreſs the public with a notion of his being actually guilty of the crimes laid to his charge; and, to render theſe reports ſtill more plauſible, his domeſtics were, immediately after his death, apprehended on ſuſpicion of being accomplices with him; and a commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer granted to the marquis of Suffolk, and others, to try them for high-treaſon, when ſeveral gentlemen of the duke's family, and twenty-ſeven ſervants, were, after a confinement of ſeveral months, brought to trial at Deptford; and being charged with having entered into ſeveral dangerous conſultations, and of having laid a deſign of ſurpriſing the parliament that was to meet at St. Edmundſbury, and afterwards to raiſe the duke of Gloceſter to the throne, they received ſentence of death. Suffolk, who conducted this trial, ſought to recommend himſelf to the people by a popular act on this occaſion: he ſuffered the convicts to be drawn through the city on ſledges to the place of execution, and to be hung by their necks, but they were immediately cut down alive, and received their pardon, to the inexpreſſible joy of all the ſpectators.

But this affectation of lenity, which was no part of his character, did not ſave Suffolk from the general odium he fell into, by being deemed the author of Gloceſter's death; and though the parliament, flattered by the falſe hopes given them of a ſpeedy peace, and by a promiſe from the throne of conſulting them about the terms on which it was to be made, complied with his deſires in paſſing, on the third of May, the laſt day of the ſeſſion, an act to exclude Eleanor, the late duke of Gloceſter's widow, from her dower, on account of her miſconduct, yet he did not long enjoy his power: nor did the cardinal of Wincheſter triumph long in the fall of his adverſary, whom he did not ſurvive above ſix weeks. This haughty prelate was ſeized with a diſtemper that brought him to his grave on the eleventh of April, this year, and he died in all the horrors of a man, who, placing his whole affections upon this world, had entirely neglected to make any preparation for his removal to the next.

Wincheſter's death deprived the queen and her favourite Suffolk of the great ſupport his experience, his birth, his credit, his riches, and his order gave them, and left them expoſed to the ill effects of the unpopular meaſures which they ſoon after purſued. As for Suffolk, finding that the parliament could not be brought to ratify the ceſſion of Anjou and Maine, and that the murmurs among the people began to grow very loud and licentious on that head, he deſired that he might be allowed to vindicate his conduct in that affair. This could not be denied him; and he appeared on the twenty-fifth of May this year, before the king and council, when, after much flouriſhing in his own praiſe, Henry gave him letters patent, declaring himſelf fully ſatisfied of his integrity, and the meaſures he had purſued ‡. The world, however, was not to be convinced by this declaration; the general clamour ſtill ran high againſt him; all the misfortunes which happened afterwards were charged to his account, and were, indeed, in a great meaſure the conſequence of that tranſaction, which he got warranted by his maſter's conſent.

On the twelfth of February, 1448, a parliament was held at Weſtminſter, which granted the king a very large ſubſidy. Before the riſing of this parliament, which ſeems to have ſat very late in the year, Henry, at the queen's ſuggeſtion, raiſed Suffolk to the dignity of a duke; the like rank was alſo conferred on Edmund, earl of Somerſet, who, at the ſame time, was inveſted with the ſole command in France, in the room of the duke of York ‖, who could not fail being deeply affected with this indignity put upon him, and finding that the public diſcontents againſt the ſole management which the queen and her favourites had aſſumed in the government, grew very ripe, he gave way to them, dropping, by his emiſſaries, ſome dark hints among the people concerning his family-pretenſions to the crown; theſe were privately handed about, by way of manifeſto, and had the deſired effect; for every mouth was now open in praiſe of the virtues, abilities, and great ſervices of the duke of York, though without any mention of his pretenſions to

* His body was carried to St. Alban's, where a noble monument, afterwards erected to his memory, ſtill remains in the conventual church. The vault wherein his body was depoſited, and the exact place of which was, it ſeems, then unknown, was diſcovered in the late queen Anne's reign. He was called, The good duke of Gloceſter. Having had his education in Baliol college, he became a great proficient in learning, and was a great favourer of learned men. He laid the firſt foundation of the famous library at Oxford, ſince known by the name of the Bodleian, from ſir Thomas Bodley, by whom it was wonderfully increaſed. Sir Thomas Moor gives an inſtance of this duke's ſagacity. The king coming one time in progreſs to St. Alban's, a beggar, born blind, as he ſaid, recovered his ſight at the ſhrine of St. Alban. The miracle being noiſed about, the duke being there with the king, deſired to ſee him; the beggar being brought, he aſked him whether he was born blind? he anſwered, yes truly. And can you ſee, ſays the duke? yes, I thank God, and St. Alban, replies the beggar. Tell me then, ſays the duke, of what colour is my gown? the beggar readily told him the colour. And what colour, ſays the duke, is ſuch a one's gown? the beggar likewiſe told him; and ſo of ſeveral others. You counterfeit knave, ſays the duke, how came you that were born blind, and could not ſee till now, ſo ſuddenly to know the difference of colours? and thereupon, inſtead of an alms, ordered him to be ſet in the ſtocks. Tindal's Notes on Rapin, Henry VI.

‡ Rymer, vol. xi. p. 173.

‖ Ibid. p. 215, 216.

the crown. The particulars of this manifeſto the reader will find in the note †.

Much about this time alſo the affair of the ceſſion of Anjou and Maine came to a criſis. The court of France had taken no notice of this article in the marriage-contract, by which the province of Maine was to be ceded to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle, during the life of the duke of Gloceſter, as they knew it would be dangerous, if not impoſſible, to carry it into execution; but his death having removed all obſtructions to the performance, Charles (who had always enjoyed the title of count of Maine, and was the riſing favourite and firſt miniſter of the king of France) now demanded to be put in poſſeſſion of the county. To deliver it up, was to juſtify and heighten all the clamour made upon the ſubject: numberleſs excuſes were therefore made to delay the ceſſion, founded on a proviſion for ſome recompence to thoſe who had grants of poſſeſſions in that county; but at length orders were ſent, under the king's hand, to ſir Francis Surienne, governor of Mans, the capital of the county, to deliver that city into the hands of count Charles of Anjou, purſuant to the private article of Margaret's marriage.

Surienne, by birth an Arragonian, had ſerved the Engliſh for above twenty years, was a knight of the Garter, and governor of Lower Normandy: believing an Engliſh council could never be ſo wicked to agree to ſuch a pernicious meaſure, he diſputed the authenticity of the order, and abſolutely refuſed to obey it, or deliver the town. Upon this the count de Dunois coming before it with a numerous body of forces, and a large train of artillery, laid ſiege to it in form. Surienne defended himſelf for a conſiderable time with undaunted bravery; but Somerſet, who was then in Normandy with a large army, not taking the leaſt ſtep to ſuccour him, and even diſavowing his procedure, he was at laſt compelled to yield, and to deliver up not only Mans, but all ther fortreſſes of that province, which was thus entirely alienated from the the crown of England.

The garriſon of Mans, which conſiſted of two thouſand five hundred men, was allowed to march out, with all their effects; and, retiring into Normandy, fell into great diſtreſs, no fortreſs caring to receive them, either by the duke of Somerſet's directions, or for fear of offending the government of England, whoſe orders they had diſobeyed. Upon this Surienne directed his march into Brittany, ſurprized the town of Fougeres, repaired the fortifications of Pont Orſon and St. James de Beuvron, committed depredations over the whole province, and in this way procured ſubſiſtence for himſelf and his followers.

Upon advice of this breach of the truce, in which Brittany had been included, the king of France ſent immediately to the duke of Somerſet, to demand reſtitution of the place and goods that had been ſeized, the duke of Brittany joining likewiſe in this demand. Somerſet returned for anſwer, "That he was greatly concerned for this action, but that it had been committed without his knowlege or conſent, nor had he any power over Surienne or his men, to call them to account." On failure of redreſs from him, application was made to the court of England, and the council promiſed redreſs; but the whole year was ſpent in delays, which the French thought affected; and that court promiſed the duke of Brittany, in caſe he would enter into a league againſt England, and would begin the war in his own name, that they would, as auxiliaries, powerfully ſupport him. The duke thereupon publiſhed a manifeſto, ſetting forth the reaſons of his quarrel, which was followed by vaſt preparations for doing himſelf juſtice by force of arms. We ſhall make uſe of this interval to take a curſory view of the Scottiſh affairs, ſince the murder of their king.

James II. who had ſucceeded his father, was at this time in the eighteenth year of his age, and under the tuition of James, earl of Douglas, ſon of him ſlain in the battle of Vernueil. The dauphineſs of France, daughter to the late, and ſiſter to the preſent monarch, was by this time dead; the regent Douglas, therefore, began to caſt about how he might beſt renew that family-alliance which had ſubſiſted between the courts of France and Scotland, and ambaſſadors had been ſent into France, to conclude a marriage for James with the princeſs Anne of Gueldres, daughter to that duke and the ducheſs of Cleves, and granddaughter to John, duke of Burgundy.

The Engliſh court, alarmed at this alliance, particularly when on the eve of a rupture with France, reſolved to attack the Scots, with a view to force them to make a ſeparate peace. Accordingly Richard Neville, earl of Saliſbury *, and Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland were this year ſent with an army into Scotland, where they burnt the towns of Dunbar and Dumfries. The Scots failed not to return the viſit, by an irruption into England, where they burnt Alnwick, and ravaged ſome part of Cumberland. After mutual depredations of this kind, both ſides at length came to a battle, in which fortune ſo far favoured the Scots, that the Engliſh were entirely routed, and loſt, according to the Scottiſh hiſtorians ‡, three thouſand men; the lord Piercy, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Northumberland, ſir John Pennington, the ſecond in command, and ſir Robert Hemington being taken priſoners.

France was at this time in a very good condition to recover thoſe dominions which had been wreſted from her by the victorious arms of the Engliſh. Charles had eſtabliſhed an excellent reform of his military force in France; a long ſeries of war had rendered the whole nation warlike: Charles, however, did not immediately run to arms upon the in-

† It was hinted, that the houſe of Lancaſter had uſurped the throne. That indeed the uſurpation had been tolerable, whilſt the kings of that houſe were princes of diſtinguiſhed worth, and had acted for the welfare and honour of the nation; that even, during the non-age of the preſent king, there had been hopes of his treading in the ſteps of his anceſtors, and his being a worthy follower of the king his father; but that ſince he became of age, nothing glorious was to be expected from him: that therefore the Engliſh could have no reaſon to ſupport any longer the uſurpation of the crown, for the ſake of a queen, who, being ſprung from the blood of their moſt mortal enemy, ruled the kingdom with an arbitary power: that in viewing the poſterity of Edward III. it was evident, the houſe of Marche had been unjuſtly deprived of the crown: that the duke of York, being the ſole heir of that houſe, and deſcended from Edward III. by his paternal anceſtors, ought to have his due right. In fine, that his noble qualities, his known virtue, and his ſignal ſervices to the nation, very ſtrongly ſupported the juſt title given him by his birth.

* See p. 40. of this volume.

‡ Abercromby. Buchanan.

fraction

fraction of the truce committed by the Engliſh under Surienne, but affected to act for the duke of Brittany; however, he did not fail to take advantage of the invaſion of Scotland (included in the truce as an ally of France) to ſet the inſincerity of the Engliſh in a glaring light, and even ſent to demand ſatisfaction for the ſame; but not being able to obtain any anſwer thereto, nor with regard to the affair of Fougeres, he reſolved to have recourſe to the way of retaliation.

Accordingly, on the firſt of May, 1449, a party of the garriſon of Louviers ſurprized Pont de l'Arche, taking priſoners the lord Fauconberg, who was governor, and all his garriſon, amounting to one hundred Engliſh. Soon after, Gerberoy and Conches in Normandy, and Cognac and St. Megrin in Guienne, were ſurprized in the like manner: upon which the Engliſh, in their turn, complained of infractions of the truce, and demanded reparation. The French offered to reſtore all theſe places, if Fougeres was reſtored to the duke of Brittany, and ſatisfaction made for the loſſes his ſubjects had ſuſtained at the taking of that place; but theſe loſſes being ſwelled to the enormous ſum of one million ſix hundred thouſand crowns, the Engliſh would not liſten to the propoſal.

Charles had not yet come to a determinate reſolution for making war in his own name, though moſt of his council were for improving the opportunity that the defenceleſs condition of Normandy offered him for an eaſy reduction of that province; Charles's heſitation was owing to the low ſtate of his finances, but Jaques le Cœur, one of his ſubjects, and the greateſt merchant in Chriſtendom, exerted himſelf on this occaſion, and readily advanced two hundred thouſand gold crowns towards defraying the firſt expences of the war, and undertook to provide the neceſſary ſupplies. It is, perhaps, one of the greateſt blots upon the memory of Charles VII. that he ſuffered ſo uſeful a member to be afterwards perſecuted and baniſhed his native country: we do not know the reaſon of this; for, indeed, who can diſcover the ſecret cauſes of the unjuſt dealings of men? It was to this merchant that the French owed the reduction of Normandy, which, without his ſeaſonable aſſiſtance at this juncture, they would never have been able to retake.

The truce expiring in the month of June this year, and Charles freed from all manner of obligation to act any longer as an auxiliary only, he declared war in his own right and name, after publiſhing a kind of manifeſto, ſetting forth his earneſt deſire for a peace, and his conſtant endeavours for its continuance, with all the advances he had made for that effect.

After Charles had thus declared war in his own name, his conqueſts were almoſt too rapid for the pen of hiſtory to attend them: Vernueil en Perche, one of the ſtrongeſt places in all France, Pont Eau de Mer, and Beuvron, which had been lately improved by the Engliſh, together with Liſieux, Mantes, and Vernon, with ſeveral other fortreſſes on the confines of Normandy, either opened their gates to the French, or ſurrendered after the appearance only of a ſiege.

The brave Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, was, indeed, in the field, but what could he do? He had but few hands, and no hearts to attend him: he made an attempt to interrupt the ſiege of Vernueil, but the count de Dunois getting between him and the beſiegers, he found it impracticable, and therefore was obliged to retire to Rouen.

Unhappily for the Engliſh, at that time all Europe was ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt them, as it was plain that they had broken the truce. The government at home was ſo miſerably divided, and the queen's faction in the council ſo thoroughly deteſted, that their intereſt in France could expect but little ſupport now the war became general. Charles was perfectly well acquainted with all theſe circumſtances, and with the advantage they gave him, and reſolved to proſecute his ſucceſs with unremitting aſſiduity. Accordingly, having the barrier of Normandy now laid open, he invaded that province with four different armies; one commanded by himſelf in perſon, another by the duke of Brittany, or his brother the conſtable de Richemont, a third by the duke of Alençon, and a fourth by the count Dunois, whom Charles had lately made count of Longueville.

As the Engliſh had not a body of troops ſufficient to oppoſe them in the field, they proceeded in their conqueſts with amazing rapidity, and the towns were ſo poorly ſupplied with garriſons, that they had little elſe to do but receive the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants. In a few weeks, Nogent, Chateau Gaillard, Pont l'Eveque, Neufchatel, Giſors, la Roche Guion, Feſchamp, and Harcourt, were made to acknowlege Charles as their maſter. The duke of Brittany, with his brother the conſtable, falling into the Contentin with an army of Bretons, reduced Coutances, Valagnes, St. Lo, Torigny, Carenton, Gavré, and Pont d'Euve, with all the leſſer places in thoſe parts: Fougeres, indeed, held out ſix weeks, but was at length carried by aſſault. The duke of Alençon, with his body of troops, took Freſnay; and, entering Normandy on the ſide of Maine, ſurprized Condé, and reduced Alençon, the capital of his own dominions, together with Beleſme, Epay, and Yſmes, with the adjoining country. But no one appeared more zealous in this war than Regnier, king of Sicily, Margaret of Anjou the queen of England's father, and her brother John, duke of Calabria; they brought a gallant body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the French, and, having acted with the duke of Alençon in ſome of his enterprizes, joined Charles's diviſion with his forces, who, thus ſtrengthened, reſolved to form the ſiege of Rouen, the capital of Normandy.

The earl of Shrewſbury had adviſed the duke of Somerſet, who acted as lord lieutenant of France for Henry, to make the great ſtand in that city, as the duke of Bedford had formerly done in Paris, and with that view moſt of the native Engliſh had been drawn thither from the other garriſons, which may in ſome meaſure account for the ſpeedy reduction of ſo many places by Charles and his generals, they being defended only by French natives of Normandy and Gaſcony in the Engliſh pay, and moſt of them perhaps, under French officers. The reaſon of Shrewſbury and Somerſet's ſhutting themſelves up in Rouen, was the belief that the approaching winter-ſeaſon would diſable Charles from undertaking the ſiege of that capital this year, and that in the mean time ſuccours might arrive from England ſufficient to regain great part of what they had loſt.

But they were deceived: Charles was aware of their views, and ſought to fruſtrate them. Having

ing aſſembled all his forces, making a body of fifty thouſand men, he came before the place in perſon, on the eighth of October, and ſummoned it to ſurrender; but receiving no anſwer, he returned after ſome days ſtay to Pont de l'Arche: he had advice there ſent him, on the ſixteenth of the month, that if an attack was made upon the tower of St. Hillary, a poſt guarded by the citizens, the latter would introduce his troops. The count de Dunois was accordingly ordered to form that attack, while the reſt of the army made a falſe one on another part of the city: the feint had well nigh ſucceeded; Dunois, and ſeveral of his men had already entered, but the vigilant Shrewſbury, having a ſuſpicion that ſome deſign of that kind was on foot, kept ſo ſtrict an eye upon the different forts, that he ſoon found what was going on in that quarter; and, marching up ſuddenly, attacked thoſe who had entered with ſuch fury that only two eſcaped being put to the ſword by leaping into the ditch; of theſe the count de Dunois was one, who, finding his attempt thus baffled, ſounded a retreat.

Two days after, the citizens grew clamorous for a treaty, and the archbiſhop joining with them, the duke of Somerſet went to the town-houſe, and agreed to ſend deputies to Charles to ſettle the terms of a ſurrender. The conditions offered by the French were, a general pardon for all the inhabitants, and liberty for the Engliſh, and all who choſe to follow them, to retire whither they pleaſed, with their effects. Somerſet rejected theſe conditions, though it is certain they were as good as could be expected, ſince the place was not tenable againſt the will of the inhabitants, who ſo greatly out-numbered the Engliſh garriſon, conſiſting in all of no more than three thouſand men. Accordingly, on Sunday the nineteenth of the month, the whole city roſe in arms with one conſent, ſeized the walls and ramparts, and forced the Engliſh to retire into the palace and the caſtle; after which they introduced the French army into the town. The king fixed his head-quarters in fort St. Catherine, after the ſame had been taken by aſſault, and the garriſon, conſiſting of one hundred and twenty men, moſt of whom were put to the ſword.

Somerſet would now have accepted the terms he had before rejected; but the caſe was altered: the fortifications of the palace and caſtle were in bad repair, and were very ill ſtored with proviſions; thus he could neither hold out, expect ſuccours, nor make his eſcape; he therefore deſired to ſpeak with the king: but the beſt terms he could get for himſelf, his ducheſs, and his garriſon, where either to remain priſoners of war, or purchaſe their liberty by giving up all that the Engliſh as yet held in Upper Normandy. A treaty was carried on for ſome days, and it was at lengh agreed, "That he ſhould retire, with all the Engliſh, to Harfleur, upon the payment of fifty-ſix thouſand crowns, and engaging to deliver up the caſtles of Arques, Tancarville, and Liſlebonne, with the towns of Caudebec, Montvillers, and Honfleur: for the performance whereof the earl of Shrewſbury, with James Butler, ſon to the earl of Ormond, and other perſons of quality, were to be left as hoſtages."

Somerſet marched out with his Engliſh on the fourth of November; but Charles, ſtaying till ſome regulations were made in the city, did not make his ſolemn entry into it till the twenty-fifth of that month. All the places ſtipulated to be given up, were punctually delivered, except Honfleur, whoſe governor, Curſon, refuſed to comply with the duke of Somerſet's orders to evacuate the place in favour of the French: this gave occaſion to the earl of Shrewſbury and the other hoſtages being detained priſoners. Curſon made a bold and vigorous defence, but was finally obliged to yield to the ſuperior forces of the count de Dunois. Evil fortune, perhaps the conſequence of their own neglect, attended the Engliſh in all places: Gaſton, count de Foix, made himſelf maſter of Mauleon en Soule, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in Guienne, which the duke of Suffolk had lately got intruſted to his cuſtody: it was now given up by the treachery of Lewis de Beaumont, conſtable of Navarre. Thus ended the year, though not the campaign, ſo glorious to France. But we are now to attend the tranſactions in of England.

The univerſal confuſion of their affairs in France, the negligence of the court in that reſpect, the loſs of almoſt all Normandy in one ſingle campaign, the conqueſt whereof had coſt ſo much blood, began at length to provoke the impatient ſpirit of the Engliſh: the party of the duke of York, and the other enemies of the adminiſtration, inſtead of contributing to calm the riſing diſcontent, or retrieve the national diſgraces, were buſied in diſtreſſing the government, and oppoſing its meaſures. This could be no ſecret to the queen and the duke of Suffolk, who now caſt about for a pretence to remove York out of the kingdom: the way they took to do this, was, however, the moſt impolitic they could have adopted.

A commotion having happened in Ireland, which threatened ſerious conſequences, the only perſon thought proper to reſtore tranquility to that country was the duke of York, who was, in his family-right, earl of Ulſter and Corke, lord Connaught, Clare, Trim, and Meath, in Ireland; and the queen now ordered his commiſſion to be made out as lord-lieutenant of that kingdom. York was at no loſs to fathom their deſign in this meaſure, but, foreſeeing it would turn to his advantage, he accepted his commiſſion with a good grace; and having procured from the council very advantageous powers, he ſet out to take upon him his new poſt; and ſo conducted himſelf therein, by his mild and gentle behaviour, that the Iriſh were won to their duty without his being obliged to uſe force: what is more he made them ſo much his friends, that from thenceforth they were always devoted to the ſervice of him and his family, even in the midſt of their greateſt misfortunes.

Margaret and Suffolk having thus, as they thought, got rid of a troubleſome opponent, and having the ſovereign direction of all public affairs, thought to govern the nation in Henry's name without controul; but the general diſcontent grew loud and intractable: it was every where openly ſaid, that the queen and Suffolk were in concert to ruin the nation. They were charged with being the contrivers of the duke of Gloceſter's death, and of having entered into an agreement with the enemies of England for betraying Normandy and Guienne into their hands; nor did the people ſtop at exclamations only, a great number of ſevere libels were daily publiſhed, and fixed on the doors of churches and all public places.

It was dangerous for the miniſtry to call a parliament at a time when the nation was in ſo ill a humour;

mour; but the neceſſities of the crown were ſo urgent, that one met on the ſixth of November this year, at Weſtminſter. It proved very backward in the point of a ſupply, and ſtrongly diſpoſed to call the duke of Suffolk to an account: to ward off this blow, the parliament was prorogued to the twenty-ſecond of January, 1450, then to ſit for the diſpatch of buſineſs. In the mean time the popular diſcontents broke forth into tumults in ſeveral places, and Adam Moleyns, biſhop of Chicheſter, was murdered by the rioters.

In this diſpoſition were the people when the parliament met, in the beginning of the year 1450; and as to that aſſembly, it was rather more exaſperated than before, by ſome declarations of the murdered biſhop, who, in the agonies of death, charged Suffolk with a traitorous conduct in regard to the delivery of the county of Maine, and with having boaſted, "that he had as great intereſt in France as he had here, and was equally truſted in the cabinet of Charles as in that of Henry."

The duke of Suffolk, perceiving that the tide of national rage ran ſtrong againſt him, and that no buſineſs would be done till the houſes had levelled their ſtroke at him, thought it beſt to put a good face upon the matter, and deſired leave of the lords to vindicate himſelf from the treaſon charged upon him by the deceaſed biſhop of Chicheſter. His ſpeech on this occaſion was little more than an enumeration of his own and his family's merits, urging his father's death at Harfleur; his elder brother's being ſlain in the field of Agincourt, and that two other of his brothers were likewiſe in that action, wherein he was himſelf taken priſoner, and paid twenty thouſand pounds for his ranſom; a fourth brother's dying in hoſtage for him; his own ſerving thirty-four campaigns, ſeventeen years abroad without coming home, and fifteen years ſince, about the king's perſon, and being thirty years knight of the Garter: from all which he inferred, that he could not be ſuſpected to have been debauched by French promiſes; and ſo, aſking God's mercy as he had been true to the king and the realm, he required his purgation.

The commons, however, were not to be drawn from their purpoſe by this parade; for, on the Monday following, January 26, they drew up a petition to the crown, deſiring that the duke of Suffolk might be committed to ſafe cuſtody till he ſhould clear himſelf of the crimes charged upon him by common fame and report: however, it was adjudged by the king's council, that he ſhould not be committed till the ſpecialty ſhould be declared. The commons then, by their ſpeaker, ſent up a charge, on the ſeventh of February, to the lords, accuſing the duke of ſeveral articles of treaſon, contained in a bill then delivered, importing,

I. That he had treated with the count de Dunois, Bertrand de Preſſigny, and W. Couſinot, the king's enemies, adviſing them to perſuade the French king to invade England, dethrone Henry, and beſtow the crown upon his ſon John de la Pole, who, by marrying Margaret, daughter and heir to John late duke of Somerſet, might juſtly claim it in her right, as next heir to Henry, who had no iſſue.

II. That he had received money and promiſes from the duke of Orleans, to induce the king to agree to his releaſe, that he might aſſiſt Charles in the recovery of France.

III. That he had encouraged the French king to break the truce, and renew the war in Normandy.

IV. That he had, without ſufficient authority, promiſed to yield le Maine; and, after his return, performed that promiſe, in conſequence of which the Engliſh were deprived of the province of Normandy.

V. That he betrayed the ſecrets of the king's council, to the count de Dunois and other French ambaſſadors.

VI. That he had acquainted them with the ſtate of all the French fortreſſes belonging to the Engliſh.

VII. That he diſcloſed the ſecret inſtructions of the Engliſh ambaſſadors, and ſent to treat of a peace between the two crowns.

VIII. That he had boaſted his intereſt was as good at the French court as here.

IX. That he had received bribes from the enemy, for preventing reinforcements being ſent to the continent; and, in the truce which he made, not only omitted to comprehend the king of Arragon, the old ally of England, but included the duke of Brittany, as ally of France; a circumſtance which had deprived the Engliſh of that aſſiſtance which they might otherwiſe have derived from the friendſhip of that prince.

The lords preſented this bill of articles againſt the duke of Suffolk to Henry on the twelfth of February, and were for giving a copy thereof to the judges for their conſultation and opinion; but he deſired that this might be reſpited till he ſhould be otherwiſe adviſed. Thus the matter reſted for near a month, till the ſeventh of March, when the greateſt part of the lords agreed that Suffolk ſhould be called to his anſwer; but the commons, fearful that they ſhould find it very difficult to bring the peers to find him guilty, as many of the king's counſellors had been parties in the meaſures of which he was accuſed, by approving them, they therefore framed a freſh ſet of articles againſt him, and ſuch as more immediately affected his perſon, independent of any other privy-counſellor: thoſe articles, however, amounted only to miſdemeanors. In theſe they accuſed him,

I. Of having, in quality of a privy-counſellor, perſuaded the king to make ſuch laviſh grants of the crown lands, that a ſufficient fund was not left for defraying the expences of the houſhold.

II. Of having obtained grants of privileges and franchiſes, to obſtruct the execution of the laws, and ſcreen offenders from juſtice.

III. Of having procured for the captal de Buche, his ſon in law, the earldom of Kendal, and lands in Guienne to the value of a thouſand pounds a year, taken by force from the lawful owners.

IV. Of having prevailed upon the king to alienate ſo many caſtles and lordſhips in Guienne, as had greatly weakened the power of the crown in that country.

V. Of having acquainted the French court with the ſecret negociation for concluding a treaty between England and the count of Armagnac; by which means the project was defeated, the count ruined, and the Gaſcon lords oppreſſed, until they were obliged to ſubmit to the French government.

VI. Of having procured offices and commands in France and Normandy for unqualified perſons.

VII. Of having adviſed the king to grant a toll on wine and merchandize brought down the Seine, to Peter de Brezé, an enemy to the Engliſh nation.

VIII. Of having procured, without the conſent of the council, a grant of Evreux, Longueville, and other ſignories in Normandy, for the count de Dunois, Preſſigny, and the ſaid Brezé; grants, in conſequence of which the great towns were taken without oppoſition.

IX. Of having brought the France ambaſſadors to a private conference with Henry, in which he agreed to a perſonal interview with Charles, and other articles ſtipulated without the knowlege or conſent of the privy-council.

X. Of having miſapplied and embezzled ſubſidies.

XI. Of having given thirteen hundred pounds of the public money to the queen of France, and very conſiderable ſums to the miniſters of Charles.

XII. Of having divided, between himſelf and his adherents, ſixty thouſand pounds, being the produce of ſubſidies left in the Exchequer by the lord Sudely, when he reſigned his poſt of treaſurer.

XIII. Of having procured for himſelf a grant of the county of Pembroke, the reverſion of Haverfordweſt, and other caſtles in Wales, together with the wardſhip and marriage of Margaret, daughter of John, duke of Somerſet.

XIV. Of having embezzled the bonds of the duke of Burgundy, and other perſons, bound for the ranſom of the duke of Orleans.

XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. And of having likewiſe embezzled writs, prevented juſtice, maintained bad cauſes, and weakened the ancient friendſhip ſubſiſting between the crown of England and the princes of the empire.

The ſame day that theſe additional articles were preſented, Suffolk was brought to the parliament-chamber before the lords, and required to give in his anſwer. He deſired a copy of the articles; and the Tower of London being thought too remote, he was, for the greater diſpatch and readineſs, committed to a tower in the royal palace of Weſtminſter. Being ſent for by the lords, on Friday the thirteenth of March, to give in his anſwer, he kneeled down, and made a general one to the nine articles of high-treaſon, aſſerting them to be falſe and groundleſs; but more particularly to the firſt, he maintained, "that it was impoſſible that article ſhould be true, ſince the lady Margaret was not next heir to the crown by law; and that ſeveral lords (to whom he appealed) were privy to his deſign of marrying his ſon to the duke of Warwick's daughter, if ſhe had lived: as to the reſt, he referred to acts of the council and parliament, and to the king's orders, for his juſtification, and particularly with regard to the releaſe of Anjou and the giving up of Maine, to which other lords, he ſaid, were privy and aſſenting as well as himſelf: that he had not ſpoken the words in the form as repreſented in the eighth article, but to a different intent."

On the ſeventeenth of March, Henry ſent for all the lords, ſpiritual and temporal, that were in town, to his chamber. Suffolk being brought before them, kneeled down, and the chancellor aſking him what he had to ſay for himſelf, he again proteſted he was innocent, affirmed the articles to be falſe, and ſubmitted himſelf to the king's pleaſure. Then the chancellor gave him to underſtand, "that the king did not hold him convicted on the firſt bill of articles of high-treaſon; and as to the ſecond, charging him with miſpriſions and miſdemeanors, the king, by virtue of his ſubmiſſion, out of his own royal motive, and not by way of judgment, baniſhed him the realm for the term of five years, during which he ſhould not abide in France, or any country under the French dominion; nor ſhould he, by word, deed, or writing, by himſelf or his adherents, ſhew malice to the commons in parliament."

This tranſaction, which was certainly a furious ſtretch of prerogative, occaſioned, on the part of the lords, a very ſtrong proteſt; a proof that the exerciſe of proteſting is much older than is imagined. This proteſt was entered by the viſcount Beaumont, importing, "that the ſentence pronounced on the duke of Suffolk was not the reſult of their advice, but purely the king's own act, which ſhould not at all derogate from their liberties in caſe of peerage*.

The duke of Suffolk bore his ſentence without repining; nay, rather looked upon his baniſhment as the ſureſt method of ſecuring him from the fury of the people; beſides, he did not doubt of being recalled as ſoon as the preſent ſtorm ſhould be a little blown over: he therefore made all expedition to prepare himſelf for his departure, and ſoon after embarked at Ipſwich for Flanders; but the veſſel being brought to, in the Channel, by an Engliſh man of war, named the St. Nicholas of the Tower†, and it being diſcovered that Suffolk was on board, the captain of the man of war, who had imbibed the current hatred to the duke, took him on board his ſhip, and putting into Dover road, he there inſtantly cauſed his head to be ſtruck off. His body, being thrown upon the ſands near Dover, was taken up and interred in the collegiate church of Wingfield, in Suffolk‡.

The commons were ſo diſpleaſed at being thus baffled in their impeachment, and at ſeeing a corrupt miniſter, whoſe crimes they thought deſerved the ſevereſt puniſhment, ſheltered by the unconſtitutional interpoſition of regal authority, that, though they continued to ſit for ſome time after Suffolk's ſentence, and the crown was never in greater neceſſity, they would not grant a ſupply. Upon this the parliament was prorogued to the twenty-ninth of April, at Leiceſter, in hopes they would meet in a more compliable humour; but the contrary happened, and they began, the very firſt day of their ſeſſion, to examine into the management of the revenue and houſhold expences of the crown; and finding it very heavily in debt, they declared they were utterly unable to raiſe the neceſſary ſum for making good the ſame, and adviſed a reſumption of all grants made by the king ſince the firſt day of his acceſſion. They were proceeding in this manner, when news came of the untimely fate of the duke of Suffolk: the death of this deteſted

* Rot. Parl. Rymer, vol. xi.

† Rapin, and after him Smollett and Ryder, makes the captain's name Nicholas, inſtead of the ſhip's: and Ryder, from what authority appears not, makes this murder to have been committed by the private order of the commons: thus much is certain, that no proſecution was ever commenced againſt the perpetrator.

‡ Hall, p. 158.

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miniſter ſeems ſomewhat to have molified the commons, for they granted a ſubſidy at the end of the ſeſſion, though far ſhort of the wants of the court.

The parliament had ſcarcely broken up before the diſcontents of the people appeared in various commotions in different parts of the kingdom. A deſperate fellow called Thomas Thany, but nicknamed Bluebeard, had attempted, in the beginning of the year, to raiſe an inſurrection in Kent, but had been taken and executed at Canterbury; but theſe petty commotions ſerved only as the prelude to a great ſcene of national calamity, which we are now to open.

The duke of York, who ſtill remained in Ireland, being, by Suffolk's fate, freed from a powerful antagoniſt, and though he himſelf was abſent from England, yet his friends ſerved him effectually by extolling his merit, and repreſenting to the people the king's incapacity, and the queen's maladminiſtration, not without ſeaſonable hints of the fitneſs of the duke of York to be at leaſt regent of the kingdom, both on account of his blood, and his abilities, and that nothing elſe could ſave the nation, or retrieve her credit and glory.

Theſe diſcourſes, added to the alarming reports of the court's ſending an army to lay waſte the whole county of Kent, in revenge for the duke of Suffolk's murder, committed by one of that county, had put the inhabitants there into ſuch a ferment, that every thing ſeemed ripe for a revolt. At this time there dwelt, or rather ſkulked about, in thoſe parts a deſperate fellow called John or (more commonly) Jack Cade, a native of Ireland, who, having been outlawed for a rape and murder committed by him in Suſſex, had taken ſanctuary, and been forced to abjure the realm. This fellow, who did not want ſenſe, hoped to enrich himſelf by the diſturbances he ſaw on the point of breaking out; and obſerving that the country-people, uneaſy under the preſent government, were continually talking of one of the houſe of Mortimer as the right heir of the crown, and the only perſon who could redreſs their preſent ſufferings, Cade aſſumed to himſelf the name of John Mortimer, pretending that he was a ſon of ſir John Mortimer, who had been beheaded in the beginning of this reign, and conſequently a near relation to Richard, duke of York, the popularity of whoſe name he doubted not would procure him a number of followers. This ſeems to have been the only reaſon for ſuſpecting the duke of York of having any way encouraged this inſurrection, founded chiefly on events which he could not foreſee, and raiſed by a man he did not know, whilſt himſelf was at a diſtance in Ireland. The preſent diſpoſition of the greateſt part of the nation with regard to the court, aiding this bold and artful rebel in his deſign he ſoon found himſelf at the head of ſuch a numerous train of followers, that he was enabled to advance as far as Blackheath, giving out as he advanced, that he was coming to reform the government, and eaſe the people of their taxes.

Henry being apprized of this proceeding, ſent a meſſage to the inſurgents, demanding the reaſon of their hoſtile appearance: Cade replied, that they had no deſign to hurt the perſon of the king, but only deſired to preſent a petition to the parliament, that the evil miniſters, who oppreſſed the people, might be removed from the royal preſence. At the ſame time he gave the deputies two papers, ſetting forth the grievances of the nation: among other things, they prayed that the duke of Somerſet might be puniſhed, as being the principal author of the loſs of Normandy: that the king's council might be filled with the princes of the blood, and other prudent and judicious perſons; and not with vicious and profligate men of ill principles and manners, and utterly incapable of managing the affairs of ſtate: in a word, theſe petitions, which are to be found at large in Stowe, appear to have been the compoſition of heads much better furniſhed than thoſe of the rabble who attended their low-bred leader. It is not improbable that ſome of the duke of York's friends and agents, thinking this inſurrection favourable for their purpoſe, might have ſecretly abetted Cade with their aſſiſtance and advice: thus much is certain, that the grievances they complained of, were but too well founded. The government, however, deeming itſelf highly inſulted by thoſe petitions, reſolved to quell the rebellion by force of arms; and an army of fifteen thouſand diſciplined men were ſent againſt the inſurgents, under the command of ſir Humphrey Stafford (a couſin of Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham.) Cade, affecting to be afraid of this general's approach, retired to Sevenoak; and Stafford following him too incautiouſly, fell into an ambuſh, which the artful rebel had prepared for the purpoſe, and a great number of his men being cut to pieces, the reſt ſought their ſafety in flight, leaving their commander lifeleſs on the field.

Cade, animated by this ſucceſs, returned to Blackheath on the twenty-ninth of June, from whence he again ſent petitions to the king and council, demanding, "that the dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, ſhould be recalled to court; that the murderers of the good duke Humphrey (Gloceſter), with all who had contributed to the loſs of the Engliſh territories abroad, might be puniſhed; that the lord Say, the treaſurer, and his ſon-in law, Cromer, high ſheriff of Kent, might be taken into cuſtody, the grievances of the nation be redreſſed, and the authors of them brought to condign puniſhment." The government, alarmed at the late defeat of their troops, and well knowing the duke of York's ſecret friends were by this time on the point of declaring themſelves openly, reſolved, if poſſible, to purchaſe its general ſafety by the ſacrifice of ſome particulars; Say and Cromer were committed to the Tower, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the duke of Buckingham were ſent to treat with Cade and his followers. They found him very complaiſant, but reſolute not to lay down his arms until the king ſhould in perſon come and grant their requeſts. The archbiſhop and the duke, on their return, reported this conference ſo little to the encouragement of the court, that the king and queen, leaving the Tower under the command of the lord Scales and ſir Matthew Gough, ſet out for Kenelworth caſtle.

Cade no ſooner heard of their retreat, than he directed his march towards London: the citizens, alarmed at the ſucceſs of the rebels, opened the gates at their approach, and Cade entered in triumph at the head of his troops, and had the inſolence to ſtrike his ſword againſt London-ſtone, uttering theſe words, "Now is Mortimer lord of London!" However, he forbade his men, on moſt

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ſevere penalties, to be guilty of any outrage, or to give the inhabitants the leaſt cauſe of offence; this gave the citizens a very favourable opinion of him; but it was not long before the maſk dropped off, and rebellion ſtood avowed in all its diabolical colours.

For, on the third of July, the day after their entering the city, the rebels ſent to demand that the lord Say and Cromer ſhould be brought from the Tower; and the conſtable was mean enough to comply with this demand, and Cade cauſed them both to be put to death, without any form of trial; after which the rebels retired to the borough of Southwark. For ſome days Cade continued the practice of entering the city in the morning and quitting it at night, that he might not give umbrage to the inhabitants, with whom he and his followers lived at firſt in very good underſtanding; but the inſurgents having plundered the houſes and effects of two wealthy aldermen, even after they had entertained Cade at their tables with bounteous hoſpitality, and growing daily more and more licentious, the citizens plainly ſaw there was a neceſſity of uniting with the king's troops in the Tower, for their common preſervation: for this they took the opportunity of Cade's return by night to Southwark; and the mayor and aldermen ſent a meſſage to the lord Scales, offering to arm the citizens, and guard the bridge againſt the return of the rebels, if he would ſupport them with a detachment from the Tower. The lord Scales thereupon ſent ſir Matthew Gough with the detachment, upon which the citizens, immediately riſing, ſeized upon the bridge, and cut off the rebel party that guarded it.

Cade and his followers returning the next morning, as uſual, found the bridge gate ſhut and barricadoed againſt them; attempting to force a paſſage, a battle enſued between them and the citizens, both ſides maintaining the fight with equal obſtinacy until night put an end to the conflict: Gough himſelf, with the aldermen Sutton and Hazard, loſt their lives.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury and the chancellor, who was then the archbiſhop of York, and had both taken refuge in the Tower, being informed by their emiſſaries that the inſurgents were greatly diſpirited by this repulſe, drew up a general pardon for the rebels, provided they would lay down their arms; as alſo one for Cade in particular, if he would deſiſt from his rebellious projects; theſe pardons they confirmed by putting the great ſeal to them, which was in the archbiſhop of York's cuſtody, and found means to publiſh them by night in the borough of Southwark. This wiſe and critical meaſure had amazing ſucceſs, for the next day Cade ſaw himſelf abandoned by the greater number of his followers, and retreated to Rocheſter, where the reſt of them diſperſed, notwithſtanding all his remonſtrances and artful ſpeeches, in which he endeavoured to perſuade them, that the pardon which had been ſent them, being without authority of parliament, was of no effect: but, unable to keep them together, Cade fled into the Wild of Suſſex, with a few who choſe to ſhare his fate; and Alexander Iden (or Eden), at that time ſheriff of Kent, with the poſſe comitatus, attacked and took him, after a moſt obſtinate defence, in which he received ſeveral mortal wounds, of which he ſoon after expired. Iden ſending up his head to London, was, for this ſervice, made governor of Rocheſter caſtle, beſides receiving a gratuity from the court of a thouſand marks.

While the peace of England was interrupted by this and other inſurrections, the war continued in France, but ſtill to the diſadvantage of the Engliſh. The indefatigable Charles had continued his winter-campaign to the month of March this year; and though the ſeaſon was exceſſively ſevere, he kept the field in perſon, and acted with ſo much courage and intrepidity, that he obliged the garriſon of Harfleur to ſurrender, though conſiſting of two thouſand men, and to give up the two towers of Havre de Grace, which the Engliſh had built to command the mouth of the Seine. Thus, when the French army went into quarters, the latter end of the month of March, the Engliſh poſſeſſed in Normandy but few places of importance beſides Caen, Bayeux, Cherbourg, Vere, and Falaiſe.

Theſe loſſes made the Engliſh miniſtry think at laſt of ſending over ſuccours. Sir Thomas Kyrle (Kiriel ſome of our hiſtorians call him) landed in the ſpring, with about four thouſand men, at Cherbourg; and being reinforced from the neighbouring garriſons, took Valanges, after a ſiege of three weeks; but being defeated, and taken priſoner with about fourteen hundred of his men, by the count de Clermont and the conſtable de Richemont, in a pitched battle, near Fourmigny, the loſs of the reſt of Normandy ſeemed inevitable: above three thouſand Engliſh were ſlain in that action, drawn a great part of them from the garriſons of Vere, Bayeux, and St. Sauveur le Vicomte, all which places fell thereupon an eaſy prey to the victors, together with Valanges, Avranches, and Tombelaine.

Charles, eager for completing the reduction of Normandy, and the way being open to Caen, that place was inveſted on the fifth of June, by the conſtable and the count de Clermont, aſſiſted by the famous Dunois and a numerous army. The duke of Somerſet was ſhut up in the place, and had with him four thouſand men, inured to ſervice; but the beſiegers, having a proportionable force, made ſuch vigorous attacks, that, on the fifteenth day of the ſiege, the duke capitulated to ſurrender the place, if not relieved by the firſt of July, the duke and the garriſon being allowed to retire, with all their effects, to England. Upon the very day that Charles made his public entry into Caen, Xaintrailles inveſted Falaiſe with part of the French army, as the conſtable and the count de Clermont did Cherbourg with another part. Falaiſe belonged to the earl of Shrewſbury, who ſtill remained a priſoner in the hands of the French; and this garriſon, in fifteen days, was obliged to capitulate: one of the articles granted them was, that their maſter, the earl of Shrewſbury, ſhould be ſet at liberty. Two days after the reduction of Falaiſe, the French laid ſiege to Domfront, which ſurrendered on the tenth of Auguſt: and the taking of Cherbourg, which ſubmitted on the twelfth of the ſame month, completed the entire conqueſt of Normandy, all effected within the ſpace of a year, though there were an hundred fortified towns and caſtles in that province.

The diſſentions of the Engliſh nation doubtleſs furniſh one obvious cauſe for their loſing Normandy; but we think it is going rather too far to ſay, with many of our Engliſh hiſtorians, that this loſs

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was contrived between the French king and the queen of England, or at leaſt connived at by the latter. It cannot, with propriety, be ſuppoſed, that a princeſs of ſuch ſpirit, diſcernment, and ambition, ſhould not have looked upon her huſband's glory as her own, and to have preferred his intereſts to thoſe of France, to which ſhe was now an alien: we may rather ſuppoſe, that as all things return eaſily into their natural channel, when the force which diverted their courſe is removed, this eaſy and rapid conqueſt was owing in a great degree to the affection the Normans had to the French government, and their averſion to the Engliſh.

But the caſe was the very reverſe in reſpect to Guienne, the conqueſt of which Charles now undertook: the Gaſcons, who had lived ſo long under the Engliſh government, were not near ſo averſe to it as the Normans; and the country itſelf was ſituated at a greater diſtance from the ſeat of Charles's power; nevertheleſs, the conqueſt of this province, though more difficult than that of Normandy, was at length effected, the tide of ſucceſs continuing to run rapidly in favour of the French. In the next month after Cherbourg was taken, the count de Dunois, entering Guienne with a numerous army, reduced Bergerac, and Jonſac, on the Dodogne, together with Montferand, St. Foix, and Chalens; but the winter-ſeaſon ſetting in ſeverely, the French were obliged to deſiſt from purſuing their conqueſts, and to retire into winter quarters: and thus ended this year, no leſs fortunate to the French and diſgraceful to the Engliſh than the preceding.

When the duke of Somerſet returned to England, he found the parliament ſitting, and the outcry againſt him was ſo loud and univerſal, that the commons could not help taking ſome notice of his conduct: they preferred an addreſs againſt him, in which they deſired the king that he might be ſent to the Tower, till he ſhould give an account of his conduct in France. The court, deſirous to keep well with the parliament, acquieſced in their deſire, and the duke was accordingly taken into cuſtody: in the mean time, the mob, riſing in a tumult, plundered his houſe at Black-friars, demoliſhing what they could not carry off. The commons next petitioned Henry to remove from his preſence Edmund, duke of Somerſet; Alice, ducheſs dowager of Suffolk; William Booth, biſhop of Cheſter; John Sutton, lord Dudley; and others: but Henry amuſed them with an equivocal anſwer. Then they brought in an act of attainder againſt the late duke of Suffolk; but this act was rejected by the king; and the humour of the commons growing every day more and more obſtinate, the parliament was diſſolved in the beginning of June, 1451, after having ſat from the ſixth of November in the preceding year, without having granted any ſupply. Immediately after their ſeparation, the duke of Somerſet was releaſed, and made, in the duke of Buckingham's ſtead, governor of Calais, a poſt of the greateſt truſt, power, and profit belonging to the crown of England.

This was all brought about by the queen's management, in whoſe favour and confidence the duke had ſucceeded Suffolk; and ſhe was continually repreſenting to the king, that Somerſet was the only man that could ballance the power of the duke of York, concerning whom the court began now to grow very uneaſy. The term of that prince's government in Ireland being near expired, and his friends having given out, with a confidence that had ſomething alarming in it, that he would ſoon come over to England, where he would not be a quiet ſpectator of the miſmanagement of the queen and her cabal, it was thought neceſſary to take every precaution to ſecure her power: with this view ſhe prevailed on the king to ſend orders to all the officers on the ſea coaſt to oppoſe the duke of York's landing, ſhould he attempt it with any conſiderable number of attendants.

This was a very impolitic precaution, as it not only publiſhed the apprehenſions the court entertained of the duke of York's credit and influence, which it was their intereſt to conceal, but it alarmed the duke ſo as to put him upon his guard, and furniſhed him with a plauſible pretext for taking up arms afterwards for his own defence. When the time of his government in Ireland was expired, he embarked for England; but when he would have landed at Beaumaris, in the Iſle of Angleſey, in Wales, he was refuſed admittance; notwithſtanding all the vigilance of the ſheriffs, he found an opportunity of landing in another place without oppoſition, and repaired to London, where he was to hold a meeting with his friends, in order to confer with them in relation to his intereſts, and the plan he had formed, of aſcending a throne to which he pretended a better right than its preſent poſſeſſor.

The court being on a progreſs to the weſtern counties, the confederates had an opportunity of concerting their meaſures without moleſtation, and the ſtate of public affairs at this time gave but too plauſible an handle for cabals of this kind. But before we proceed to give an account of the proceedings of this junto, it will not be amiſs to ſketch ſome outlines of the characters and connections of thoſe who formed it, as this will ſerve to ſhew us the motives and cauſes which induced them to declare in favour of Richard, duke of York, againſt Henry VI.

The family of Neville was at this time, as well by the large eſtates poſſeſſed by its different branches, as from the valour and abilities of the ſeveral noblemen placed at their heads, one of the moſt powerful that ever appeared in England; for, not to mention the earl of Weſtmoreland, the chief of the family, the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, the lords Latimer, Fauconbridge, and Abergavenny were of that name, and were of themſelves, on many accounts, the moſt potent barons in the kingdom.

Richard Neville, earl of Saliſbury, brother-in-law to the duke of York (who had married his ſiſter Cicely), was the eldeſt ſon, by a ſecond marriage, of the earl of Weſtmoreland, and enjoyed, in right of his wife Alicia, daughter and heireſs of Thomas de Montacute, earl of Saliſbury, killed at the ſiege of Orleans, the title and eſtate of that great family. He was a perſon of conſummate knowlege, wiſdom, and experience, and had gained in the wars of France an high reputation for his valour and conduct in the ſervice; he was likewiſe governor of Carliſle, and warden of the Eaſt and Weſt Marches towards Scotland.

His eldeſt ſon, Richard Neville, had eſpouſed Anne, daughter and heireſs of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who died governor of France, and poſſeſſed the title and eſtate of that ancient family,

mily, which, in point of wealth, antiquity, and influence, was inferior to none. But theſe two noblemen depended leſs upon the largeneſs of their eſtates and the ſplendor of their families, than upon their own perſonal merits and abilities: Warwick in particular (who, from the great ſhare he had in the enſuing revolutions, was commonly diſtinguiſhed by the title of the King-maker) was the moſt popular man of his age, and deſerved all the popularity he enjoyed, as well by his bravery in war, as his hoſpitality in peace, by his ſtrict adherence to the principles of honour and virtue, and his declared hatred and averſion to every kind of treachery and deceit, and by his frank, open, and generous behaviour: in a word, the prodigious number of his tenants, attached to him by the obligation of their tenure, the ſplendor of his manner of living, the tenor of his conduct, the nobleneſs of his ſpirit, and his many amiable qualities, joined to an excellent underſtanding, rendered him at once the object of reſpect and love to the whole nation.

Beſides the family of Neville, the duke of York had many other friends among the great nobility: John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, eſpouſed his cauſe, on account of his being the ſon of Catherine, ſiſter to the earl of Saliſbury, but more from a reſentment of his father's wrongs, who had been baniſhed by the houſe of Lancaſter; and thoſe of his uncle, who had been beheaded in the reign of Henry IV. Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, ſprung from the royal blood of France, was warmly attached to the ſame cauſe, out of reſentment to the duke of Somerſet, whoſe ſiſter he had married, and who had nevertheleſs given him great cauſe of diſguſt. Edward Brook, baron of Cobham, was another member of this confederacy, but it does not appear what induced him to declare againſt Henry VI.

The head and animating principle of theſe, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, was a man of courage and capacity, prudent in his conduct, and gentle in his diſpoſition: in right of his father, the earl of Cambridge, beheaded in the reign of Henry V. he enjoyed the rank of the firſt prince of the blood; and by his ſtation he added a freſh luſtre to his title, derived from the family of Mortimer, which, though one of the moſt ancient in the kingdom, was equalled by other families, and was eclipſed by the royal deſcent of the houſe of Lancaſter. By the union of the eſtates of Cambridge, Mortimer, Clarence, and Ulſter, he was poſſeſſed of an immenſe fortune; and by his marriage with Cæcilia, daughter of Ralph Neville, earl of Weſtmoreland, he had greatly increaſed his intereſt among the nobility, and procured many ſtrong connections in that formidable body *.

But, notwithſtanding this prince's great power and intereſt, the reigning family was by no means deſtitute of friends and adherents: the earl of Northumberland was attached to the preſent goverment: the earl of Weſtmoreland, notwithſtanding his connections with the duke of York, and with the family of Neville, of which he was the head, leaned to the ſide of Henry; and by means of theſe two noblemen, the whole North of England, the moſt warlike part of the kingdom, was engaged in the cauſe of the houſe of Lancaſter. Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerſet, and his brother Henry, were zealous friends of that party; as were likewiſe Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, John Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, and the lords Clifford, Dudley, Scales, Audley, and many other noblemen.

It behoved the duke of York, therefore, to proceed with great caution in the mighty work he had undertaken, and, before he appeared perſonally in ſupport of his pretenſions, to prepare the nation, by rendering the royal family and its favourites as obnoxious to it as poſſible. It was with this view that the preſent conſultation between the duke and his family had been held; and the reſult of their deliberations were, to proceed in all their ſchemes with ſubmiſſion to the royal perſon and authority, but at the ſame time to make alarming repreſentations of the grievances of the nation: it was reſolved that the duke of York ſhould write a reſpectful letter to the king, laying before him "the abuſes of the government through evil counſels; and offering himſelf as an aſſiſtant to the king, in bringing the authors of the late diſgraces which had befallen the Engliſh arms, to juſtice, and the duke of Somerſet in particular, who, having been impeached by the commons, was reſtored to favour without any examination."

It was eaſy for the miniſtry to perceive the duke of York ſought an occaſion to quarrel; but, as their preſent ſituation required them to act with precaution, it was judged proper that the king ſhould ſend a civil anſwer, as the moſt effectual method of diſappointing his deſigns. Accordingly the king, in a letter to the duke, told him, "that he had been ſenſible, for ſome time, of the neceſſity of reforming the government, and propoſed nominating a council for that purpoſe, of which the duke of York ſhould be the head; and that, until this could be done, ſuch precautions ſhould be uſed, as that the duke of Somerſet ſhould be ready, when called upon, to take his trial." It was ſuppoſed that ſuch an inſtance of condeſcenſion would have deprived the duke of York of all pretence of taking up arms; but this anſwer was declared unſatisfactory by the cabal, and they reſolved to proceed in their ſcheme early in the enſuing ſpring.

While theſe things were tranſacting in England, the king of France, having raiſed money for defraying the expences of the approaching campaign, gave the command of the army, which was to act in Guienne, and conſiſted of forty thouſand good troops, to the count de Dunois and Longueville. That general, taking the field in May this year, preſently made himſelf maſter of Montguyon, Blaye, Bourg, Fronſac, Libourne, and Caſtillon, in Perigord; Bourdeaux was likewiſe ſurrendered by capitulation, becauſe not relieved before Midſummer. The ſame was the caſe with all places in that neighbourhood: Dax was reduced by the counts of Foix and Armagnac; and, on the firſt of Auguſt, the city of Bayonne was inveſted by the count de Dunois. The caſtle was defended by ſir John Beaumont, but it was ſo vigorouſly preſſed, that he was obliged to ſurrender himſelf and all his men priſoners of war. The town was then ſummoned, and the French inhabitants obliged the reſt to demand a capitulation likewiſe, which was

* Biondi, p. 154, 155.

granted;

granted; and on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt the place was given up.

Thus the whole province of Guienne fell under the dominion of Charles, after it had been united three hundred years to the crown of England, and had for above double that time been diſmembred from that of France. It is certain that the great towns were well affected to the Engliſh government, and dreaded the oppreſſion of the French, and yet the whole province was conquered even in leſs time than that of Normandy; but the great lords, tempted with the hopes of preferment at the court of France, co-operated with the efforts of Charles in wreſting this county from the king of England, who was now diſpoſſeſſed of every foot of land which his anceſtors had acquired in France, except Calais and its dependencies.

This event, though at that time eſteemed the moſt diſgraceful and unhappy that could have befallen the nation, will appear different in the eye of a modern Engliſhman; ſince it is very certain, that, had an Engliſh king entirely ſubdued France, his conſtant reſidence muſt neceſſarily have been in that kingdom, not only on account of its being the greater and finer country of the two, but for other political conſiderations, and particularly becauſe the royal preſence there ſeems to be abſolutely requiſite, for the retaining ſo numerous and active a people as the French, in due ſubjection; England, therefore, would in that event have neceſſarily become a mere province of the French monarchy, than which nothing could have been more ungrateful or diſadvantageous to this nation, as well in reſpect of its commerce and opulence, as of the liberty and independence of the people. How much ſoever, therefore, moſt of our hiſtorians have exulted on the conqueſts of Edward III. and Henry V. in France, it muſt be allowed, that the death of the latter at the juncture it happened, and the expulſion of the Engliſh in the feeble reign we are now recording, were real bleſſings to England, though not ſo well underſtood then, as in our days. But to return.

Early in the ſpring of 1452, the duke of York, who was then in Wales, and his friends, in purſuance of the plan they had concerted the preceding winter, were in motion, and gave out that the reaſon for their riſing was the good of the realm; the releaſe of the oppreſſed ſubject; and the bringing to juſtice a corrupt adminiſtration. The people, who were indeed horribly oppreſſed by the miniſtry, gladly joined him for effecting ſuch purpoſes, and he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of an army of ten thouſand men, with which he began his march towards London. On this occaſion the queen and Somerſet exerted themſelves in a manner York did not expect: for they levied an army in Henry's name, and the duke was no ſooner on his march, than he heard that the king was advancing againſt him; upon which, not chuſing to riſque a battle, he altered his route, and by forced marches, got before him, and preſented himſelf at the gates of that capital, which, to his great mortification, he found ſhut againſt him, inſtead of being received therein with open arms as he expected.

It was ſome days before Henry had intelligence that the duke had got paſt him; upon which he turned about, and made the beſt of his way towards London. The duke hearing that the king was ſo cloſe after him, with a ſuperior army, paſſed the Thames at Kingſton, and, being joined by Thomas Courtney, earl of Devon, and the lord Cobham, encamped on Brentheath, near Dartford, twelve miles from London. He probably made this march into Kent with ſome expectations of the country riſing in his favour; but Henry, having made a progreſs into that county the preceding year, had put to death ſeveral that had been concerned in Cade's rebellion, the people ſeemed to be ſo terrified by theſe examples, that they did not chuſe to ſtir on this occaſion. The king followed him cloſe, and, marching over London bridge, encamped on Blackheath.

The duke of Somerſet, who attended the king on this occaſion, and ſeems to have been an able man, adviſed Henry to cruſh this rebellion in its neſt, and not to wait till it ſhould gather ſtrength to become formidable: he obſerved, that this was the time, as the chief and the fomenter of it was yet weak, and might be attacked with eaſe and ſucceſs, to rid himſelf of all future uneaſineſs, by giving his rival battle, as the great ſuperiority of the royal army enſured a victory: but Henry was ſo impolitic to neglect this counſel, and to liſten to the advice of ſome timid, or perhaps treacherous, noblemen, to apply to the ways of negociation. This counſel ſuited beſt with Henry's pacific genius, and with that averſion he always entertained to ſpilling his ſubjects blood. A commiſſion was given to the biſhops of Wincheſter and Ely, and the earls of Warwick and Saliſbury to go and know the reaſons of the duke's appearing in arms, or upon what terms he would lay them down.

This treating ſaved York: the two lay commiſſioners from the king were his intimate friends, though they had not yet declared themſelves. York put on a ſhew of great reſpect and moderation on this occaſion: he urged the bringing to juſtice the duke of Somerſet, and others of the council, who had made it their buſineſs to trample on the nobility and clergy, and to oppreſs the poor people, as the motive of his taking up arms; and offered to diſband his forces, and throw himſelf at Henry's feet, if they were taken into cuſtody, and brought to anſwer the crimes he was ready to prove againſt them in parliament. The duke certainly did not expect his demand would be granted, ſince the king and queen were ſolely guided by him who was moſt concerned to have it rejected; and he hoped, from a refuſal on the part of the court, to load them with all the blame, and to demonſtrate to the people, that the miniſtry, rather than part with their power, would expoſe the nation to all the horrors of a civil war. But here he was, for once, the dupe of his own policy: Henry took him at his word; Somerſet was put under confinement, and the duke of York deprived, by this condeſcenſion, of all excuſes for keeping up an armed force, diſmiſſed his troops on the firſt of March, and, as a teſt of his ſincerity, came to court unarmed, unattended, and without a paſſport: when he came into Henry's preſence, he openly profeſſed the cauſe of his taking arms, and inſiſted upon the duke of Somerſet's being immediately brought to trial, when, to his great aſtoniſhment, that miniſter (who had been arreſted in ſhew, but immediately after ſet at liberty) ſtepped forth from a private cloſet in the preſence-chamber, and, bitterly reviling York for his treaſonable practices, the

other

other replied, and both parties poured out a torrent of indecent invectives even before the king: but the duke of York, finding that he had been duped, and was now entirely at the mercy of his enemies, out of regard to his own ſafety, moderated his pretenſions.

Had Somerſet had his will, the duke would have been inſtantly put to death; but the more diſpaſſionate of the council were fearful of carrying matters with too high an hand, and their advice prevailing, no violence was offered to his perſon: and, indeed, any attempt of that kind would probably have occaſioned very diſagreeable conſequences to the government. The duke of York was the idol of the people, who would not have failed to revenge his death upon the authors of it, however dignified by rank, or ſecured by authority. He had likewiſe many friends in the king's army, whom it would not have been prudent to incenſe at the preſent juncture of affairs; beſides, his ſon Edward, earl of Marche, a brave ſprightly young nobleman, was actually in arms on the borders of Wales, and the offering any violence to his father would be a ſufficient motive for him to declare immediate war againſt the government. From theſe, and the like conſiderations, it was reſolved to diſmiſs the duke of York, on condition that he ſhould, in St. Paul's church, make a formal ſubmiſſion to the king, and acknowlege his title by oath, the tenor of which condemned his late proceedings; but Richard, glad to get himſelf out of the hands of the court upon any terms, readily acquieſced, and the ceremony was performed on the tenth of March, before moſt of the principal lords of the kingdom *: and then the duke of York retired to his caſtle of Wigmore, on the borders of Wales, leaving Somerſet maſter at court, and director of all public affairs.

But there was another incident which contributed to York's releaſe: the turbulent Gaſcons had ſent deputies into England, offering to revolt from the French government, if they were properly ſupported. As the court had no money to defray the expence of a civil war, which the duke of York's death might have occaſioned, and as the ſupporting the Gaſcons was the only popular pretext by which they could get money from the parliament, it was reſolved to make their revenge give way to their more immediate intereſt.

The purport of the embaſſy from Guienne being laid before the council, and approved of there, the earl of Shrewſbury received a commiſſion conſtituting him governor of all Guienne, with very full powers. The public having vaſt expectations from the abilities of this great general, he ſoon got together five thouſand men, with whom he landed on the iſle of Medon, in the beginning of September; and, being joined by the lord of l'Epais, ſoon made himſelf maſter of that country. Bourdeaux, which had already began to feel the burden of French taxes, opened her gates to him; and all the Bourdelois followed her example: in a word, the Engliſh arms were attended with a train of conqueſts as rapid as thoſe of the French had been againſt the Engliſh in the ſame country. Old Talbot, being joined by a reinforcement of four thouſand men, under his ſon the lord Liſle, from England, he cloſed the year with the reduction of Fronſac and Chaſtillon, on the Dodogne; while all the French king could do this winter, was to diſpatch the marſhal de Jalognes, and ſome other officers, for the ſecurity of the places yet unſubdued, till the count de Clermont, his governor of Guienne, could take the field with an army in the ſpring.

By the month of March, 1453, the laſt-mentioned nobleman had gathered together an army of twenty-two thouſand men; with a detachment of theſe the marſhal de Lohac undertook the ſiege of Chaſtillon, while Chalais was taken by aſſault. It was the fifteenth of July before the French army formed the ſiege of Chaſtillon; on hearing of which the earl of Shrewſbury advanced, with eight or ten thouſand men, to relieve the place, and, on the twentieth of that month, early in the morning, drove the French out of their poſt in an adjoining abbey, the body which defended it making their retreat to their main body, ſtrongly encamped in the park of Chaſtillon. Talbot would never have thought of attacking them there, but being deceived by a falſe account that the enemy were retiring in great diſorder, he marched up to their camp; and though, upon his approach, finding the intelligence falſe, he would have retreated in time, yet being unable to reſtrain the ardour of his troops, he ſet the beſt face upon the matter, and gave orders for attacking the entrenchments. The conteſt, which was extremely bloody, laſted for near three hours; and though the enemy's artillery made a terrible havock among the Engliſh, the latter continued the attack with that intrepid reſolution for which they have been always ſo noted, and the fortune of the day ſeemed at laſt ready to declare for them: but a body of Bretons, all of them cavalry, who had never yet been engaged, paſſing their own entrenchments on the oppoſite ſide, took a compaſs, and fell upon the rear of the Engliſh juſt time enough to prevent the overthrow of the French.

The old Engliſh general now ſaw the total defeat of his troops inevitable; he found himſelf hemmed in on every ſide, while the French, having new pointed their artillery, plied him with greater fury than ever. At length, after having his horſe ſhot dead under him by a cannon-ball, he himſelf was transfixed to the ground by a ſpear, which put an end to his life. His gallant ſon, the lord Liſle, after many acts of courage, was killed by his father's ſide, the generous youth diſdaining to ſeek ſafety by flight. The Engliſh now looked upon themſelves as a deſolated herd; each ſhifted for himſelf, ſome towards Chaſtillon, and others towards Bourdeaux.

Thus fell Talbot, the brave earl of Shrewſbury, the honour of England's arms for the laſt twenty-five years of his life, who, in matters of war during that time, had no equal among his countrymen. Beſides the earl and his ſon, ſir Henry Talbot, the earl's baſtard brother, with ſir Edward Hall and about twelve hundred Engliſh, fell in this battle and purſuit: the lord Molyens and about ſixty ſoldiers were taken priſoners †.

The conſequences of this defeat were very fatal to the Engliſh intereſt, for Chaſtillon ſurrendered the next day; and Charles VII. coming up with the reſt of his forces, ſeveral places were beſieged at the ſame time; but few of them made any re-

* The reader will find the oath at large in Stowe, p. 395, 396.

† Monſtrelet. Hall.

ſiſtance,

ſiſtance, except Cadillac, which was taken at laſt by aſſault: St. Millian, Libourne, St. Macaire, Langon, Fronſac, Rious, Chateauneuf, and other places, deſpairing of relief, ſubmitted readily; and in the mean while the blockade of Bourdeaux was formed both by ſea and land, under the marſhal de Loheac, the count de Penthievre, and other French officers. The garriſon held out till the ſeventeenth of October, when the beſieged, being miſerably diſtreſſed by famine, and without the leaſt proſpect of being relieved, deſired to capitulate, which Charles, with his accuſtomed moderation, granted, and even agreed that the Engliſh might have liberty to depart, with all their ſubſtance, ſafely into England or Calais, and the Gaſcons enjoy their goods and poſſeſſions. The ſurrender of Bourdeaux completed the conqueſt of Guienne, and all hopes of reannexing that duchy to the crown of England were for ever extinguiſhed.

Whilſt the French were thus ſucceſsfully employing their arms on the continent, Henry was, towards the beginning of this year, ſeized with a long and dangerous illneſs, during which the queen and Somerſet ruled every thing more abſolutely than ever. This, added to the news of the misfortunes in France, arriving in England, blew the diſcontent of the people into a violent flame: they exclaimed with great virulence againſt the treachery and miſconduct of the miniſtry, who had neglected to furniſh the earl of Shrewſbury with the neceſſary reinforcements. The court and the country of England were filled with the duke of York's friends, who did not fail to keep up the ill humours of the nation as the moſt likely means of bring about their own ends. But the duke's hopes received a violent blow, by the queen's being delivered of a ſon (named Edward), on the thirteenth of October. This event deſtroyed all proſpect of the quiet ſucceſſion of the duke of York, who was otherwiſe, in the right of his father, and by the laws enacted ſince the acceſſion of the houſe of Lancaſter, next heir to the crown, and rather tended to widen than repair the breach between the two parties, and the duke of York was now reduced to employ his natural and acquired intereſt for obtaining his end.

We have already given the characters of ſome of the nobility who were attached to his intereſt: the two principal of theſe, the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, did not chuſe to declare themſelves till they could be ſure of a majority in the council; and adviſed the duke of York likewiſe carefully to conceal his aim, at the preſent juncture, beneath the maſk of ſubmiſſion and quiet demeanor; the frankneſs wherewith he had diſbanded his troops, and his late oath to the king, having lulled the court into a perfect ſecurity on his account.

The parliament, which had been ſummoned in the beginning of this year, had been ſeveral times prorogued, on account of the king's illneſs: the ſecret friends of the duke of York laid hold of this interval to inſinuate to the queen and Somerſet (who thought them to be of the court party), that, conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of the people, they had very little reaſon to expect much complaiſance from the parliament, but, on the contrary, there were good grounds for ſuppoſing, that it would, in compliance with the ſenſe of the nation, appoint a new miniſtry: in order to prevent this misfortune, they obſerved, that it would be neceſſary to admit into the council the duke of York, the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, and ſome other popular noblemen, to convince the public that they had no intention to make their own wills the ſole rule of government. This advice appeared ſo plauſible, that the queen and her favourite ran headlong into the ſnare, and theſe noblemen were appointed members of the council before the meeting of the parliament, which, after repeated prorogations, was to ſit on the fourteenth of February, 1454; but, as ſoon as the duke of York and his cabal got a footing in the council, they found means to have it yet farther adjourned to the fifteenth of March, in order to gain time to concert meaſures with the members; mean while the Yorkiſts, who, from the inſtant they gained admiſſion into the cabinet, ſuperſeded the credit of their adverſaries, began to renew their proſecution againſt Somerſet, and even ventured to arreſt him in the queen's chamber, and from thence ſent him to the Tower.

The king ſtill continuing ſo ill as to be unfit even for the ſhadow of buſineſs, the council, now entirely at the duke of York's devotion, taking into conſideration the deſtructive ſtate of the kingdom, and Henry's helpleſs condition, thought it neceſſary to appoint the duke of York, by a commiſſion, dated the thirteenth of February, 1454, lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold the enſuing ſeſſion in the king's name. He made uſe of this great power to the full: the office of chancellor being then vacant by the death of Kemp, archbiſhop of Canterbury, he conferred the ſame upon his friend and ally the earl of Saliſbury.

The ſeſſion opened with a petition from the houſe of commons, for a conſervation of their privileges, and that Thomas Thorpe, their ſpeaker, and Walter Reut, another of their members, might be releaſed and ſet at liberty: it ſeems the duke of York had cauſed them both to be arreſted. This petition, however, was refuſed; and the commons, returning to their houſe, choſe ſir Thomas Charleton their ſpeaker. The curious reader will find upon what principles this arreſt and detention was founded, under the article of Laws reſpecting this reign.

The next ſtep of the commons was to appoint the duke of York lord-protector of the realm; and on the third of April, the king's letters patent were iſſued, confirming him in that title, and alſo conſtituting him defender of the kingdom and church of England, and principal counſellor of the king; a poſt which he readily accepted, being the ſame titles and power as the duke of Gloceſter formerly enjoyed; and a ſalary of two thouſand pounds per annum was allotted him, for the maintenance of his new dignity, and an act paſſed for inveſting him, with it (on a ſuppoſition of Henry's incapacity) till Edward, prince of Wales, ſhould come to years of diſcretion. The duke of York, thus poſſeſſing all but the name of royalty, in the plenitude of power conſtituted himſelf captain-general of Calais, in the room of the duke of Somerſet: but the latter, it ſeems, not chuſing to reſign that poſt without an expreſs order from the king, a writ for that purpoſe was made out, and York was confirmed in the government of Calais by the parliament.

In this parliament Edmund (Tudor) of Hadham, and Jaſper (Tudor) of Hatfield, ſons of Catherine of France, Henry's mother, by her ſecond huſband, Owen Tudor, a gentleman de-

ſcended from the ancient princes of Wales, were declared the king's uterine brothers, and were created, the firſt earl of Richmond, and the other earl of Pembroke, with a right of precedence above all other earls, and next to dukes, in all councils and parliaments. To conclude the tranſactions of this parliament, it ſeems that the earl of Devonſhire, Somerſet's ſon-in-law, was, by the ſecret practices of the York party, accuſed of treaſon, but was honourably acquitted.

The duke of York did not long enjoy the exerciſe of the new dignity which he procured with ſo high an hand; for Henry appearing to be a little better, his commiſſion was ſuperſeded; Somerſet admitted to bail on the fifth of February, 1455; and, on the fourth of March, the king took from the duke of York the command of Calais, which was ſoon after reſtored to the duke of Somerſet, who re-entered into the adminiſtration, and, in conjunction with the queen, directed all the affairs of the realm as formerly, without controul, making uſe of Henry's name to warrant all his proceedings.

Theſe proceedings, which were all effected by the queen, drove the duke of York once more into arms. Having concerted meaſures with his friends, he retired again to Wales in order to aſſemble forces. The proceedings of the court, in releaſing the duke of Somerſet, without giving the nation any ſatisfaction, gave him a plauſible handle for renewing his former popular pretext of reformation, in which he imagined, from the diſpoſition of the people, he ſhould be ſtrongly ſupported: nor was he deceived in his expectations; for, in a very ſhort ſpace of time he ſaw himſelf at the head of three thouſand men, with which force he thought to ſurprize the king in London; but Henry, aware of his deſign, marched out of that city to meet the inſurgents, though not with more than two thouſand men, but all of them brave, and determined to ſerve their king. The chief officers of the royal army were, Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerſet; Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, and the earl of Stafford, his eldeſt ſon; Henry Piercy (ſon of Hotſpur), earl of Northumberland; James Butler, earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond; John Beaufort, earl of Dorſet; Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke; Thomas lord Clifford; the lords Sudley, Barnes, Roos, and other noblemen: with the duke of York were John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk; Richard Neville, earl of Saliſbury; Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, his ſon; William, lord Falconbridge; Edward, lord Cobham, and others.

On the twenty-firſt of May the royal army lay at Watford; and the next day they reached St. Alban's, where the king took up his head-quarters, in St. Peter's ſtreet; while the duke of York and his followers lay encamped at Keyefield. This latter, on his arrival at Royſton, in the courſe of his march, had wrote a letter to the king, with one to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, deſiring him to deliver that for the king into his own hands*; but this was ſecreted by Somerſet and Thorpe †, two of York's ſworn enemies, who took it from the archbiſhop's meſſenger: in it the confederate lords made ſtrong profeſſions of duty to Henry, and of zeal for his ſervice and the good of the ſtate: and deſired "admiſſion to his preſence, to vindicate themſelves from the calumnies of their enemies, and to lay before him the ill conduct of his miniſters, in order to their being brought to examination according to law, and treated as their miſdemeanors ſhould be found to deſerve." This was alſo the ſubſtance of a demand they ſent to the king, on the morning of the twenty-third of May; but Henry, with a ſpirit he never before diſcovered, told the duke of York's agents who delivered his meſſage, that he would ſooner deliver up his crown than the leaſt ſoldier in his army, to pleaſe a ſet of ſuch inſolent rebels; and that he would treat as a traitor every man that ſhould preſume to fight him in the field.

Upon receipt of this anſwer from the king, the confederates began a furious attack upon the town; and the earl of Warwick, with a body of men, breaking down a garden-wall, which ſtood between the Key and the Chequer, in Holywell ſtreet, a hot diſpute enſued between the inſurgents and the royal party; while the duke of York, marching up with his diviſion, attacked the vanguard of Henry's army, under the lord Clifford: the king's army, being not only pent up in the town, but inferior in number to that of the duke, was at laſt totally routed. The duke of Somerſet, the earls of Northumberland and Stafford, the lord Clifford, with many knights and gentlemen of great eminence, were killed on the ſpot: the duke of Buckingham, receiving a wound, retired out of the battle; the earl of Wiltſhire, and Thorpe, chancellor of the Exchequer, eſcaped; and about eight hundred of the king's beſt troops lay dead on the field of battle. Henry himſelf was wounded in the neck with an arrow, but was the laſt to retire from the fight (for he did not naturally want courage, though conſcientiouſly he hated bloodſhed), and then took refuge in an adjacent hut: there he was found out by York, Warwick, and Saliſbury, who, approaching him with all the external humility imaginable, beſeeched him to forgive what they had done, aſſuring him that, the enemy of the nation and them being now dead, he ſhould hereafter find them the moſt obedient of his ſubjects, at the ſame time requeſting him to truſt his perſon with them; which Henry, not able to help himſelf, complied with, and York, carrying him to London, cauſed writs to be iſſued on the twenty-ſixth of May, for calling a parliament.

It met on Wedneſday, the ninth of July, and ſir John Wenlock, who was of the royal party, was choſen ſpeaker. The duke of York appearing in the houſe, laid before the members a long detail of his conduct: he accuſed the duke of Somerſet, Thorpe, and one William Joſeph, with concealing from the king the letters which he and his party had written from Royſton, and which, if the king had read, might have prevented what afterwards happened: he declared, that, when he came to St. Alban's, his intention, and that of the lords who were with him, was only to have thrown themſelves at the royal feet with their dutiful petition; and that the duke of Somerſet's obſtructing their acceſs had occaſioned the bloodſhed which followed. All this was confirmed by deeds procured from

* Rot. Parl. 33 Hen. VI. p. 2. m. 20.

† Upon the duke of Somerſet's returning into power, he had been releaſed, and made chancellor of the Exchequer.

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the king himſelf, who was no more at liberty to follow his own counſels in this juncture than when he was under the guardianſhip of the queen and the duke of Somerſet; and, on the twenty-third of July, the duke of York's acquital, with that of his whole party, was confirmed in full parliament, which was then adjourned to the twelfth of November, at Weſtminſter, after having paſſed a general pardon for all offences committed before the firſt day of the ſeſſion. On this occaſion, every prelate preſent laying his hand on his breaſt, and every temporal lord taking the king by the hand, renewed their fealty to him *.

The parliament reaſſembling on the day appointed, the commons preſented a petition, praying the lords to move the king "to appoint an able protector and defender of the realm, ſeeing his highneſs would not attend the ſame, and that the commons might have knowlege of him †." Whereupon, five days after, the king ſigned letters patent, in which he declares, that, "having been petitioned by his parliament to nominate a protector, he appointed the duke of York for that important office; but he ſhould be removed by the parliament, or when the young prince of Wales ſhould be capable of it ‡." The duke accepted the poſt, with the ſame powers and privileges as before, but with a larger allowance || for ſupporting the honour and charge of the dignity.

The immediate occaſion or pretence for the petition of the commons for York's being appointed protector, was the hoſtilities lately committed in the Weſt between the earl of Devon and the lord Bonneville, who had come to an engagement, in which a great number of the followers on each ſide had been ſlain, and the whole country was harraſſed by continual riots and depredations, ſo that there was an abſolute neceſſity to put a ſtop to theſe outrages; and the duke of York being determined to repair thither in perſon, the parliament was, on the thirteenth of December, prorogued to the fourteenth of January following, having firſt paſſed an act for the reſumption of all grants ſince the death of Henry V. and appropriated a ſum for the expences of the houſhold.

While the duke of York thus enjoyed his triumph, the queen did not behold his ſucceſs with idle reſignation. Henry Beaufort, the new duke of Somerſet, ſon of him who fell at St. Alban's, glowed with impatience to revenge the death of his father; Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, breathed no leſs vengeance for the loſs of his ſon, who fell on the ſame occaſion; and all the princes and nobles allied or attached to the houſe of Lancaſter, perceiving the duke of York taking large ſtrides towards the throne, reſolved to exert all their endeavours to ſtop his progreſs. Notwithſtanding this oppoſition, he lived in ſuch ſeeming ſecurity as aſtoniſhed his enemies. He thought he ſhould run too great a riſque in pretending openly to the crown, which had remained near ſixty years in the houſe of Lancaſter, and therefore he waited for ſome favourable opportunity to broach his pretenſions: his chief aim was to acquire the favour of the people, without which he foreſaw all his efforts would prove ineffectual; and, that they might ſee his conduct was not influenced by paſſion or intereſt, he affected a great attention to, and reverence for, the royal family: he provided a decent maintenance for, and ſettled the houſhold of, the king's eldeſt ſon §; he alſo left the king and the queen at perfect liberty to act as they ſhould think proper. He thought it was not in their power to diveſt him of the dignity of protector, which, according to his patent, could not be revoked but by the parliament; but the queen was too active and enterprizing to be deterred from her purpoſe by ſuch ſlender obſtacles.

The king having recovered his health, the enemies of the duke, with the queen at their head, reſolved to ſeize this opportunity to deprive him of his protectorſhip. The parliament reaſſembling at the appointed time, on the twenty-fifth of February, 1456, Henry came to the houſe, and declared from the throne, that, as he now enjoyed perfect health, and was in a condition to reſume the reins of government, he did not think the kingdom had any further occaſion for a protector; he therefore deſired the parliament would diſcharge the duke of York from that office. Whether the two houſes thought the requeſt reaſonable, or that, during the receſs of the holidays between the fourteenth of December and fourteenth of January, the queen and her party had brought over the majority of the members, it is certain that the parliament agreed to a final repeal of the duke's powers as protector of the kingdom; and a writ was directed to him, notifying his ſuſpenſion. He was no ſooner exonerated from this charge, which he enjoyed only three months, than the earl of Saliſbury was deprived of his poſt of chancellor, to which he had been advanced in the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, as the earl of Warwick had to the government of Calais; but this laſt, being the darling of the ſoldiery, it was not an eaſy matter to turn him out of his poſt.

Had Margaret been ſatisfied with this ſucceſs, ſhe might perhaps have enjoyed her authority for ſome time, without any diſturbance; but, puffed up with this favourable turn of fortune, ſhe reſolved to enſure her future tranquility by arreſting the perſons of York, Saliſbury, and Warwick. With this view the court was removed, early in the following year, 1457, to Coventry, where ſhe thought ſhe could execute her purpoſe with greater eaſe than in London; and letters were ſent, under the privy-ſeal, to thoſe three noblemen, requiring their attendance upon the king, upon affairs of importance to the ſtate.

As the duke of York had taken no ſtep towards publiſhing his deſigns upon the crown, he deter-

* Rot. Parl. 33 Hen. VI. n. 18—25, 27, 28, 29.

† Ibid. n. 32, 34, 36, 42, 49.

‡ Rymer, vol. xi. p. 369, 370.

|| Namely, four thouſand marks per annum. Stat. 33 Hen. VI. c. 7.

§ What this was will appear from the following words of the record, "The king by his ſeveral letters patent, confirmeth to his ſon Edward, prince of Wales, and to his heirs, kings of England, his creation of the principality and earldom of Cheſter, with all the particular dominions and hereditaments belonging thereto; and for that the ſaid prince, the king's firſt begotten, the day of his birth, ought to be duke of Cornwall, the king granteth to the ſaid prince livery of the ſame, and of all other hereditaments belonging of common conſent. And farther, it is enacted, that the ſaid prince ſhall be at diet, and ſojourn in the king's court till the age of fourteen years; for the which diet the king ſhall take yearly all the revenues and profits of the ſaid principality, earldom, and duchy of the ſaid prinee, until he come to the age of fourteen years, allowing yearly to the ſaid prince, towards his wardrobe and wages, ten thouſand pounds until his age of eight years; and from the ſaid age to the age of fourteen years, twenty thouſand marks yearly." Rymer, vol. xi.

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mined to obey the order; accordingly he and his aſſociates ſet out for Coventry: but when they were within a few miles of the place, they received, from ſome of their ſecret friends, intelligence of the deſign formed againſt them, and it came ſo late that they had not a moment to loſe, but were forced to fly in all haſte; York, with only a groom and a page, to his eſtate of Wigmore, on the borders of Wales; Saliſbury to his own caſtle of Middleham, in Yorkſhire; and Warwick to the ſea-ſide, where he got ſhipping, and paſſed over to his government of Calais *. The queen was greatly chagrined at this diſappointment, but comforted herſelf with the thoughts that theſe three lords, by being ſeparated, would be leſs formidable.

This treacherous attempt, however, put an end to all manner of confidence: court invitations and promiſes were looked upon as ſnares for the ruin of the oppoſite party, and occaſioned ſuch a breach among the nobility in the different intereſts, that they left all viſiting and correſpondence with each other; and this ſtrangeneſs proving habitual, turned in a ſhort time to ſuch an inveteracy, that, when they came under the names of Yorkiſts and Lancaſtrians to engage in a civil war, it was carried on with an unuſual degree of fury and cruelty. Upon the retreat of the three confederate lords, the dukes of Buckingham and Somerſet acted as chief miniſters, and, with the queen, governed all at court.

But the mutual jealouſy and machinations of the two parties were at this time interrupted by other conſiderations. The French having intelligence of the diſtractions in England, ſought to avail themſelves of them, and Charles began to think of repaying one of the many dreadful viſits he had received from this country. A French hiſtorian † will have it that Charles received an invitation from queen Margaret for that purpoſe, who knew no readier means of effecting the duke of York's ruin; but this aſſertion does not appear ſufficiently authenticated by cotemporary writers, for us to adopt it as fact. It is certain, however, that, about this time the French king entered upon a project to invade England, in concert with the Scots, who, agreeable to the plan adjuſted between them, actually entered the northern counties, about Midſummer this year, under their king James II. notwithſtanding the truce ſubſiſting between the two nations, and carried off a conſiderable booty: and the earl of Northumberland, with the Scottiſh earl of Douglas, then a refugee in England, marching againſt them, were defeated with ſome loſs by the Scottiſh generals, the earl of Angus and ſir James Hamilton. On this occaſion the duke of York, nobly ſacrificing his private pique to the intereſt of his country, got together a powerful force, with which he joined the earl of Northumberland, and both generals marching againſt the invaders, drove them before them into their own country, whither they followed them, and laid great part of their borders waſte with fire and ſword. The French, ſlower in their attempt, through the neceſſity of equipping a fleet, were not ready to ſail from Honfleur, in Normandy, till the twentieth of Auguſt. On the twenty-eighth of the ſame ſame month, the marſhals de Brezé and de Loheac, with about ſeven thouſand men, landed near Sandwich, and plundered the place; but the militia of the country aſſembling in great numbers, and ſhewing a noble reſolution of defending their properties, the French were glad to reimbark with the booty they had made. In their return they made a deſcent in the Weſt, and plundered the village of Fowey, in Cornwall, and alſo ſome places in Devonſhire; but this predatory expedition redounded little to the glory of Charles's arms.

This ſtorm being happily blown over, Henry who was of a pacific diſpoſition, and equally dreaded the rage of foreign and domeſtic war, was very anxious to make up the feuds among the nobility, in order to unite them all in the defence of his perſon and government. Great part of this year was therefore ſpent in endeavours for that ſalutary purpoſe; but the late treacherous attempt againſt the Yorkiſts had put that party ſo much upon their guard, that neither the duke nor his aſſociates could be brought to liſten to any propoſal of a meeting, till Henry condeſcended to write them a letter with his own hand, in which he promiſed, upon his ſalvation, they ſhould receive no injury, and earneſtly requeſted that mutual animoſities ſhould be buried in mutual forgiveneſs. Henry, though a prince of mean capacity, had, by the innocence of his life, and the piety of his devotion, acquired, if not the eſteem, at leaſt the good will of his ſubjects, ſo that when theſe his cordial invitations were made public, the nation had ſo high an opinion of his candour, that the oppoſing lords could no longer ſtand out, with any ſhadow of decency. Perhaps they did not think their ſcheme yet ripe for an open revolt againſt the eſtabliſhed king, ſo they agreed to meet at London, to ſettle the articles of their reconciliation: but as each ſide ſeemed ſtill to entertain a diſtruſt of the other's ſincerity, it was agreed by the meditators (who were Thomas Bourchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury, with ſeveral other prelates) that they ſhould come, attended with proper retinues.

Accordingly, on the fifteenth day of January, 1458, the earl of Saliſbury arrived firſt, with a body of five hundred men; as York did, on the twenty-ſixth, with four hundred, taking up their quarters near each other, the former in Cold-harbour, and the latter in Baynard's caſtle; Warwick came over from Calais with ſix hundred followers, and choſe the Grey-friars for the place of his reſidence; and the reſt of the Yorkiſts lodged in different parts within the city.

Of the Lancaſtrian party, Somerſet, Exeter, Northumberland, Egremont, and Clifford came with a pompous train of followers, who quartered in the ſuburbs; and ſir Godfrey Bulleyn, the lord-mayor of London, at the head of ten thouſand men, patrolled through the ſtreets, for preventing all diſturbances that might happen between the numerous retinues of the treating lords.

The conferences met with great difficulties, occaſioned by the heats, animoſities, and jarring intereſts of the two parties, inſomuch that it was the twenty-fourth of March before every thing was adjuſted, when at length the following terms were mutually agreed to.

I. That there ſhould be a general pardon for all parties concerned in the late diſturbances, on the part of the duke of York as well as the king; and that both ſhould equally be held thenceforth as

* Hall. Stowe.

† M. de Coucy, Hiſt. de Charles VII.

ſubjects:

ſubjects: but that the duke of York, with the earls of Warwick and Saliſbury, ſhould ſettle forty pounds a year upon the abbey of St. Alban's, for ſuffrages and obits to be kept, and alms to be employed, for the ſouls of the noblemen and others killed in the late battle there.

II. That the duke of York ſhould pay five thouſand pounds to the ducheſs of Somerſet, which was to be divided amongſt her youngeſt children: and that the earl of Warwick ſhould pay two thouſand marks, for the uſe of the younger brethren of the lord Clifford.

III. That whereas ſir Thomas Piercy, the lord Egremont, and Richard Piercy, ſons of the counteſs of Northumberland, were fined to pay to the earl of Saliſbury, his wife and ſons Thomas and John Neville, fourteen thouſand eight hundred marks for treſpaſſes, found by Richard Bingham and Ralph Pool, the king's judges, to be done to the ſaid earl of Saliſbury and his ſons, it was agreed the ſaid ſums ſhould be releaſed by them to the ſaid offenders; yet upon condition that the ſaid lord Egremont and his brothers ſhould enter into recognizance in Chancery, to keep the peace with the ſaid earl of Saliſbury, his wife, children, ſervants, and tenants: and the ſaid earl ſhould diſcharge the tenants of the ſaid earl of Northumberland and lord Egremont from the obligations to ſtand to their order and government.

The IVth article contains general releaſes on all ſides: and expreſſes, that all matters of property ſhall ſtand upon the ſame footing as they were before the troubles. The other articles of this agreement relate only to the ſecurity which all the parties were obliged to give to its performance.

This agreement being ſettled, nothing remained but to notify it to the public; to do which with all poſſible ſolemnity, a public proceſſion was made, in great pomp, by all parties, to St. Paul's cathedral, the duke of York leading the queen, followed by the duke of Somerſet, the duke of Exeter, and the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, one of each party walking abreaſt, hand in hand, with every appearance of a cordial reconciliation and undiſguiſed confidence: but, unhappily, there was little ſincerity on either ſide; inſtead of labouring chearfully in the great ends of the reunion, inſtead of taking their places at the council-board, to which they were now entitled, the confederate lords ſuddenly retired to where their ſeveral intereſts lay; the duke of York to the borders of Wales; the earl of Saliſbury to the North; and the earl of Warwick, who had contracted for the guard of the ſea, to take the command of the fleet. While the latter was on a cruize in the channel, he fell in with ſome merchant-ſhips belonging to the Genoeſe and Lubeckers, who then made a great figure in the commerce of Europe; and a diſpute ariſing in conſequence of the foreigners refuſing to pay the proper compliment to the Engliſh flag, the earl attacked them, ſunk ſome, and carried the reſt into Calais, on board of which he found an immenſe booty. Theſe two republics, however, making vigorous remonſtrances at the Engliſh court againſt this outrage, as they termed it, the king appointed commiſſioners to enquire into the particulars, and Warwick was obliged to come over to juſtify his conduct.

During his ſtay in London on this account, a fray happened between one of his ſervants and a domeſtic of the queen's, in which the latter, who was the aggreſſor, was deſperately wounded. The companions on each ſide took part in the quarrel, the ſtreets of London were filled with blood and confuſion, and matters went ſo far, that the queen's attorney-general was killed in one of theſe frays; and it was with great difficulty that, in another on the like occaſion, the earl himſelf eſcaped with life, by taking to his barge. He failed not to repreſent this as a premeditated attack, contrived by the queen, in order to aſſaſſinate him; and ſet out ſoon after for Yorkſhire, where he had an interview with his father, the earl of Saliſbury, and the duke of York, when it was reſolved again to appeal to arms for ſatisfaction upon the violation of the late agreement. Warwick made but a ſhort ſtay with his friends, poſting over in all haſte to Calais, for fear of ſome attempt on the part of the court to ſeize it during his abſence.

It being diſcovered ſoon after, that the queen, to juſtify the late attempt upon the earl's life, had procured an order to arreſt and throw him into the Tower, where it was ſuppoſed effectual methods would have been taken for removing ſo powerful an adverſary; the duke of York and the earl of Saliſbury made their complaints to Henry of theſe treacherous proceedings, inſiſting that he would diſmiſs from his council all ſuch who had a ſhare in them, or had adviſed the breach of the agreement. But Henry, wholly under the guidance of his wife and her cabal, took no notice of their remonſtrances: upon which the confederate lords began to make proviſion for taking the field in caſe of neceſſity.

Early in the year 1459, the duke of York and his party were in arms; and it was agreed by them, that, whilſt the duke was ſtrengthening his intereſt in Wales, the earl of Saliſbury ſhould advance to London, at the head of five thouſand men, and openly demand ſatisfaction for the injury done to his ſon. But as theſe meaſures could not be taken without the knowlege of the court, the lord Audley *, who had a great family intereſt in the counties through which Saliſbury was to march, was ordered to raiſe troops, and had a commiſſion as commander in chief of the royal army. Audley in a ſhort time was at the head of ten thouſand men, and in a condition to march againſt the earl of Saliſbury, who was advanced as far as the borders of Shropſhire and Staffordſhire. There the two armies met; and though Saliſbury had not above half the force which his adverſary brought againſt him, he would not retreat, and, by a ſtratagem, gained a victory which he had no reaſon otherwiſe to expect.

The river Sow, a ſmall ſtream but of a conſiderable depth, ran between the two armies, and its banks were lined by the lord Audley's troops. Saliſbury ordered a detachment of his beſt archers to advance briſkly to his ſide of the river, and to

* James Touchet, grand-ſon of John Touchet, by Joan, daughter and heireſs of Nicholas Aldithly, or Audley, of Heleigh, who died without male iſſue; wherefore the poſterity of the ſaid John and Joan had the title of lords Audley. Dugd. Baron. vol. ii. p. 28. From theſe deſcended the preſent lord Audley of Heleigh, earl of Caſtlehaven, in the kingdom of Ireland.

pour a diſcharge of arrows upon the royaliſts on the oppoſite ſide. The latter, upon this, coming up in their turn, the earl of Saliſbury ordered his men to retreat, which they did with the appearance of precipitate confuſion: this had the effect Saliſbury wiſhed; the royaliſts, deceived by this feint, and thinking the enemy flying, began to paſs the ſtream, with lord Audley at their head, in order to complete the rout of the Yorkiſts. The earl of Saliſbury had made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for their reception; before half the royaliſts were paſſed over, he charged them with his whole force upon a plain called Bloreheath, and gave them a total defeat. The lord Audley was killed at the head of his men *: his chief officers who fell with him were Hugh Venables, of Kinderton; Thomas Dutton, of Dutton; Robert Molineux, of Siſſon, with many more, in all to the number of two thouſand four hundred. In this battle, which was fought on the twenty-third of September, the Cheſhire men were the greateſt ſufferers, who wore this day little ſilver ſwans, which the queen had ordered to be diſtributed to all the gentlemen of that county; no doubt with a view to put them in mind of Henry's deſcent from Edward III. who wore the ſame for his device †.

The duke of York, encouraged by this ſucceſs, raiſed all the forces he could in the Welſh Marches, appointing Ludlow for the place of rendezvous, where all their friends from different quarters were to join him and Saliſbury; and the duke, now unable to keep on the maſk any longer, was obliged to avow his pretenſions of claiming the crown. This attack upon Henry's perſon and dignity raiſed all the friends he had in the nation; the dukes of Somerſet, Exeter, and Buckingham, all of them riveted by blood and inclination to the Lancaſter family, had great intereſt in the kingdom, and ſaw now more than ever the neceſſity of their entering heartily upon the defence of Henry's title; in ſhort, they beſtirred themſelves ſo effectually, that Henry in a few days got together an army far ſuperior to that of the confederate lords. On the ninth of October writs were iſſued for the meeting of a parliament at Coventry, on the twentieth of the following month. The duke of Somerſet was appointed governor of Calais, in the room of the earl of Warwick, who, upon advice of this, left that place under the care of William Neville, lord Fauconbridge (his uncle), and taking with him part of the garriſon, of which he gave the command to ſir Andrew Trollop, who had ſignalized himſelf in the wars in France, and to ſir John Blount, another experienced general, he croſſed the ſea, and joined his friends at Ludlow.

To this place, where the lords were encamped, it was reſolved by Henry's council immediately to advance. When the royal army came to Worceſter it made a halt, and Henry ſent Richard Beauchamp, biſhop of Saliſbury, with an offer of pardon to the rebels, if they would lay down their arms; but theſe were ſlighted; for, after ſo many repeated breaches of faith, no one would truſt the court. The king, therefore, continued advancing; and, on the thirteenth of October, he came to Ludeford, a few miles diſtant from Ludlow, with a fixed reſolution to give the Yorkiſts battle: they, on their ſide, made a ſhew as if they would reſiſt to the utmoſt. The two commanders from Calais, and the troops they brought over with them, imagined they were only to reſcue their king out of the hands of a wicked miniſtry; but now, finding the duke of York's intention was to wreſt the crown from him, whom they looked upon as the rightful poſſeſſor, they deſerted by night to the royal army; and the chiefs of the Yorkiſts, apprehending that their men might be diſcouraged by that revolt, or be tempted to follow the example, thought fit to ſeparate the next day; York, with his ſecond ſon, the earl of Rutland, making the beſt of their way, through Wales, into Ireland; and the earls of Marche, Warwick, and Saliſbury into Devonſhire, where ſir John Denham provided ſhips, which carried them over to Calais, into which place they were received by lord Fauconbridge, notwithſtanding the duke of Somerſet being appointed governor thereof by the king ‡.

As ſoon it was found that the rebels forces were diſperſed, ſeveral troops of light horſe were diſpatched in purſuit, who took a great number of ſtragglers, none of whom, excepting thoſe capitally concerned, ſuffered; but the town of Ludlow, for its remarkable attachment to the cauſe of the confederates, was plundered by the king's troops; and the ducheſs of York, with her two younger ſons, were made priſoners in the caſtle.

The parliament meeting at Coventry, on the twentieth of November, agreeable to its ſummons, paſſed an act of attainder againſt the duke of York, the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, with their chief adherents, who were all declared traitors, their eſtates forfeited, and their heirs diſinherited. The reader will find in the note § an abſtract of the proceedings of the houſe on this occaſion, with a particular

* To whoſe memory a monument is ſet up at the head of the river Sow, in Staffordſhire. Camd. Add. to Staffordſh.

† Hollingſhed, p. 1295. Stowe, p. 404.

‡ Hall, p. 174. Hollingſhed, 1297.

§ The attainder of Richard duke of York, wherein are contained theſe matters enſuing: Firſt, a commemoration of the king's great care in bringing the ſaid duke up, and the manifold benefits to him ſhewed. The confederation of the ſaid duke with Jack Cade, to be advanced to the crown. The duke's coming out of Ireland with force, to the king's court and preſence. The duke's practices to be protector. The duke's intent to have raiſed an army againſt the king, at Dartford, in Kent. His ſubmiſſion, and oath to the king, in Paul's, after the ſame. The duke's oath at large. The duke's confederacy with the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick. A rehearſal of the king's ſundry benefits ſhewed to the two ſaid earls. The battle of St. Alban's, at what time the duke of Somerſet, the earl of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford were ſlain; and the pacification made by the king between the heirs of the ſaid duke and earls, and their promiſes of due obedience; with renunciation of ſundry benefits to them afterwards, ſhewed the ambition of the ſaid duke and earls. Their new oaths and promiſes made to the king. Their politics in not coming to the council, for their readineſs in coming together, being far aſunder. The expedition of the earl of Saliſbury, with Thomas and John Neville, knights, ſons of the ſaid earl Thomas; and Thomas Oringe, of Toungue, in the county of York; with five thouſand men, with banners diſplayed, on Bloreheath, on the feaſt of St. Matthew, anno 1437. James, lord Audley, ſlain on Bloreheath, in Staffordſhire, by the ſaid earl; and John Dudley, with ſundry others taken priſoners, the king purſuing them by the ſpace of thirty days and nights. The king's pardon to them offered, and their refuſal. The aſſembly of the ſaid duke, the earl of Marche; Richard, earl of Warwick; Richard, earl of Saliſbury; Edward, earl of Rutland; John, lord Clifton; John, lord Wenlock, James Palering. John Conies, and Thomas Parr, knights; John Bourchier and Edward Bourchier, eſquires, nephews of the ſaid duke: Thomas Colt, of London, gentleman; John Clay, of Cheſhunt, in Hertfordſhire, eſquire; Roger Egerton, of Shrewſbury, eſquire;

ticular recapitulation from records of all the duke's conduct, and an account of his principal abettors by name, much more particular than we have in almoſt any hiſtory.

The queen ſeemed now to have ſet her foot upon all oppoſition: all grants, poſts, or penſions which had been given to any of the duke of York's adherents, were revoked and cancelled by order of parliament; the Scottiſh earl of Douglas, who had been for ſome time an exile in England, was gratified with a penſion during life, for his eminent ſervices to the houſe of Lancaſter. But, in this diſtreſſed conditon of their affairs, and in the height of the triumphs of the Lancaſtrian party, the Yorkiſts found a reſource in the admirable genius of the earl of Warwick: that nobleman was ſtill in poſſeſſion of Calais, and refuſed to deliver it up, on pretence that he held it from the parliament; upon which, Henry, duke of Somerſet, to whom that government had been granted, ſailed over to take poſſeſſion of it, with a mere handful of men, imagining that, after the deciſive blow lately given to the confederates, he ſhould meet with very little difficulty in entering upon his charge. But the earl of Warwick was ſo univerſally beloved by the whole garriſon, that, when Somerſet appeared before the place, and ſummoned it to ſurrender, he had no other anſwer than what came from the mouth of its cannon. Being in no condition to force his entrance, he retired to Guiſnes, where he reſided in expectation of farther ſupplies. Having gone aſhore, he left his ſhips, with ſome of his friends on board, at ſea; but the mariners were ſo well affected to the duke of York's intereſt, or rather to the earl of Warwick's perſon, that they roſe and carried the ſhips into Calais, where the duke of Somerſet's friends were barbarouſly put to death by Warwick's orders †.

The queen, incenſed beyond meaſure at this monſtrous inſult, and determined to wreſt this important fortreſs out of the hands of her enemies, equipped a fleet for the aſſiſtance of Somerſet, and ordered a conſiderable body of troops to be put on board, under the command of the lord Rivers and his ſon Anthony Woodville (afterwards lord Scales in right of his wife.) While the fleet lay in the harbour of Sandwich, waiting for a fair wind, the earl of Warwick, having intelligence of their deſtination, gave ſir John Denham the command of the ſhips that had lately deſerted from Somerſet, and a body of troops on board, who ſailed to Sandwich, where he found Rivers and all his officers, who were carried to Calais, together with their ſhips, the ſailors themſelves favouring the enterprize.

Warwick, having now got a fleet, ſailed for Ireland in the beginning of the year 1460, in order to conſult the duke of York about the meaſures to be taken for another inſurrection in England, where the people eſpouſed their cauſe, and their friends expected them with impatience. The duke agreed with him, that the lords at Calais ſhould make a deſcent in the county of Kent, which abounded with their adherents and well-wiſhers, and proceed directly to the capital, which they did not doubt would receive them with open arms. The earl of Warwick, in his return to Calais, fell in with the Engliſh fleet, commanded by Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, who had lately been appointed admiral of England in the earl's ſtead, and been ſent out to intercept him in his paſſage: but the mariners and ſoldiers on board the duke's fleet refuſing to fight againſt their old and beloved commander, he, in order to prevent a total revolt, ſailed into Dartmouth, where the greater part of his men deſerted for want of pay and proviſion.

The queen and the miniſtry doubted not that the interview between the duke of York and Warwick was the forerunner of a freſh rebellion, and reſolved to leave nothing untried to prevent the bad conſequences of their landing in England. James Butler, earl of Wiltſhire, the lords Scales and Hungerford were ſent down into the counties ſuppoſed to be in the duke's intereſt, particularly thoſe of Kent and Hampſhire, with a commiſſion to impriſon and try all whom they judged to be of that party. They executed their commiſſion with great rigour, putting to death many who were only ſuſpected of favouring the duke of York; others were deprived of their offices, plundered, and otherwiſe ill treated, which much inflamed the animoſities of the two parties: add to this, that the caſtle of Denbigh, which had belonged to the duke of York, was taken by aſſault by the earl of Pembroke, who had a commiſſion to be Henry's general in Wales and upon its Marches.

In ſhort, the proſpect of ruin which the confederate lords had, as to their own private eſtates, did not, perhaps, a little quicken their reſolution of a ſecond invaſion: they ſent over the lord Fauconbridge with a manifeſto, which he had orders to diſperſe throughout the kindom, and to ſend a copy of it to the archbiſhop of Canterbury. It was to the following purpoſe: "that the duke of York, the earls of Marche, Saliſbury, and Warwick, had divers times offered, and ſent, to come into the king's preſence, to have declared for their duty to God, his highneſs, and proſperity of the realm, theſe following matters, viz.

"I. The great extortions, murders, robberies, and oppreſſions to the church, and miniſters of it, againſt the laws both of God and man.

"II. The poverty and miſery of his highneſs himſelf, who, being cheated and defrauded of the revenues of the crown, which might, and would, ſupport his royal grace, by the deſtroyers of the

eſquire; and Robert Bold, brother to Henry Bold, knight; who, with ſeveral others pitched their camp in the fields of Ludlow, in the county of Hereford, on Friday, the vigil of the Tranſlation of Edward, in anno 1438: the duke pretended to his company that the king was dead, for whoſe ſoul maſs was ſaid in the ſaid duke's camp. The king's expectation of the ſaid duke: the duke's ranging in battle; the fortifying his ground with carts, and his guns ſet, before the ſkirmiſh made: his ambuſh laid; and his meaning to have ſuddenly ſurprized the king's hoſt. The departure of the ſaid duke and earls out of the field about midnight, under cover to repoſe themſelves at Ludlow, and their flight into Wales; for that their army fainted, and ſubmitted themſelves unto the king, who granted their pardon. The attainder of the ſaid duke, earls, and other aforeſaid perſons as traitors. Alice, wife to Richard, earl of Saliſbury; William Oldhall, knight; and Thomas Vaughan, eſquire, of London; were attainted as traitors, for procuring the treaſons aforeſaid. All and ſingular the hereditaments of the ſaid duke and others, attainted, in fee or fee-tail, are forfeited. Richard Gray, lord Powis, Walter Radford, knight, being in the field with the duke at Ludlow, were pardoned; but all their hereditaments, as before, and other profits, forfeited. Cotton's Abridgm. p. 661, 662, 663.

† Hall, p. 175. Hollingſhed, p. 1297.

commonwealth,

commonwealth, was forced to oppreſs and ſpoil his ſubjects.

" III. That the laws were partially and unjuſtly executed, and made to ſupport their injuſtice and oppreſſion by ſuch as ſhould moſt love and tender them.

" IV. That the commons were marvellouſly taxed, and their goods taken from them without payment; becauſe he premitted the deſtroyers of the land to live upon his own revenues, ſuffering all the king's poſſeſſions in France to be loſt.

" V. That the people begin to have new impoſitions laid upon them, viz. every town to find men for the king's guards, after the example of the French, our adverſaries; which, if continued to our heirs, will be a charge and bondage none of our anceſtors were ſubject to.

" VI. That divers lords had cauſed the king to write letters to his enemies in Ireland and France, to conquer the ſaid kingdom, and take Calais; which letters were ſhewn to the duke of York by the Iriſhmen, with deteſtation of their villiany.

" VII. That, ſince the barbarous and ſhameful murder of Humphrey, duke of Gloceſter, at Bury, it hath been ſtudied and conſpired to have deſtroyed and murdered the duke of York, and his iſſue of the royal blood; as alſo the earls of Warwick and Saliſbury; for no other cauſe but for the true heart they have ever borne, and do bear, to the king's profit and wealth of the realm.

" VIII. That the earls of Shrewſbury and Wiltſhire, that the lord Beaumont, the mortal enemy of the ſaid duke and lords, having the guiding of our ſoverign lord, would not ſuffer the king to receive and accept them, as he would have done in his preſence, dreading the charge which would have been brought againſt them for deſtroying the nation.

" IX. That the ſaid earls of Wiltſhire, Shrewsbury, and lord Beaumont, not ſatisfied with the king's revenues and goods, had ſtirred up and excited his highneſs to hold his parliament at Coventry, where an act was made, to deſtroy the ſaid duke of York, earls of Marche, Rutland, Saliſbury, and Warwick, and their iſſue, and eſtates, and tenants, were given up to their hands, who robbed them, and hanged many of them without the king's conſent or approbation.

" Theſe miſchiefs they declared they could not but behold with grief; and therefore now propoſed again to offer themſelves to the preſence of their ſaid ſovereign lord, to declare them to him in the moſt reverend manner, that he may have pity and compaſſion on his miſerable ſubjects, and not ſuffer theſe miſchiefs ſtill to reign; to the effecting of which, they required all people, to whom their declaration ſhould come, in God's behalf and their own, to aſſiſt them in doing their duty to their ſovereign, his perſon and dignity, to whom they have been and ever would be, true as any of his ſubjects alive, to which they call God, and the Virgin Mary, and all the ſaints in heaven to witneſs."

We muſt not forget to relate, that as Fauconbridge was on his paſſage over, he met at ſea ſir Simon Munford, who was appointed to guard the coaſt, attacked him, and taking him priſoner with many other officers, he ſent them all to Calais. Upon their arrival, the earl of Marche, York's eldeſt ſon, ordered Munford with twelve of his captains to be beheaded, by way of retaliation for the ſeverities exerciſed upon his father's adherents in England. Such are the cruelties almoſt conſtantly annexed to civil wars! But to return.

The lords in Calais being punctually apprized of the favourable effects which their manifeſto had on the minds of the people, the earls of Marche, Saliſbury, and Warwick, leaving Calais in a good poſture of defence, came over into England with fifteen hundred perſons in their retinue. Immediately on their landing (at Sandwich), they were joined by the lord Cobham, with four thouſand men; but their greateſt acceſſion of ſtrength was in the archbiſhop of Canterbury (Bourchier), who joined them, and ſuffered their manifeſto to be affixed to the doors of his cathedral, and engaged ſeveral other prelates in the ſame cauſe.

They now began their march towards London, where they were ſure of a welcome reception from the citizens. They reached that capital on the ſecond of July, being about forty thouſand ſtrong, and on the ſame day had peaceable admiſſion into the city, being welcomed by the lord mayor and aldermen in their formalities. The queen was then at Coventry, where her army rendezvouſed, and Henry at Northampton. Upon the firſt news of the Yorkiſts landing and progreſs, the royal army was ordered to march for London; but the confederates were ſo quick in their motions, that on the morning of the ninth of July, only ſeven days after their entry into London, the king's troops ſaw them advancing, in three diviſions, towards Northampton; the firſt was led by the earl of Warwick; the ſecond, which was the main body, by the earl of Marche (now in his twentieth year); and the lord Fauconbridge, with the troops under his command, formed the rear. The queen, who was herſelf really general of the royal army, ſince every thing was done by her orders, though the king was preſent in perſon, pitched her camp on a plain near Northampton, with the little river Nyne behind her: the earls of Marche and Warwick encamped between Towceſter and Northampton. Marche was for immediately attacking the king's camp, but the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the other prelates were of a different opinion, and propoſed to attempt a reconciliation: the lords ſubmitting to their advice, the biſhop of Saliſbury was ſent, in their name, to the king, requeſting admittance to his preſence, in order to compromiſe differences without bloodſhed. But the court, falſely imagining that this offer proceeded only from the ſenſe the confederates had of their own weakneſs, rejected, with equal haughtineſs and bad policy, theſe overtures. In this the queen was the dupe of too great ſecurity. The biſhop, finding his mediation refuſed, returned to the camp of the Yorkiſts, and both parties prepared for battle.

Whether this rejecting of all means of an accommodation had an effect on Edmund, lord Grey of Ruthyn, who commanded Henry's vanguard, or whether his conduct was owing to any other motive, he deſerted to the earl's party ſoon after the engagement began, and contributed not a little to the victory of the malecontents. The battle began about two o'clock of the afternoon of the tenth of July, and was maintained with equal courage and obſtinacy on both ſides till ſeven in the evening, when the royaliſts were completely routed with a terrible carnage: the duke of Buckingham, the

earl

earl of Shrewſbury (ſon of the great Talbot), who performed wonders that day, the lord Egremont, the lord Beaumont*, and ſir William Lucy were among the number of the ſlain: the queen, the prince of Wales, and the duke of Somerſet, with difficulty eſcaped and fled northward. As to Henry, that empty ſhadow of a king, he once more fell into the hands of the Yorkiſts, who, nevertheleſs, treated him with the exterior of profound reſpect; and this deference ſerved in ſome meaſure to conſole him for his late misfortunes, which would have been to any other prince worſe than death itſelf; but Henry's natural imbecility ſeems to have made him equally inſenſible of good or bad fortune.

He was immediately conducted to Northampton, where he repoſed himſelf for three days, and then ſet out for London, where he arrived on the ſixteenth of July, attended by a crowd of noblemen and others, who had lately appeared in arms againſt him. The ſucceſs of the confederate lords had ſo elated the Londoners, who were well affected to their cauſe, that they broke out into ſeveral outrages againſt many perſons of the Lancaſtrian party. The lord Scales, governor of the Tower for Henry, who had refuſed to deliver it up to the earl of Marche before the battle of Northampton, now finding his maſter in the power of his enemies, thought proper to abandon his charge, and privately took water, in order to ſeek ſanctuary in the abbey of Weſtminſter; but being diſcovered, was moſt barbarouſly murdered, and his body thrown into the river. No enquiry being made after the perpetrators of this vile deed, it gave encouragement to carry on a kind of proſcription; and among others who ſuffered death by the violence of the mob, was Thorpe, formerly ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, but now a baron of the Exchequer.

The king, ſoon after his arrival, called a parliament, to meet in the beginning of October following: in the mean time the great-ſeal was given to the biſhop of Exeter; the earl of Warwick was confirmed, by a new commiſſion, in the government of Calais, to which was added that of Guiſnes, which was ſtill held by the duke of Somerſet; and on the firſt of Auguſt the earl of Saliſbury received a commiſſion as warden of the Northern Marches, with power to raiſe an army to oppoſe the progreſs of James II. king of Scotland, who, taking advantage of the inteſtine troubles of England, had laid ſiege to the caſtle of Roxburgh; but while the earl was preparing to ſet out on this expedition, news arrived that James had been killed before the place, by the burſting of one of his own cannon; and that his queen, a woman of a maſculine ſpirit, had puſhed the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that the caſtle of Roxburgh had capitulated; after which ſhe laid ſiege to, and carried that of Werk, and then ravaging a great part of the Engliſh borders, ſhe returned into Scotland before the earl of Saliſbury could aſſemble his army. James II. of Scotland was ſucceeded by his ſon James III. then but ſeven years old.

In the courſe of the ſame month (of Auguſt) died Charles VII. king of France. It is pretended he ſtarved himſelf, through an apprehenſion of being poiſoned by the dauphin, his ſon, who now aſcended the throne by the name of Lewis XI.

The confederate lords, who had now the king and government entirely in their power, failed not to give the duke of York, who was ſtill in Ireland, continual notice of what was tranſacting, and that prince was now preparing to come to England, and put the finiſhing ſtroke to his grand project. The meeting of the parliament had been purpoſely delayed by his friends here, to give him time for being preſent at the opening; but, by the unforeſeen accidents of wind and weather, he did not arrive in London till the third day of the ſeſſion (viz. the fifth of October), when, without waiting even to refreſh himſelf, he poſted directly to the houſe of peers, who were then ſitting, and, placing himſelf under the canopy of ſtate, with his hand laid upon the throne, he gave a broad hint, that he expected the aſſembly would invite him to ſeat himſelf in the royal chair; but herein his own vanity, or the flattering inſinuations of his creatures, had miſerably deceived him; the majority of the members were far from entertaining any ſuch thought, as they evinced by keeping a profound ſilence: at length the archbiſhop of Canterbury, a truly good man, who had joined the oppoſition merely becauſe it tended to reformation, and at the ſame time had a ſincere regard for Henry on account of his virtue and piety, came up to the duke, while he was ſtanding in the manner already deſcribed, and aſked him if he had as yet waited on the king, or whether he deſigned ſo to do? So ſudden and unexpected a queſtion involved the duke in the utmoſt perplexity: he had not yet openly avowed his claim to the crown; the ſilence of the houſe ſhewed him his intention was not univerſally approved: after ſome heſitation, during which the different changes of his countenance betrayed the tumult in his mind, he without giving a direct anſwer, ſaid, that he knew no perſon in the realm to whom that compliment was due from him. This ſudden declaration ſo greatly alarmed the whole aſſembly, that they broke up in ſome confuſion.

Richard, however, was not to be diſcouraged by this rebuff. He went again the next day to the houſe of lords, and boldly ſeated himſelf upon the throne; but riſing up ſoon, claimed the crown "as the next lineal heir of Edward III. and rightful ſucceſſor to Richard II. who had been barbarouſly murdered by Henry of Derby, duke of Lancaſter and Hereford, who wrongfully ſtyled himſelf king Henry IV. as his own father had by Henry V. to ſecure the uſurpation in his family: he put the lords in mind of the blood which had been ſhed by the firſt of thoſe uſurpers; of the loſs of France, Normandy, and Guienne, with the many other diſgraces and calamities that had befallen the nation, from the weakneſs and incapacity of the reigning king, Henry VI. and the corruption of the adminiſtration: he then exhorted them to ſhake off the government of an uſurper and his iſſue, that peace might be reſtored to the land, and the crown recover its priſtine glory†." The lords ſitting like ſilent ſtatues after the ſpeech was ended. Richard roſe up again, and deſired them to conſider what he had ſaid, and the juſtice of his claim.

* He was the firſt viſcount in England, ſo created 18 Hen. VI. Dugdale.
† Hollingſhed, p. 1300—1302.

On the fifth day of the ſeſſion the proceedings of the parliament of Coventry againſt the duke of York were annulled; and it was not before the eighth day of the parliament that the duke had it moved in the houſe of peers to be heard by his council touching his right and claim to the crown of England and lordſhip of Ireland: this claim was preſented in writing on the ſixteenth of October, by his council.

The duke of York's own account of his pedigree, as we find it on record, is as follows. "That the right noble and worthy prince Henry III. king of England, had iſſue and lawfully begotten, Edward his firſt begotten ſon, born at Weſtminſter the fifteenth calend of July, on the vigil of St. Martin and Marcellanus, in the year of our Lord 1239. The which Edward (who, after the death of the ſaid king Henry his father, was entitled and called king Edward I.) had iſſue Edward his firſt begotten ſon, entitled and called (after the deceaſe of the ſaid Edward I. his father) king Edward II. who had iſſue, lawfully begotten, the right noble and honourable prince Edward III. true and undoubted king of England and France and lord of Ireland. Which Edward III. had iſſue, and lawfully begotten, Edward, his firſt begotten ſon, prince of Wales; William of Hatfield, ſecond begotten; Lionel, third begotten, duke of Clarence; John of Ghent, fourth begotten, duke of Lancaſter; Edmund of Langley, fifth begotten, duke of York; Thomas of Woodſtock, ſixth begotten, duke of Gloceſter; and William of Windſor, the ſeventh begotten. The ſaid Edward, prince of Wales, who died in the life of the ſaid king Edward, had iſſue, lawfully begotten, Richard, who ſucceeded king Edward III. his grand-father, in the regal dignity, and was entitled and called Richard II. and died without iſſue. William of Hatfield, the ſecond begotten ſon of the ſaid king Edward, died without iſſue. Lionel, the third begotten ſon of king Edward, had iſſue, and lawfully begotten, Philippa, his only daughter and heir, who was married unto Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche, by whom ſhe had iſſue, lawfully born, Roger Mortimer her ſon and heir; which Roger had iſſue, and lawfully begotten, Edmund, earl of Marche, Roger Mortimer, Anne, and Eleanor; which Edmund, Roger, and Eleanor died without iſſue; and the ſaid Anne, being married unto Richard, earl of Cambridge, ſon of the ſaid Edmund of Langley, fifth begotten ſon of the ſaid king Edward III. as it is preſpecified, had iſſue, and lawfully born, Richard Plantagenet, commonly called duke of York. The ſaid John of Ghent, the fourth begotten ſon of the ſaid king Edward III. and younger brother of the ſaid Lionel, had iſſue, and lawfully begot, Henry, earl of Derby, who, immediately after that the ſaid king Richard II. did reſign the crowns of the ſaid realms and the ſaid lordſhip of Ireland, unrighteouſly entered upon the ſame, there being yet alive Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche, ſon to Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, ſon and heir to the ſaid Philippa, daughter and heir to the ſaid Lionel, third ſon of the ſaid king Edward III. to which Edmund the legal title of the ſaid crowns and lordſhip belonged ‡." And from hence he concluded, that it was evident, that, in right of blood, he, the ſaid duke of York, claimant, had a priority to all living, in ſucceſſion to Edward III. the right of female ſucceſſion to the crown of England being always admitted.

It was not without ſome difficulty that the lords would even permit this claim to be read in the houſe; but they came to a reſolution to proceed no farther without communicating it to the king. Accordingly the lords ſpiritual and temporal waiting upon Henry, to acquaint him with the ſame, received for anſwer from him, that "it was his pleaſure the affair ſhould be referred to his judges, ſerjeants, and attorney-general, to conſider upon the matter of right."

In conſequence of the royal pleaſure thus notified, on the morning of October 18, the lords ſent for the king's juſtices, ſaith the record (the words of which we ſhall quote at large, as the beſt authority) "to defend his title againſt the claim of the duke of York, and in the king's name, ſtrictly commanded them to find all objections as might be laid againſt the ſame, in fortifying the king's title; who, on Monday following, on the twentieth of October, anſwered, That the matter was ſo high, and touched the king's high eſtate andregalia, which is above the laws, and paſſed their learning; wherefore they durſt not enter into any communication of the ſame, for that it pertained to the lords of the king's blood, and the apparage of this his land; and therefore beſought all the lords to have them utterly excuſed. Then the lords ſent for all the king's ſerjeants and attorney, and gave them ſtrait commandment, in the king's name, that they ſadly and wiſely ſhould ſearch and take all things, as might ſeem beſt and ſtrongeſt to be alleged for the king's avail, in objection and defeating of the title and claim of the duke: they anſwered, That if this matter paſſed the learning of the juſtices, it muſt needs exceed their learning, and alſo that they durſt not enter into any communication in that matter; and prayed and beſought all the lords to have them excuſed by giving any advice or counſel therein: but the lords would not excuſe them, and therefore, by their advice and aſſiſtance, it was concluded, by all the lords, that the articles following ſhould be objected againſt the claim and title of the duke.

"I. It is thought that the lords of the land muſt needs call to their remembrance the great oaths the which they have made to the king, the which may be laid to the ſaid duke of York, and that the lords may not break their oaths.

"II. It is thought alſo, that it is to be called to remembrance the great and noble acts of parliament of divers of the king's progenitors, the which acts be ſufficient and reaſonable to be laid againſt the title of the ſaid duke of York, the which acts be of much more authority than any chronicle; and alſo authority to defeat any manner of title made to any perſon.

"III. Item, It is thought that there is to be laid againſt the title divers entails made to the heirs of Henry IV. as for the crown of England, as it may appear by divers chronicles and parliaments.

"IV. Item, it is thought to be alleged to the title of the ſaid duke, that the time that king Henry IV. took upon him the crown of England, he ſaid he entered and took upon him the crown as right

‡ Brady's Introduction, p. 386, 387. John Whethamſtede, p. 491, 492.

inheritor

inheritor to king Henry III. and not as a conqueror."

To which articles the duke answered:

"Ist, That no oath, being the law of man, ought to be performed, when the same leadeth to suppression of truth and right, which is against the law of God.

"To the IId, and III, That in truth there being no such acts and entails made by any parliament heretofore, as it is surmised, but only in the seventh year of king Henry IV. a certain act and ordinance was made in a parliament by him called, wherein he made the realms of England and France, among other, to be unto him, and to the heirs of his body coming; and to his four sons, and to the heirs of their body coming, in manner and form as it appeareth in the same act; and if he might have obtained and enjoyed the crowns, &c. by title of inheritance, descent, or succession, he neither needed, or would have desired or made them to be granted to him in such wise, as be by the said act, which taketh no place, neither is of any force or effect against him that is right inheritor of the said crowns, as it accordeth with God's law, and all natural laws; how it be that all other acts and ordinances made in the said parliament sithen being good and sufficient against all other persons.

"To the IVth, That such saying of king Henry IV. may in no wise be true; and that the contrary thereof, which is truth, shall be largely enough shewed, approved, and justified by sufficient authority, and matter of record; and over that his said laying was only to shadow and cover fraudulently his said unrightwise and violent usurpation, and by that mayen to abuse deceivably the people standing about him*."

These, and many arguments of the like nature, having been debated for nine days together, with great learning and capacity, the lords agreed unanimously in opinion, that the title of the duke of York was indefeasible †; but, as a mean, to prevent inconveniencies that might ensue, they proposed, that, as Henry had now reigned thirty-eight years, and had all along led an innocent life, without giving any person cause to complain, he might retain the crown during his life, and the duke, with his heirs, succeed him. The argument against stripping Henry of his dignity seemed very strong; but the managers for the duke of York observed, that as Henry himself was altogether incapable of managing the reins of government, such a measure would only tend to the advantage of the queen and her ministry, who abused his name and authority; that, out of tenderness to him, they ought not to ruin the whole kingdom, nor commit a flagrant act of injustice from a principle of charity." Nevertheless, the duke of York, willing to pay deference to the authority of the parliament, and desirous to prevent the effusion of blood in prosecuting the immediate possession of a title which had been adjudged him, and out of regard to the peace and good of his country, agreed to a compromise, which contained the following articles.

"I. That Henry should be reputed king of England, with the royal dignity annexed, during his natural life.

"II. That Richard, duke of York, without prejudice to his own right, should honour him as such.

"III. That the said Richard should succeed therein, immediately after Henry's decease or resignation.

"IV. That all the lords in parliament should swear to maintain the succession of the said Richard, duke of York, and oppose, to the utmost of their power, all that should attempt to break this agreement.

"V. That Richard should be declared immediately the true and rightful heir to the crown, and have a grant of ten thousand marks per annum in land and castles, to support the dignity.

"VI. That the compassing the death of the said duke should be made high-treason.

"VII. And lastly, it was enacted that all the acts of Henry IV. and V. for settling the succession of the crown should stand repealed, and be held annulled, void, and invalid ‡."

The duke of York and the earls of Marche and Rutland, his two elder sons, came in person to the parliament house, on the thirty-first of October, and there, in presence of the lords spiritual and temporal, bound themselves by oath to observe this agreement, provided it was duly kept by Henry; who, on his part, promising so to do, both these engagements were entered upon record under the guardianship of the parliament; and the next day, being the first of November, this accommodation was celebrated by a solemn procession to St. Paul's, at which Henry and the lords assisted. It was also notified by Henry's letters patent to the nation, and the duke of York was proclaimed protector of the realm and heir apparent of the crown, on Saturday the eighth of November, in the city of London, amidst the repeated acclamations of the populace ‖. As for Henry, he did not appear to be in the least affected with this sudden revolution in his affairs: satisfied with the present tranquility which he was suffered to enjoy, he devoted his whole time to exercises of devotion, and committed the administration to those who acted under the sanction of his name and authority.

Very different were the sentiments of his queen Margaret, who was now, with the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, in the North, where the whole strength of the Lancastrian party lay: she was filled with inexpressible fury and indignation when she received the news of the compromise between her husband and the duke of York, which at once excluded her from power, and her son from the succession. By the advice and assistance of the last-mentioned noblemen, she set about levying forces, for undoing all that the parliament had done, and, in a short time, she got together a considerable army of fighting men, all determined to stand by the house of Lancaster.

The duke of York was soon apprized of the impending storm, and trembled for the consequences. Having the king entirely at his disposal, he prevailed on him to sign an order for the queen to repair immediately to London: but no regard being paid on her part to this extorted summons, York, putting the king under the care of the earl of

* Rot. Parl. 39 Hen. VI. n. 12.

† "Not to be defeated," are the words of the record. Cotton's Abridgment, p. 665.

‡ Cotton's Abridgment, p. 667. Stowe, p. 410.

‖ Hollingshed, p. 1303. Stowe, p. 411.

Warwick,

Warwick and the duke of Norfolk, ſet out, at the head of an army, on the ſecond of December, and advanced by eaſy marches towards the North; while his ſon Edward, earl of Marche, was diſpatched to the borders of Wales, to raiſe an additional body of forces, with which he was to join his father. The queen appears to have had exceeding good intelligence of his motions, and having her army ready, under the command of Somerſet and Exeter, ſhe marched ſouthward, with twenty thouſand men, to fight the duke before he could be reinforced, whoſe whole force at preſent did not exceed ſeven thouſand men. Upon hearing that the queen was in full march to attack him, the duke, conſcious of his inferiority, retired to his caſtle of Sandal, until he ſhould be joined by his ſon Edward.

Queen Margaret, whoſe knowlege in military matters, and profound policy, ſo ſuperior to her ſex, might have done honour to the moſt experienced general, had recourſe to every method ſhe could deviſe for luring the duke from his retreat: ſhe pretended to continue her march towards the ſouth; ſhe poſted the greateſt part of her troops in ambuſh, and, with only a part of her army, preſenting herſelf before the caſtle of Sandal, challenged the duke to battle by the moſt inſulting meſſages. Whether the duke was provoked by her reproaches, or was ſtraitened for want of proviſions, or, what is more probable, from former defeats of the royal party had acquired a contempt for his enemy, certain it is he drew out his men, on the thirty-firſt of December, determined to venture a battle, and advanced in excellent order towards Wakefield Green*, on each ſide of which the queen's ambuſhes were placed, under the command of Butler, earl of Wiltſhire, and Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, while the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter led her main body.

The duke of York had ſcarcely marſhalled his troops, when his ears were ſtruck with ſhouts on each ſide of him, and the two corps in ambuſh ſuddenly ſtarting up, he found both his flanks and his rear incloſed. He now, too late, found his error in truſting to appearances, or building upon former ſucceſs in arms; he ſaw no probability of eſcaping, far leſs of victory: he reſolved, therefore, to ſell his life and newly affianced crown as dear as poſſible, and his courage being converted to fell deſpair, he ruſhed furiouſly on to the charge. The enthuſiaſtic valour with which he was fired ſeemed to communicate itſelf to all his followers, who purſued the track of ſlaughter he marked out in a firm, reſolute, and well-compacted body: but all their efforts availed little againſt the numbers with which they were overpowered: the bloody conteſt did not laſt above half an hour, each ſecond of which, however, was marked by ſome diſtinguiſhed death; and, in the ſhort ſpace above-mentioned, two thouſand eight hundred of the duke's army were cut in pieces. The duke himſelf fell, tranſfixed with numberleſs wounds, after fighting valiantly on foot; ſir Thomas Harrington, ſir David Hall, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir Thomas Neville (third ſon of the earl of Saliſbury) ſir John and ſir Hugh Mortimer, with many other gentlemen, ſigned the royaliſts victory in their own blood: but no fate was more truly deplorable than that of Edmund Plantagenet, earl of Rutland, ſon to the duke of York, a youth of about thirteen years of age, who was inhumanly butchered on Wakefield bridge, as he was attempting his eſcape, by the lord Clifford; that nobleman, inflamed with revenge for the loſs of his father, who had been killed in the battle of St. Alban's, had made ſuch carnage with his own hands, that thoſe even of his own party unanimouſly gave him the name of the Butcher; and now eſpying one Aſpil, the duke of York's chaplain, conveying the young Rutland out of the field, he purſued them, and, notwithſtanding all the entreaties of the prieſt, or the more melting eloquence of youthful innocence, the implacable Clifford plunged his dagger in the breaſt of the defenceleſs child. Returning reeking from this ſlaughter, he fell upon the dead body of the duke of York, and cutting off the head, carried it to the queen, who crowned it with a diadem of paper, by way of deriſion of his pretenſions, and then ſent it to be fixed on the walls of York.

Thus fell, in the fiftieth year of his age, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, a prince endowed with many great and amiable qualities, and of whom the duke of Somerſet, his chief opponent, ſaid, "that if he had not learned to play the king by his regency in France, he had never forgot to obey as a ſubject in England." He had iſſue, by Cecily, daughter of Ralph Neville, earl of Weſtmoreland, eight ſons: Henry, who died young; Edward, earl of Marche, afterwards king Edward IV. Edmund, earl of Rutland; John, William, and Thomas, who all died young; George, duke of Clarence; and Richard, duke of Gloceſter, afterwards king Richard III. He had alſo four daughters: Anne, married to Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, but afterwards divorced from him, and married a ſecond time to ſir Thomas St. Leger; Elizabeth, married to John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk; Margaret, married to Charles the Hardy, duke of Burgundy; and Urſula, who died young.

The queen had a farther triumph by the earl of Saliſbury, ſir Ralph Stanley, and ſome other perſons of quality, being made priſoners, who were ſoon after ſent to Pontefract, and there beheaded; their heads were afterwards ſet upon poles on each ſide that of the duke of York. As to the loſs of the victorious army, it is not mentioned; we can only ſay that the victors diſgraced their ſucceſs with ſhocking inſtances of the moſt ſavage barbarity. Short lived, however, were theſe bloody triumphs; for the hands of the ſon ſoon plucked down the trophies erected over the grave of the father, and cruelly repaid the ſufferings of his party.

Edward Plantagenet, hitherto ſtyled earl of Marche, but now, by this fatal event, poſſeſſor of the title of duke of York, was raiſing forces in the Marches of Wales when he received the news of his father's death: far from being diſcouraged by this dreadful accident, he was inſpired with the

* Wakefield is a town in the Weſt-Riding of Yorkſhire, famous for its cloth trade, largeneſs, neat buildings, markets, and the bridge, upon which king Edward IV. built a very neat chapel, in memory of thoſe that were cut off in this battle. The carved work of ſtone upon the chapel was very beautiful, but is now defaced. On the right-hand of the road from Wakefield to Sandal, there is a ſquare plot of ground hedged in from a cloſe, whereon, before the civil war between king Charles and the parliament, ſtood a ſtone croſs, where the duke of York was ſlain. The owners are obliged by tenure to keep up the hedge. Camden.

moſt

moſt implacable reſentment, and determined to riſque his life and fortune in revenging the untimely fall of the author of his birth, and aſſerting his pretenſions to the crown. All the great qualities of the third Edward's race ſeem to have united in his perſon: the beauty of his figure is deſcribed to us by cotemporary hiſtorians as fair as fancy could form; his conſtitution was active and hardy; he had a quick and penetrating judgment; his fame as a ſoldier was ſurpaſſed by none, equalled by few, in his time; and ſucceſs had hitherto waited on every martial exploit in which he had been engaged: in a word, this young prince ſeemed formed to re-eſtabliſh the affairs of his family, and to add the right of glorious conqueſt to that of blood: but while we are relating his virtues, we muſt not conceal his failings; unhappily they were ſuch in the courſe of his life as obſcured the fair dawn that uſhered in his youthful days. Like moſt of his anceſtors, he was cruelly vindictive; and the laurels which he gained in the field, were ſtained and diſgraced by the ſtreams of noble blood which he cauſed to be ſhed, as well in the field as on the ſcaffold. Such as he was, however, we ſhall ſoon ſee him mount the Engliſh throne over the neck of all oppoſition.

After he had completed his levies, Edward began his march for London, at the head of twenty-three thouſand men, intending to join the earl of Warwick, who had been left with another reſpectable body of forces, to ſecure the capital, and then go in queſt of Margaret, whoſe cruel treatment of his friends he eagerly wiſhed to retaliate. On his march he was met by Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and James Butler, earl of Ormond and Wiltſhire, who had been ſent by the queen, with a body of Welſh and Iriſh troops, to intercept him in his route. The two armies were in ſight of each other on the ſecond of February, 1461, at a place called Mortimer's croſs, in Herefordſhire: a battle enſued; but the army of the two earls being far inferior to the duke of York's, either in number or diſcipline, were routed with the loſs of above four thouſand men; and all thoſe who had the misfortune to be taken priſoners, were put to death with unrelenting barbarity. Thus, with more than ſavage rage, did Engliſhmen bury their daggers in the breaſts of their countrymen, contending with each other for the horrid palm of brutality: among others who ſuffered on this occaſion, our hiſtorians have mentioned Owen Tudor, the huſband of queen Catherine, and father to the earls of Richmond and Pembroke.

Mean while the queen, with her ſon the prince of Wales, the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, the earls of Northumberland, Devonſhire, and Shrewſbury, and ſeveral other of the nobility and gentry well affected to her cauſe, was on her march towards London, at the head of a very numerous army. The earl of Warwick, diſtruſting the affection of the Londoners, which he knew to be guided by every breath of ſucceſs, did not chuſe to be ſhut up within the walls to wait the queen's arrival, to whom the citizens might poſſibly open their gates, reſolved to go forth, meet, and fight her. Accordingly, taking Henry along with him, he advanced as far as St. Alban's, though with a force much inferior to that of the queen.

The two armies met on Shrove Tueſday (February 17), and joining battle upon Barnard's Heath, the earl had at firſt the better, till the lord Lovelace, who commanded the main body, moſtly made up of Londoners, treacherouſly delaying to come up to the ſupport of the vanguard, that body was almoſt cut in pieces, and in a ſhort time the whole army of the Yorkiſts was put to the rout: however, the earl, rallying his men, made an excellent retreat, with the loſs of about two thouſand common ſoldiers, but not one officer of diſtinction. King Henry was left alone in the field, without any one to protect him from the outrages of a brutal ſoldiery, fluſhed with victory and bent on ſlaughter: there he was found by the queen, who received him with more joy than affection, and carried him to her army, at the head of which he knighted his ſon, the prince of Wales. Henry had given his promiſe to two gentlemen, the lord Bonneville and ſir Thomas Kiriel, to whoſe care he had been committed during the action, that, in caſe the queen's party obtained the victory, he would enſure their ſafety: truſting to the royal word, they had neglected to make their eſcape with the reſt of the defeated corps: but being now taken, Margaret, without regard to her huſband's honour, ordered both their heads to be ſtruck off, in revenge for the blood of Thorpe, that zealous partiſan of the Lancaſter family.

The chief advantage reſulting to Margaret from this victory, was the getting the king her huſband into her hands, whoſe name ſhe could now make uſe of to authorize her tranſactions. But ſhe certainly committed a groſs blunder in not advancing immediately to the capital, where the conſternation her victory had thrown the citizens into, would, in all probability, have procured her an eaſy admittance. The citizens, indeed, were under great apprehenſions of being plundered by her northern troops, who committed the moſt intolerable ravages in their march, and had already plundered the town of St. Alban's; but they were ſtill more afraid of incurring the diſpleaſure of a victorious army, whom they could not oppoſe: but Margaret, giving them time to recover themſelves, and the ravages of her troops being repreſented in the moſt glaring light, the citizens now determined at all events to oppoſe her entrance; nay, they even went ſo far as to ſeize ſeveral waggons loaded with proviſions that the mayor was ſending to her army at St. Alban's, and killed thoſe of her party who were detached to eſcort them. Margaret denounced vengeance againſt the Londoners for this inſult, and had actually ſent a detachment to force admittance into the city, intending to follow with her whole army; but the detachment was cut in pieces, and at the ſame time ſhe received intelligence that the duke of York and the earl of Warwick had joined their forces at Chipping Norton, in Oxfordſhire, and begun their progreſs for London. This news obliged her to retire back to the North, where ſhe hoped to increaſe her army to ſuch a formidable number, as would enſure ſucceſs againſt all oppoſition.

On the twenty-fourth of February, the duke of York and the earl of Warwick entered the city, and were received as its guardian angels: nor was it in London only where Edward had ever been the idol of the people, nor yet in Kent or Eſſex, which had long declared their attachment to the houſe of York, and whence they repaired in incredible numbers to his ſtandard, but from almoſt all the other counties in the eaſt, ſouth, and weſt of England:

multitudes ſtrove who ſhould be foremoſt to offer their perſons to fight his battles, and their purſes to contribute towards the exigences of his military operations: in a word, the tide of affection ran ſo rapidly in his favour, that it ſeemed to carry away with it all remembrance of Henry or the line of Lancaſter.

The duke's friends were encouraged by theſe marks of general zeal and attachment to improve ſo favourable an opportunity, and reſolved to ſave him the trouble and uncertainty of a parliamentary deciſion, and advance him to the throne by the conſent of the people and the nobles. Accordingly, on the firſt of March, as the lord Fauconbridge was exerciſing a body of four thouſand men in the fields near Clerkenwell, and an infinite crowd of people were aſſembled to amuſe themſelves with the ſpectacle, the earl of Warwick, attended by his brother, George Neville, biſhop of Exeter, rode into the midſt of the multitude, holding in his hand the agreement made between Henry and the late duke of York, and ratified by the parliament, which he read aloud, and then appealed to all preſent, whether Henry had not incurred the forfeiture expreſſed in that accord, by countenancing and joining the queen in her rebellion againſt his own deed and that of the eſtates of the land? This was anſwered in the affirmative by a loud peal of aſſent. The biſhop of Exeter next addreſſing them, aſked if they would ſtill have Henry of Lancaſter for their king? the whole multude exclaimed againſt the propoſal; but when he demanded if they would acknowlege Edward, duke of York, for their ſovereign? all preſent, ſhouting and clapping their hands, cried out, as with one mighty voice, "King Edward for ever!"

The experiment thus ſucceeding to the wiſh of the party, a great council was called in Baynard's caſtle, where the archbiſhop of Canterbury and ſeveral other prelates, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Warwick, the lords Fitz Walter, Ferrers of Chartley, and others of the temporal nobles were preſent; and it being reſolved, "that Henry had, by breach of the late agreement, forfeited all claim to the benefit thereof, or to the poſſeſſion of the throne in which he had been indulged; and that Edward, duke of York, ought to be acknowleged king, according to his right of blood;" they waited upon him, on Tueſday the third of March, and petitioned him to aſſume the exerciſe of the government, to which petition he gave his aſſent.

The next day he rode in proceſſion to St. Paul's, and there made his offering, Te Deum being ſung with great ſolemnity. From thence he proceeded, with the like ſtate to Weſtminſter hall, and, ſitting on the throne, with the ſceptre of Edward the Confeſſor in his hand, was again recognized by all preſent. He next went to the abbey church, where he received the homage of all the nobility that were preſent. Then, returning to the city by water, he took up his quarters in the biſhop of London's palace, the ordinary place where our kings were wont to reſide when they lodged within the city: and the ſame day, being the fifth of March, he was proclaimed in London and Weſtminſter, by the name of Edward IV.

Thus ended the reign of Henry VI. which had laſted thirty-eight years and a half, without his having ever intermeddled in all that time with the adminiſtration of public affairs. He was about thirty-nine years and a quarter old when he was diſpoſſeſſed of a crown, which he had worn almoſt from his very birth. He ſtill lived long enough to be the ſport of fortune, as will appear in the hiſtory of the following reign, where we again ſhall ſee him veſted with the regal power.

Henry was poſſeſſed of many virtues: he was compaſſionate, devout, religious; but theſe qualities fitted him rather for a cloyſter than a throne: of weak and narrow intellects, and of an unſteady and irreſolute temper, he was eaſily drawn into every cruel or oppreſſive meaſure that the paſſion of his wife, or the views of his miniſters, ſuggeſted; and yet ſo free was he from cruelty in his diſpoſition, that he could not, without extreme reluctance, conſent to the puniſhment of thoſe malefactors who were ſacrificed to the public ſafety, and would ſuffer the groſſeſt inſult offered to his own perſon without the leaſt mark of reſentment. He was remarkably continent, inſomuch that, before marriage he would hardly allow any of the female ſex to enter the court, who were ſingle women. He was ſo inoffenſive in the whole of his conduct, that the biſhop who had been his confeſſor for ten years, avowed that, in all that time, he had not committed any crime deſerving of penance. Yet, after, all it muſt be confeſſed, that this king was rather reſpectable for thoſe vices he wanted than for the virtues he poſſeſſed; nay, theſe very virtues proved ſometimes pernicious, by making him the dupe of thoſe, who, under the ſanction of his name and authority, committed the moſt flagrant acts of violence and injuſtice: and we cannot help ſubſcribing to the opinion of a modern writer, that "a wiſe people could no more chuſe to have their throne filled with a fool than a tyrant."

Henry had iſſue by his queen, Margaret of Anjou, only one ſon, Edward, prince of Wales, who, at the time of his father's depoſition, was but in the eighth year of his age.

Remarkable Occurrences.

In the courſe of this reign queen Margaret began Queen's college, Cambridge, which was completed by the conſent of Edward IV. Archbiſhop Kemp erected the Divinity ſchool in Oxford, as it now ſtands; together with St. Paul's Croſs. William Eſtfield, mayor of London, built, at his own charge, the water-conduit in Fleet-ſtreet; and John Wells, while he filled the ſame poſt, laid the conduit, commonly called the Standard in Cheap. In the year 1446, ſir Simon Eyre, mayor of London, built Leadenhall, and allotted it as a common granary for the city. And in 1453, ſir John Norman, while he enjoyed the ſame office, went by water to Weſtminſter to take his oath: he was the firſt mayor that ever went in that manner, all his predeceſſors had rode thither on horſeback. Stow's Survey.

In the fifth year of this reign, on Saturday, being the eve of St. Michael, in the morning between two and three o'clock began a very dreadful earthquake, which, being accompanied with thunder and lightning, ſtruck terror into every one.

In the thirteenth year of his reign, on the twenty-fourth of November began a violent froſt, which laſted till the tenth of February, and with ſo great violence that the Thames was frozen over, ſo that the merchandize and proviſions brought to the Thames

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History of ENGLAND.

S. Wale delin. *C. Grignion sculp.*

EDWARD IV.

Thames mouth were conveyed to London by land through Kent.

In the ſeventeenth year of his reign there was ſo great a dearth, that wheat was ſold for two ſhillings and ſix pence the buſhel, and malt at eight pence; and in ſome parts of the nation they were ſo ſtraitened, that they made bread of ferne-roots and ivy-berries. On the twenty-fifth of November, 1438, there was ſuch a terrible wind, that it blew off the leads of the Grey Friars church, and almoſt beat down the whole ſide of a ſtreet call the Old Exchange.

EDWARD IV. The firſt King of ENGLAND of the Line of YORK. A. D. 1461.

THE firſt act of Edward's reign was marked with blood: two days only after his being proclaimed, a tradeſman of London was taken up, and executed for ſaying he would make his ſon "heir of the crown*," meaning only, as it is ſaid, his own houſe, which had the ſign of the Crown. It is probable, however, that this man might have been a favourer of the Lancaſtrian party, and have ſpoken contemptuouſly of the new king. However this might be, an execution upon ſo ſlight an account, was by many conſidered as a melancholy preſage of thoſe ſcenes of ſlaughter which were yet to follow, during the quarrel of the two contending houſes. In order, however, to conciliate the affections of the generality of his ſubjects, he iſſued a proclamation, by which he declared himſelf ready to receive into favour all thoſe who had adhered to Henry, upon their coming in, and ſubmitting to the new government; an offer which was embraced by very few; a convincing evidence of the ſincerity of each party in the cauſe it eſpouſed; and though both could not be in the right, yet both are praiſe-worthy for their inviolable loyalty and unſhaken conſtancy.

Edward, though he had aſſumed the title and authority of king, was far from being eſtabliſhed in the quiet and undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the throne: he had a powerful adverſary to encounter in the perſon of Margaret, Henry's queen, who poſſeſſed every qualification that conſtitutes the true heroine. An utter ſtranger to deſpair, ſhe conſidered repeated defeats as ſo many motives to renew her endeavours to make a freſh ſtand. The lords of her party, the chief of whom were of the Lancaſter race, were all riveted to her intereſt; and ſhe had rendered herſelf ſo extremely popular in the northern counties, whither ſhe had retired after quitting St. Alban's, that ſhe ſoon collected an army of ſix thouſand determined veterans.

The new king was no ſooner informed of this, than, neglecting the ceremonies of his coronation, and the rejoicings attending it, he ſet out, on the twelfth of March, accompanied by the earl of Warwick, with an army of forty thouſand men, to oppoſe the queen's progreſs, ſcarce reſting till he came to Pontefract. From thence the king detached a body of troops, under the command of the lord Fitz Walter, to make themſelves maſters of Ferrybridge, a paſs in Yorkſhire upon the river Eyre, being convinced that the great puſh for victory muſt be made ſomewhere about that quarter. This body executed their commiſſion with great ſucceſs, and took poſt on the north ſide of the river. On the other hand, the queen committed the care of her army to the duke of Somerſet, the earl of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford, all of them noblemen of high courage, and faſt friends to her and her family: ſhe, with her huſband Henry, and their young ſon, the prince of Wales, retired to York city, in expectation of an event which was finally to decide their fate.

Clifford, by an admirable conduct, in part repaired the diſadvantage Henry's army was likely to ſuſtain by the ſurpriſal of Ferrybridge; for, ſetting out with a party on the night of the twenty-eighth of March, he attacked the enemy's detachment ſo ſuddenly and critically, that he recovered the paſs, the lord Fitz Walter himſelf being ſlain, with the baſtard of Saliſbury, and the greateſt part of their men.

This loſs might have proved fatal to Edward, at a time when a general battle was every moment expected, had it not been for the admirable courage and preſence of mind of the earl of Warwick, who, immediately hearing of this diſaſter, rode up to the king, to acquaint him of it, who was then employed in reviewing his troops; and diſmounting in ſight of the whole army, he drew his ſword and ſtabbed his horſe, after which, kiſſing the hilt of his weapon, he ſwore to die in the field or conquer. This noble declaration of an officer ſo idolized by all the ſoldiery, ſeemed to awaken in every breaſt an inſuppreſſible ardour; they rent the heavens with ſhouts of Long live king Edward, and the noble earl of Warwick! and when Edward, taking advantage of this diſpoſition, cauſed proclamation to be made throughout his camp, "That every man who was unwilling to ſtay, or was afraid to fight, had leave to depart," they cried out, as with one voice, to be led on, declaring their reſolution to gain the day, or die at the feet of their king and general. Nor were the officers leſs zealous than the private men: Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, hereditary earl-marſhal of England, who had by his office the leading of the vanguard of the king's army, happening then to be ſick, his poſt devolved to William Neville, lord Fauconbridge, who, with ſir Walter Blount, his friend and companion in arms, diſdaining to be out-done in hardineſs of enterprize by the enemy, undertook to regain Ferrybridge; and, with that view, paſſing the Eyre

* Rapin has fallen into a droll blunder here; for not underſtanding the equivocal ſenſe of the Engliſh expreſſion, he tells us very gravely, that this man ſuffered for ſaying "that he would make his ſon prince of Wales." The man's name was Walter Walker, a grocer, in Cheapſide. Habington. p. 413.

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at Cailleford, three miles above, they marched with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition, that they came upon Clifford before he had the leaſt notice of their deſign; and being thus ſurprized in his turn, his men put to the rout, and he himſelf was ſlain, together with the lord John Neville, ſon to the earl of Weſtmoreland, and almoſt the whole party.

The next day, being Palm Sunday, March 24, Edward croſſed the river by day-break, and advanced towards the Lancaſtrians, who, to the number of ſixty thouſand, occupied the fields between Towton and Saxton. Whether it was becauſe the enemy were ſo much ſuperior in numbers, or out of reſentment for the cruelties exerciſed by them at the battle of Wakefield, Edward now publiſhed an order through his army, that his ſoldiers ſhould not encumber themſelves with priſoners, which ſeems to have been the principal cauſe of the carnage of that day. The van of Henry's army was led by the earl of Northumberland and the brave ſir Andrew Trollop, who had ſerved many years in France; the other diviſions were commanded by the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, the earl of Weſtmoreland, the lords Dacre, Grey, Wills, and other noblemen and officers. The lord Fauconbridge commanded Edward's vanguard; the main body was headed by the earl of Warwick: and ſir John Wenlock, with ſir John Denham, had the bringing up of the rear; while Edward himſelf, confined to no poſt, held himſelf ready to fly on every occaſion where counſel or danger demanded his preſence.

The battle began about nine o'clock in the morning, at which time a thick ſnow falling, was driven by a briſk wind full in the faces of the Lancaſtrians *, who were thereby prevented from obſerving the juſt diſtance of the enemy. The lord Fauconbridge, an old and experienced officer, made an admirable uſe of this accident; for he ordered his men to advance as near as they conveniently could, and to diſcharge a flight of arrows upon them, and then retire with all ſpeed out of the reach of thoſe of the enemy. This ſtratagem had a wonderful effect: the Lancaſtrians feeling the arrows, and thinking their enemies were not many yards diſtant, emptied their quivers by repeated diſcharges, Edward's men all the while keeping theirs in reſerve; and the lord Fauconbridge perceiving the Lancaſtrians ſhot was near ſpent, and that they were advancing, as was cuſtomary, ſword in hand, to begin a cloſe fight, he plied them with another furious diſcharge, which obliged them to fall back to the main body. The earl of Northumberland and ſir Andrew Trollop ſeeing the diſadvantage under which they laboured in this way of fighting, preſſed on to nearer combat, and then the battle became firm, obſtinate, and bloody: the deathful conteſt raged with unremitted fury for ten hours equal diſpute, and, after great numbers of Engliſhmen, lay dead in the field, towards the evening the Lancaſtrians began to give ground, and retreat towards Tadcaſter bridge, all the while preſerving their ranks, and facing about occaſionally as they retired. Edward, who this day exhibited ſuch proofs of ſurprizing courage, activity, and conduct as not a little inclined the victory in his favour, now endeavoured, in conjunction with the earl of Warwick, who had nobly ſeconded his royal maſter, to animate his men to render the action deciſive; the voice of their king, the preſence of their beloved general, inſpired every breaſt with manly reſolution; they redoubled their efforts, and charged the Lancaſtrians with ſuch impetuoſity, that theſe latter could no longer keep themſelves unſhaken; the rout once begun, became general. Henry's men flying to gain the bridge, great numbers of them were drowned in attempting to paſs the narrow but deep river, or rather brook, of Cock, which lay in their way. Edward followed cloſe at their heels, dealing death to thouſands of the fugitives: the purſuit laſted the greateſt part of the night and the next day; and, dreadful to relate, many miles of the country round were ſtained with the blood of ſix-and-thirty thouſand Engliſhmen, ſlain in the action by the hands of — Engliſhmen! Henry's party made by far the greateſt number of the killed; they loſt, beſides private men and officers of inferior note, the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, the lords Dacres and Wills, ſir John Neville, brother to Weſtmoreland, ſir Andrew Trollop, and many other knights and gentlemen; the earl of Devonſhire (Courtney), who had lately eſpouſed the cauſe of Henry, was taken priſoner, and brought to York, where he was ſoon after beheaded by martial law, and his head placed on a pole over one of the gates of that city; while the head of the duke of York, Edward's father, and that of the earl of Saliſbury, were taken down and interred with their bodies.

After this ſignal victory, Edward marched directly to York, hoping to find Henry and Margaret there, and by their captivity to crown the ſucceſs of his arms; but this unhappy pair were no ſooner informed of the defeat of their army, than they fled to Berwick, accompanied by the dukes of Exeter and Somerſet, and, leaving that fortreſs under the care of the latter, they ſet out directly for Scotland. That kingdom was then under a wiſe and politic adminiſtration, who governed during the minority of James III. (ſon of James II. ſlain before Roxburgh caſtle), and were perfectly diſpoſed to make the beſt advantage to themſelves of the miſeries of England. Notwithſtanding the connexion between the royal family of Scotland and the houſe of Lancaſter, by the young king's grandmother, who was a daughter of the earl of Somerſet, Margaret ſoon found that ſome conſiderable ſacrifice of intereſt muſt be made to engage ſuch a miniſtry heartily in the cauſe of her huſband; ſhe therefore offered to cede to them the important fortreſs of Berwick and the city of Carliſle, to be reannexed to the crown of Scotland, and to affiance her ſon, the prince of Wales, to a ſiſter of king James: the bargain was ſoon ſtruck; and we find by the rolls of parliament †, that, ſo early as the twenty-fifth day of April this year, Berwick was actually delivered to the Scots; but the intended marriage never took effect. This convention made, and the Scots having engaged to exert their utmoſt efforts in order to reſtore her family to the throne of England, the queen left her huſband in the Grey Friars, at Edinburgh, a retirement which his love of ſolitude made agreeable, and embarked for France, to ſolicit ſupplies from Lewis XI. who then ſat on that throne. In the mean while Edward

* Fabian. Biondi.

† Rot. Parl. 1 Edw. IV. n. 21.

continued

continued to keep his head-quarters at York, from whence he made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for preſerving the northern parts in awe.

Having, as he thought, fully provided for the peace, quiet, order, and ſecurity of thoſe parts, by a pretty long ſtay in them, he returned, on the firſt of June, to his palace of Shene, near London; and was crowned, on St. Peter's day, Monday, the twenty-ninth of June, at Weſtminſter. The king's younger brothers, George and Richard, who, being very young, had been ſent, near ſix months before, to Bruges, as a place of ſafety during the war, came back to England on this occaſion, and were created dukes †, the firſt of Clarence, and the other of Gloceſter: Henry, lord Bourchier, was made earl of Eſſex; as the lord Fauconbridge was of Kent; and the lord John Neville, brother to the earl of Warwick, was created viſcount Montagu; and others were raiſed to the dignity of barons.

The corruptions which prevailed univerſally, during the late reign, had produced an infinite number of diſorders in all places, particularly in the courts of judicature. Edward applied himſelf with great aſſiduity to the correcting of theſe grievances; ſat frequently in the courts of juſtice, to obſerve their methods, and the behaviour of the judges; and made a progreſs through Kent, Suſſex, Hampſhire, and other counties of the Weſt as far as Briſtol and the Marches of Wales, to learn the ſtate of thoſe parts, and to ſee how juſtice was adminiſtered. He returned in the latter end of October, to hold a parliament, which had been ſummoned to meet on the ſixth of July, but, on the news of the Scots having inveſted Carliſle, had been prorogued to the fourth day of November.

The parliament meeting on that day, at Weſtminſter, as ſoon as the forms uſual at the beginning of a ſeſſion were over, the commons waited on the king with an addreſs, reciting "his great exploits and glorious victories, and returning him their humbleſt thanks for expoſing his perſon for the ſafety of the realm, and the relieving the good people of England from the inſupportable tyranny under which they had ſo long laboured; concluding with a requeſt, that the king would be pleaſed to puniſh all perſons guilty of ſuch extortions, rapes, murders, and other outrages as had been paſſed over uncenſured during the late reign." Being returned to their houſe, the firſt buſineſs they fell upon, was a review of all the uſurpations of the houſe of Lancaſter, from the time Henry IV. had ſeized the crown. Then an act was paſſed, confirming the title of Edward: all thoſe which had been made againſt the houſe of York were repealed: Henry VI. after a reign of thirty-eight years, was declared an uſurper, and all his tranſactions were annulled as illegal: and, laſtly, he himſelf, his queen, and his ſon, with all their adherents, were attainted as traitors. The attainder of the earl of Cambridge, grand-father to the king, was next reverſed: ſeveral acts of the like tendency paſſed; and on the twenty-firſt of December, the king adjourned the parliament, in the following ſpeech to the commons, which we ſhall give our readers in the old Engliſh language of thoſe days; as it is the firſt genuine ſpeech we have of any king of England.

"James Strangways, and ye that be commyn for the commons of this my lond, for the true hertes and tender conſiderations that ye have had to my right and title, that y and my aunceſtres have had unto the coronne of this reame, the which from us have been long withholde. And nowe, thanked be almighty God, of whos grace groweth all victory, by youre true hertes and grate aſſiſtens, y am reſtored unto that is my right and title; wherefore y thanke you as hertely as y can. Alſo for the tender and true hertes that ye have ſhewed unto me, in that ye have tenderly had in remembrance the correction of the horrible murder and cruel deth of my lord my fader, my brother Rutland, and my coſyn of Salyſbury, and other, y thanke you right hertely: and y ſhall be unto you, with the grace of almighty God, as good and gracious ſovereign lord as ever was of my noble progenitours to their ſubgettes and liegemen. And for the faithfull and lovyng hertes, and alſo the grate labours that ye have born and ſuſteyned towards me, in the recovering of my ſaid right and title which y now poſſeſſe, y thanke you with all my herte; and yf y had any better good to reward you with all then my body ye ſhold have it, in which ſhall alway be redy for your defence, never ſparing nor letting for noo jeopardie. Praying you all of your herty aſſiſtens and good contynuance, as y ſhall be unto you youre veray right-wiſſe and lovying liege lord."

The parliament was then prorogued by the chancellor, at the king's command, till the ſixth of May enſuing.

The year 1462 began in England with a ſcene of proſcription and bloodſhed, the fatal effect of jealous ſovereignty. Not contented with the numbers of perſons whoſe blood had been attainted, and their eſtates confiſcated, for adhering to the houſe of Lancaſter, Edward now determined to proceed againſt all ſuch who had not heartily joined with him, as if they had declared themſelves open enemies, and to puniſh them accordingly. Among many others ſacrificed to this murderous policy was John de Vere, earl of Oxford, a venerable old nobleman of unblemiſhed character, who was accounted the oracle of his time in all points of the conſtitution *, and whoſe qualities, virtues, experience, and parts gave him ſuch authority as was deciſive with the public. As he could not ſtoop to be the flatterer, he was doomed to be the victim, of the new government: he was arreſted on pretence of having engaged in a correſpondence with queen Margaret, and, without being admitted to trial, the moſt ſacred right of Engliſhmen, was beheaded on Tower-hill, on the twelfth of February, together with his eldeſt ſon, Aubrey de Vere; and, on the twenty-ſixth of the ſame month, ſir Thomas Todenham, ſir Walter Tirrel, and ſir John Montgomery ſuffered the ſame fate, as did ſir Baldwin Fulford not long after, at Briſtol.

The lands and effects of theſe victims Edward diſtributed among his own adherents; at the ſame time, to ſecure one ſtrong party in the nation in his

† By the cincture of a ſword by their right ſide, and ſetting a cap of maintenance upon their heads.

* This John de Vere is ſaid to have diſputed, in a former parliament, the queſtion about the precedency of temporal and ſpiritual barons (a bold attempt in thoſe days), and by his arguments carried it for the lords temporal. Stowe, p. 416. Hollingſh. p. 1313.

favour, he courted the good-will of the clergy, by confirming their privileges, exempting them from being profecuted in civil courts for felony and other offences; with many other indulgencies, which he thought moſt likely to win them over to his ſide.

All this time queen Margaret was ſoliciting the French court at Chinon for ſuccours for her huſband, and which, if obtained, ſhe knew would put the Scots upon acting vigorouſly in her favour; but it ſoon appeared what little ſtreſs was to be laid on foreign aſſiſtance: all her own and her father's inſtances could not engage the court of France to embark heartily in her intereſt; nor could ſhe procure in any other manner ſuccours equal to her enterprize. Lewis XI. was ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt any breach with England, and the moſt ſhe could obtain of him was an underhand connivance at her raiſing troops in his dominions, and the privately furniſhing her with a good general, Peter de Brezé, ſeneſchal of Normandy, who was releaſed from his confinement in the caſtle of Loches, on condition of entering into the ſervice of her father, Regnier, king of Sicily, and commanding the forces levied by him and Margaret for a deſcent in England.

The French writers have computed theſe at two thouſand men; but the Engliſh hiſtorians reduce their number to five hundred at moſt. With theſe Margaret and Brezé embarked for the North of England; but her ſhips were moſt of them diſperſed or wrecked, and the veſſel in which ſhe herſelf was with her ſon, driven into Berwick: thither ſhe was ſoon followed by Bregé, who, finding himſelf incapable of keeping the field againſt the lord Haſtings, ſir Ralph Grey, and ſir John Howard, who were ſent to oppoſe his attempts, ſhut himſelf up in Alnwick caſtle, where he defended himſelf gallantly, till he was relieved by the earl of Angus, at the head of twenty thouſand Scots, who made an agreement with the Engliſh, that he ſhould be allowed to retire with his troops to Scotland; and the caſtle being ſurrendered on the thirtieth of July, ſir Ralph Grey was appointed governor. The lord Dacre ſoon after ſurrendered the caſtle of Naworth to John Neville, lord Montagu, warden of the Eaſt Marches. King Edward, on the firſt advice of this deſcent, had ſet out for the North; but finding it defeated, and having ſecured Donald, lord of the Iſles*, and James earl of Douglas, in his intereſt, returned ſoon to London.

Upon the twentieth of March this year, the earl of Warwick was made keeper of the Narrow Seas, a poſt different from that of admiral of England, which, on the thirtieth of July following, was conferred on the new-made earl of Kent. In the autumn of this year, the new admiral, with the earl of Eſſex and the lord Audley, made a deſcent in Brittany, where they took the town of Conquette, and plundered the Iſle of Rhée.

Queen Margaret, on finding that the force which ſhe had brought over was not ſtrong enough to encourage the Northumbrians to join her, ſhe ſet ſail in April, 1463, with four ſhips, from Kircudbright, in Galloway, through the Iriſh Channel, to Brittany, where ſhe prevailed on Francis II. who had ſucceeded his father John in that duchy, to ſupply her with twelve thouſand crowns: and proceeding thence to the court of France, procured a ſuccour of two thouſand men. With this inconſiderable force, which was purchaſed by an engagement to deliver up Calais†, ſhe landed, in October, near Bamburgh, in Yorkſhire; and though the country did not riſe in her favour, ſhe found means to get poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Alnwick, which was either treacherouſly given up by ſir Ralph Grey, the governor, or reduced for want of proviſions. Edward, alarmed at her progreſs, and expecting that ſhe would be ſhortly reinforced by a powerful ſupply from Scotland, left London, on the third of November, with a numerous force, and marched directly for York. Margaret, hearing of his arrival there, thought fit to retire into Scotland, leaving the cuſtody of Alnwick caſtle to the ſon of de Brezé and the lord Hungerford, and that of Bamburgh caſtle to the duke of Somerſet, the earl of Pembroke, and ſir Ralph Piercy. The king, ſeeing no enemy in the field, laid ſiege at once to the caſtles of Alnwick, Bamburgh, and Dunſtanburgh; the two laſt of which places ſurrendered after a ſhort ſiege: the duke of Somerſet, the earl of Pembroke, and the lord Roſs were ſuffered to retire into Scotland, with ſir Ralph Piercy, ſir H. Lewis, and ſir Nicholas Latimer. Alnwick ſurrendered the ninth of January, 1464, to the earl of Warwick.

Queen Margaret, however, beſtirred herſelf ſo effectually in Scotland, that ſhe was in a condition to return again to the North of England with a conſiderable force, whom ſhe had gotten together by promiſes of a full liberty in reſpect of plunder. Henry accompanied his warlike conſort in this expedition, and they entered Northumberland the latter end of April. Fortune ſeemed at firſt to favour their undertaking; the queen ſurprized the caſtle of Bamburgh, of which ſhe apppointed ſir Ralph Grey, who had entered into her ſervice, governor: and, being joined by the duke of Somerſet and ſir Ralph Piercy, with their followers, ſhe proceeded to take many places in that part of the county. The firſt check ſhe met with was from Neville, lord Montague, who, on the twenty-fifth of April, routed a party of her forces, in an action on Hedgely Moor, where ſir Ralph Piercy was ſlain, fighting valiantly in her cauſe, though deſerted by his men, who acted upon no other principle than that of rapine.

Edward by this time began to look upon Margaret's progreſs as a ſerious affair: he had, on the firſt advice of her entering the Marches, fitted out a fleet, which he ordered to the northward, and was now on his march to York, attended by the principal noblemen of his court, and a large army, part whereof, upon his arrival there, he detached to reinforce the lord Montagu. But this able general, encouraged by his late ſucceſs, reſolved to have the ſole honour of terminating the war, and, without waiting for the ſuccours ſent him, he, on the fifth

* The Weſtern Iſles, called by the inhabitants Inch Gall; by a writer of the laſt age, Hebrides; by the ancients, Beteorica, Inchades, Leucades, Hœbudes; commonly thought to be forty-four in number, but are really more. Among them is Jona, which Bede calls Hy or Hu, given to the Scotch monks by the Picts, for preaching the Goſpel among them. Here ſtands a monaſtery, famous for the burial of the kings of Scotland. The inhabitants of theſe iſlands ſpeak the Iriſh language, and retain the cuſtoms, &c. of the ancient Scots, as the Highlanders do. They are enjoyed at preſent by the M'Connels, who derive themſelves from this Donald, who took the title of King of the Iſles, and ravaged Scotland in a cruel manner.

† Du Tillet.

of

of May, advanced againſt the main body of Henry's army, which lay encamped on a plain called the Levells, upon the river Dowal, near Hexham. Here he made a moſt deſperate attack, in the night-time, upon Henry's camp, and was as manfully received: however, after repeated attempts, he forced the trenches, and put the Lancaſtrians to a total diſcomfiture. There the duke of Somerſet, with the lords Hungerford, Roſs, and Moleyns, ſir Thomas Huſſey, ſir Thomas Wentworth, and ſir John Findearn were taken priſoners. The duke of Somerſet was immediately carried to Hexham, and beheaded; and the others were in like manner put to death a few days after, at Newcaſtle. As to Henry, being well mounted, he fled towards Lancaſhire, but was ſo cloſely purſued, that ſome of his body-attendants were taken almoſt by his ſide; and, among others, the perſon who carried his cap of ſtate, which was preſented to Edward at York.

Hexham lying at too great a diſtance from the Scottiſh territories to allow the Lancaſtrians an eaſy retreat thither in the ſudden rout of their forces, and the country about it being full of woods and mountains, a great number of them, loſt or ſkulking in the woods, were hunted and picked up from time to time, for two months after the battle; and it was the likelieſt ſcene for that adventure which Monſtrelet, the French hiſtorian, relates of queen Margaret.

This writer ſays, that, flying with her ſon in the confuſion of the rout, and in the duſk of night, without any other attendant than her own heroic ſpirit, ſhe was bewildered in one of theſe woods, where the ſplendor of her attire ſoon betrayed her into the hands of robbers. It happened, fortunately for her, that the richneſs of the booty occaſioned a quarrel among thoſe thieves, and, while they were diſputing the matter, the queen, with her ſon, eſcaped out their hands. She had not gone far before ſhe fell in with another robber, who was one of the out-guards of the gang, and on ſight of her advanced with his ſword drawn in his hand; finding it impoſſible to make her eſcape a ſecond time, being already near exhauſted with fatigue, ſhe trembled for the life of her ſon; but happily recollecting that the party might have been driven into the practice of rapine by being proſcribed for their adherence to her huſband's intereſt, ſhe ſummoned up all her reſolution, and, taking her ſon in her hand, ſhe approached the outlaw with an air of majeſtic confidence, and preſenting to him the young prince, "Here, my friend (ſaid ſhe), ſave my ſon, the ſon of good king Henry." The robber, ſtruck with awe at the name of his king, and with compaſſion at the diſtreſſes of perſons of ſuch high dignity, forgot the ferocious manners of his profeſſion: he laid hold of the young prince with one hand, and ſupporting the queen with the other, he carefully conducted them out of the foreſt to a village by the ſea-ſide, from whence ſhe had ſoon after an opportunity of paſſing over to the duke of Burgundy's dominions in Holland, where we muſt for ſome time leave her, to attend the fate of her ſtill more unfortunate conſort.

Henry, having eſcaped after his defeat at Hexham, though with great difficulty, took refuge in Scotland; but having received intelligence that a truce was on foot between his rival Edward and that government, and fearing he ſhould be delivered up; having no conveniency to eſcape by ſea, he unfortunately thought of ſheltering himſelf in England. Accordingly he ſet out in diſguiſe, and reached Waddington hall, in Cleatherwood, in Lancaſhire, where he remained concealed for a conſiderable time; but at length he was diſcovered by the indefatigable pains of ſir James Harrington; a ſervice which was amply rewarded by Edward, who ordered the unhappy Henry to be conducted to London, where he was confined cloſe priſoner in the Tower.

Edward, after the victory of Hexham, having no longer any enemy to dread, returned in great triumph to London, where he employed himſelf in cultivating a good correſpondence with the duke of Burgundy, by whoſe mediation a truce for fifteen years was concluded with the Scots, who had now deſerted Henry's ruined fortunes, and who engaged on this occaſion "to give no farther aſſiſtance or comfort to Henry, late calling himſelf king of England, Margaret his wife, Edward his ſon, or any of their friends or adherents:" and king Edward promiſed, on his part, to give no countenance or protection to any rebels or traitors to king James.

Edward's next care was to reward thoſe who had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves in his ſervice. To the earl of Warwick he gave the temporalities of the biſhopric of Carliſle, which was then vacant, and created him great-chamberlain of England and warden of the Weſt Marches of Scotland. The lord Montagu, his brother, was made earl of Northumberland, in the room of Henry Piercy, whoſe title and eſtate were forfeited as being a Lancaſtrian; and ſir William Herbert, a knight of great intereſt in Wales, was created earl of Pembroke, in the place of Jaſper Tudor: but Piercy ſubmitting afterwards to the king, and obtaining his pardon, had his earldom of Northumberland reſtored to him, and the title of marquis was given to Montagu, in lieu thereof. But the two illuſtrious brothers, Warwick and Montagu, thought their rewards rather ſpecious than ſolid; and from this time we may date their ſecret diſcontent with Edward.

This king, though no deep politician, had yet ſenſe enough to perceive that the loſs of this family might prove a ſevere blow to him, unleſs he could ſupply it by the means of a general popularity, to acquire which he ſpared no pains, extending his grace to all his opponents who ſubmitted, and living among his loyal ſubjects with an unuſual frankneſs and liberty. He carried this laſt point perhaps to exceſs, ſhewing himſelf more familiar with the commonalty as well as the nobility, than became his dignity and honour, particularly with the Londoners, whom he made his faſt friends: in a word, he ſet himſelf up for the general patron among the men, as he was the general lover among the ladies. He laboured to reſtore the tranquility of his realm by an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, and reforming the abuſes of public offices. Nor were his cares to gain eſteem confined to his own dominions only; he ſtudied how to bring princes, hitherto neutral or averſe to his friendſhip, to court it, in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that the public records ſhew us that, about this time, ſeveral matches were propoſed to him by foreign courts, but particularly the three following ladies; Margaret, daughter to the king of Scotland; Iſabella, ſiſter to Henry IV. of Caſtile; and the lady Bona,

Bona, daughter to the duke of Savoy, and ſiſter to the queen of France: Edward reſolved upon Bona, and it was thought proper to appoint the great earl of Warwick to negociate the match, who accepted the commiſſion. He accordingly went over, with a vaſte quipage, to France, where he was received with raptures by Lewis XI. and his queen, who reliſhed the propoſition of the marriage ſo well, that Dammartin was appointed ambaſſador to England, to conclude the ſame. During the earl of Warwick's ſtay on the continent, he found means to conclude a truce with the duke of Brittany for one year. About the ſame time the ſee of York becoming vacant, George Neville, brother to the earl of Warwick, was promoted to it, by the king's recommendation.

The earl of Warwick applied himſelf with great aſſiduity to fulfil his commiſſion; but, whilſt he was labouring for the glory and advantage of his maſter and his country, an unforeſeen accident ſubverted all this mighty ſcheme of policy, the amorous temper of Edward betraying him into a meaſure which proved very prejudicial to his future tranquility, and had almoſt deprived him of the throne. The young monarch, at a hunting-match in Wychwood foreſt, coming to the manor of Grafton, near Stony Stratford, in Buckinghamſhire, reſolved to pay a viſit to the ducheſs dowager of Bedford (Jaquelina of Luxemburgh) who reſided there, having been married a ſecond time to ſir Richard Wydeville, or Woodville, afterwards created lord Rivers, by whom, among other children, ſhe had a daughter named Elizabeth, who had been married to ſir John Grey, of Groby; and her huſband being ſlain, fighting for Henry at the late battle of St. Alban's, his eſtate on that account was confiſcated, and the young widow, who was eſteemed the greateſt beauty of her time, withdrew to her father's ſeat at Grafton, where ſhe lived in privacy and retirement. Elizabeth thought the king's viſit to her mother furniſhed her with a favourable opportunity of obtaining ſome grace from the young monarch, who was ſo extolled for his condeſcenſion and gallantry, eſpecially to thoſe of her ſex. Accordingly ſhe came into the royal preſence, and throwing herſelf at the king's feet, ſhe implored a maintenance for herſelf and her two ſons, Thomas and Richard Grey, out of the forfeited eſtate of her huſband.

Edward was young and amorous; he was inſtantly ſtruck with the charms of the fair ſuppliant; he felt an impreſſion which he miſtook for compaſſion, but which was in truth love; he raiſed her from the ground with aſſurance of favour, and even intimated it was not in his power to refuſe her any thing. He protracted his viſit for ſeveral days, during which time he found his paſſion daily ſtrengthened by the company and converſation of the lovely widow; till at length, his flame growing too furious for reſtraint, he avowed his love, and, in his turn, became a ſuitor for favours, which Elizabeth would not grant on any other condition than that of marriage. Edward, who had never known any of the ſex proof againſt his charms, glowed with diſdain at finding his ſuit ſo peremptorily rejected; he withdrew, reſolving to conquer an inclination which he thought he could not indulge conſiſtent with his honour and high dignity: he ſought a cure in abſence, but the ſhaft was too deeply fixed in his heart to be removed by all the efforts of reaſon. Hopes of ſucceſs engaged him to repeat his viſit; each interview and converſation fed and increaſed the flame; oppoſition rendered the lover more eager; and Jaquelina, a woman of good ſenſe and great art, managed matters ſo well for her daughter, that the king was at length perſuaded to marry her, finding no other way of gratifying his paſſion; and the ceremony was performed on the morning of the firſt of May, at Grafton, by a private prieſt, no one elſe being preſent but the ducheſs of Bedford and two of her gentlewomen.

Edward had reaſon to dread the conſequences of ſuch an haſty inconſiderate marriage coming to be known; he is even ſaid to have repented, and endeavoured to diſengage himſelf; but he was too faſt tied in the bands of wedlock, and all he could do was to keep it as ſecret as he could, and put the beſt face upon the matter when it could be no longer concealed.

Warwick had laboured ſo effectually at the court of France, that nothing remained but the ratification of the treaty, and the conducting the princeſs Bona over to England; but when the earl heard of Edward's clandeſtine marriage, which was not long before it tranſpired, he conſidered it as the higheſt inſult that could have been offered to his honour, and, inſtantly breaking off the negociation, he returned to England, glowing with rage and indignation: nevertheleſs, he ſeems to have concealed his reſentment, for the king's marriage being publicly declared on the Michaelmas-day following, he himſelf aſſiſted, with the duke of Clarence, in leading Elizabeth to the church of the abbey of Reading, where ſhe was declared queen, and received the compliments of all the nobility; and on the twenty-ſixth of May, 1465, ſhe was crowned in Weſtminſter abbey, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury. Her riſe was immediately followed by that of all her relations: her father was created earl Rivers, and made high conſtable of England; her brother, John Woodville, at the ſame time was married to the daughter and heireſs of the lord Scales, to whoſe honours he ſucceeded; her ſon, Thomas Grey, was created marquis of Dorſet, and married the heireſs of the lord Bonneville. Thus the queen's kindred were not only ennobled by titles, but enriched with great eſtates to ſupport them.

The kings of England were accuſtomed not to take any ſtep of moment without the advice of their council, and this advice is conſtantly mentioned in all their acts. The nobility of the kingdom, who, according to the rigour of the feudal ſyſtem, could not marry without the king's conſent, conceived themſelves particularly intereſted in his marriage, and thought they had a right to be conſulted on the occaſion; therefore the king's marrying one of his ſubjects, without once conſulting any of them, and that too when he was negociating a match at the court of France, nay when that match was already concluded, made moſt of the nobility in a very bad humour with the court; and the partiality ſhewn in the late promotions of the new queen's relations, contributed not a little to encreaſe their jealouſy and diſcontent: but the earl of Warwick thought himſelf injured in a particular manner, by being made ſuch a tool in the late negociation, and he only waited for a favourable opportunity to make Edward feel the weight of his reſentment. With this view, upon pretence of health, he got leave

Elizabeth Woodville at the Feet of Edward ij.d 4.th

To His Grace
Duke of
This Plate is most

Edwd Howard
Norfolk
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leave to retire to his caſtle of Warwick, where he began to practiſe all the arts of popular patriotiſm diſcontented with a court. Edward, alarmed at his ſullen retirement, redoubled his attention to his conduct.

Determined, therefore, to provide againſt every accident which might interrupt his pleaſure, or give encouragement to the diſcontent of this haughty ſubject, he endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf by foreign alliances; and, in the courſe of this year, he concluded a treaty with the count de Charolois, and Philip, duke of Burgundy; and another of definitive alliance with the duke of Brittany: neither muſt we omit that Lewis XI. notwithſtanding his late provocation, wanted to bring Edward over to his alliance; and that he was courted at the ſame time by the kings of Denmark and Poland, and by the great-maſter of the Teutonic order and the deputies of the Hanſe towns, with all whom he entered into alliances till October, 1467*. Edward was equally ſucceſsful with other courts, for he renewed his alliances with the kings of Caſtile and Arragon; and, after a long negociation, concluded a treaty with James III. of Scotland, at Newcaſtle, whereby a truce then ſubſiſting between that nation and England, which was to end on the thirty-firſt of October, 1470, was farther prolonged to the thirty-firſt of October, 1519, viz. for forty years †.

While Edward was thus ſucceſsful abroad he was equally happy in the affections of his parliament at home, which granted him ſubſidies with a liberality unknown under any former reign. The commons alſo paſſed a bill of attainder againſt all who remained unattainted of the Lancaſter party, the forfeiture of whoſe eſtates to the crown enabled the king to gratify his friends: in a word, faction was dumb at home, his friendſhip was courted and his enmity dreaded abroad, till the year 1466.

In the mean time, however, the queen was very active in improving the advantages which her marriage gave her; ſhe was equally careful to procure every favour and grace to her own friends and adherents, and to exclude thoſe of the earl of Warwick, whom ſhe looked upon as her inveterate and implacable enemy: beſides the preferments already beſtowed upon her family, ſhe now procured her ſiſter Catherine to be given in marriage to the young duke of Buckingham, a minor and ward of the crown: Mary, another of her ſiſters, was married with William Herbert, who was thereupon made lord of Dunſter, and afterwards earl of Huntingdon: and Anne, a third ſiſter, eſpouſed the ſon and heir of Grey, lord Ruthyn, who was honoured with the title of earl of Kent: her father, the earl Rivers, had alſo the office of treaſurer added to that of high-conſtable, with which he had been before inveſted.

Edward, who was jealous of the earl of Warwick's power, that power which had placed him on the throne, and which had been ſtill farther increaſed by his own liberality and munificence, was glad to raiſe up ſome counterpoiſe to it by creating him rivals among the new nobility; and thus, while he indulged his extreme partiality to the queen's relations, he pretended to be guided merely by the motives of national intereſt: the conſequences of this conduct will appear in the ſequel.

Early in the year 1466, Edward was made bleſſed by the birth of a daughter, the princeſs Elizabeth, who afterwards became the happy inſtrument of healing the wounds of England after a long and bloody civil war: and ſoon after Michaelmas the court of England was graced with ambaſſadors from almoſt all the powers of Europe; but none made ſo ſplendid an appearance as Anthony, baſtard of Burgundy, who was ſent over by the count de Charolois, to conclude a treaty of marriage between that prince and the lady Margaret, ſiſter to Edward; a match which was not conſummated till the year 1468. Hiſtorians have given us a very circumſtantial and diverting account of a juſt or tournament, which was held for five days ſucceſſively in Smithfield, between the baſtard and the lord Scales, the queen's brother.

The year 1467 was diſtinguiſhed by farther proſecutions of the Lancaſter party, in which the earl Rivers, the queen's father, and ſir John Fogg, treaſurer of the king's houſhold, rendered themſelves very unpopularly conſpicuous: but what ſhews the jealouſy and weakneſs of the government moſt, is that the queen and her father had intereſt enough to get ſir John Markham diſmiſſed from being lord chief juſtice of the Common Pleas, for not heartily concurring in the work of proſecution.

About Midſummer this year a parliament was held at Weſtminſter, the great buſineſs of which was to paſs an act of reſumption, which in effect was propoſed by the king himſelf, who, in a formal ſpeech he made to the commons, declared, that "he deſigned to live upon his own revenue, without any charge to his ſubjects, except on great and urgent occaſions, in which not ſo much his own inclinations or particular pleaſure, the uſual motives of former kings in their conduct, as the ſafety and welfare of his people, and the defence of the realm, were immediately concerned; and therefore he hoped they would be as kind to him as they had been to any of his predeceſſors ‡." The deſign expreſſed in his ſpeech was very agreeable to the commons; but Edward's real view herein ſeems to have been to get the Neville family and their friends in his power, and make them dependent upon him for the enjoyment of thoſe vaſt eſtates he had granted them as a reward for their eminent ſervices. The commons underſtood his meaning, and, for the better enabling him to live upon the crown revenue, brought in a bill to reſume all grants of lands and offices ſince the day of Edward's acceſſion, annulling them all, except in certain caſes mentioned in ſpecial proviſoes added to the act when it paſſed the royal aſſent ‖. The king was ſo well pleaſed with having carried his point, that he ordered the chancellor (the biſhop of Lincoln, in abſence of the archbiſhop of York), to return the parliament thanks for this act of reſumption; and the ſeſſion was then adjourned to the ſixth of May, 1468.

Philip, duke of Burgundy, dying on the fifteenth of June, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, was ſucceeded in his title and dominions by his only ſon, Charles (count de Charolois), whoſe martial atchievements procured him the ſurname of the Hardy. This prince being ſprung by his mother, a daughter of Portugal, from John of Ghent, was of courſe diſpoſed to wiſh well to the houſe of Lan-

* Rymer, vol. xi. p. 543, 544.
† Ibid. p. 558.
‡ Rot. Parl. 7 Edw. IV. n. 7.
‖ William Wyrceſtre.

caſter; but this circumſtance was more than overbalanced by political conſiderations.

The dark and inſatiable ambition of Lewis XI. of France, had raiſed great apprehenſions among all his neighbours and vaſſals; and, as he was poſſeſſed of great abilities, and reſtrained by no principles of faith or honour, they found no ſecurity to themſelves but in a mutual league and combination againſt him. The heads of the confederacy were the count de Charolois, whom we muſt hereafter name the duke of Burgundy, the dukes of Berry, Brittany, and Bourbon, and the duke of Calabria, brother to the exiled queen Margaret, Henry VI's conſort. Burgundy's ambition was even more unbounded than that of Lewis, but ſupported by leſs power and policy, and therefore regarded with a more indulgent eye by the other potentates of Europe.

The claſhing of intereſts, and a ſtill greater antipathy of temper, occaſioned a violent hatred between theſe two bad princes (Lewis and Burgundy), and Edward had the advantage of making either of them his friend, whoſe cauſe he choſe to eſpouſe. The duke of Burgundy, while earl of Charolois, had, as we have already obſerved, entered into a treaty with Edward, and actually agreed to marry that monarch's ſiſter, the princeſs Margaret: the death of duke Philip appeared an incident the moſt proper to cement the propoſed alliance, and the new duke, the very day of his father's death, ratified his agreement with England, and offered to put his hand to the final concluſion of the match with Edward's ſiſter.

The friendſhip of Burgundy was more agreeable to the Engliſh than that of France; the commercial intereſts of the two nations were more cloſely connected; the jealouſy and ſuſpicion which both parties entertained of the growing power and dangerous deſigns of the French monarch, naturally led them to an alliance againſt ſuch a formidable neighbour; and Edward, pleaſed to have it in his option to fortify himſelf by ſo powerful an ally, immediately accepted the propoſal, and gave his ſiſter to Charles.

A league which Edward made, in the beginning of the year 1468, with the duke of Brittany, ſeemed ſtill farther to eſtabliſh him in his throne, and to afford him a proſpect of recovering thoſe provinces which had formerly belonged to the Engliſh crown: but whatever towering projects the king might have formed, in conſequence of theſe alliances, they were ſoon defeated by inteſtine commotions, which engroſſed his whole attention.

The earl of Warwick, who, as we have already ſhewn, had retired from the court in great diſcontent, on account of the injuries and inſults he had received from the family of the Woodvilles, prepared now to diſcharge the long-concealed bolt of his vengeance againſt the houſe of York. He redoubled his attempts towards popularity; his houſe was always open, his table always ſpread, for every one who choſe to partake of his hoſpitality; and by theſe meaſures he ſoon rendered himſelf a greater favourite with the people than ever; but the moſt powerful friend whom Warwick engaged in his party, was George, duke of Clarence, the king's ſecond brother. This prince was no leſs diſſatisfied than the reſt of the old nobility at the influence the queen and her relations had acquired over the king; and as Edward had excluded his brother Clarence from all ſhare in the adminiſtration of government at home, he was ſtrongly inclined to join the earl of Warwick in his oppoſition to the court.

That diſcerning nobleman quickly perceived the duke's real diſpoſition, and reſolved to turn it to his own advantage: in order therefore to make ſure of ſo valuable a confederate, he offered the duke his eldeſt daughter, Iſabella, in marriage. The young lady was coheireſs of her father's immenſe fortune; and as this was a ſettlement ſuperior to any thing the king himſelf could beſtow upon Clarence, it effectually attached him to the earl's party.

Edward ſeems to have been jealous of the earl of Warwick's proceedings; for, about the beginning of the year 1469, we find the ſaid earl named in a commiſſion of inqueſt concerning ſome lands in Picardy; on the ſeventh of Auguſt, the ſame year, he was made chief-juſticiary of South Wales, and conſtable of Cardigan caſtle, with other offices conferred upon him*. But Warwick's reſentment was too ſtubborn to be removed by theſe advances: beſides, if we may believe Hall, an hiſtorian worthy of credit, he had a ſtronger reaſon to hate Edward than any yet mentioned, and that is, the latter had attempted the chaſtity of one of his daughters; and this prince's character, who was not very ſcrupulous in theſe reſpects, makes the thing ſtill more credible: the earl, however, was too wiſe to blaze this laſt circumſtance abroad, but, retiring to his government of Calais, under pretext of ſolemnizing his daughter's marriage with the duke of Clarence, while he reſided in this place, he ſeems to have tried the pulſe of the Engliſh by raiſing an inſurrection in Yorkſhire, through the means of the archbiſhop of York and the marquiſs of Montagu, his two brothers; though the latter, in order to keep himſelf clear from ſuſpicion, actually headed the king's troops in that part of the country, and, marching againſt the rebellious rabble, put them to rout, and cauſed their chief, Robert Hillyard, to whom they had given the nickname of Robin of Ryddeſdale, to be hanged. This conduct would give occaſion to preſume that the marquis had no ſhare in raiſing the ſedition, had not his real views been more fully explained by his after-proceedings.

The malecontents, however, rather animated than diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of their firſt attempt, re-aſſembled in greater numbers than ever, and found themſelves joined by the lord Fitz Hugh and Henry Neville, ſon of the lord Latimer, friends to the Warwick party; ſo that it was no hard matter for the government to gueſs that this inſurrection was promoted by the Neville intereſt. As neither of the two noblemen above-mentioned had experience in military matters, the command of the rebel troops was given to ſir John Conyers, an officer of great reputation and conduct. Their firſt project was to make themſelves maſters of York; but as that could not be done without artillery, in which they were deficient, they reſolved to march ſouthward; and, ſtriking into the London road, they openly declared, "that they marched to deliver their lawful ſovereign, king Henry,

* Rymer, vol. xi. p. 641, 647.

from

from his confinement, and place him again upon the throne."

Edward was then in London, and not a little apprehenſive of the conſequences of this commotion. In the preſent exigency he took the wiſeſt courſe he could have fallen on: he iſſued out orders to John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and Anthony, earl Rivers, to array and aſſemble all perſons able to bear arms, in Norfolk and other parts; and made Henry, earl of Northumberland, and the prior of St. John's of Jeruſalem, renew their oaths of fealty to him: he alſo wrote to his friend Herbert, earl of Pembroke, to aſſemble the Welſh, and, croſſing the country, to intercept the march of the rebels from the North; he ordered him at the ſame time, at all events, to fight the malecontents on their march, promiſing him to be as expeditious as poſſible in raiſing an army to join and ſupport him.

The earl of Pembroke applied himſelf ſo heartily to obey his maſter's orders, that in a ſhort time he had gotten together ten or twelve thouſand men, at the head of whom he began his march in queſt of the rebels, who as he underſtood were advancing by Northampton. In his route he was joined by Humphrey, lord Stafford, lately created earl of Devonſhire, with a large body of archers. The two armies coming in ſight of each other, the earl of Pembroke detached all his horſe, being two thouſand, under his brother, ſir Richard Herbert, with orders to obſerve the enemy's poſition, and, if he found it practicable, to attack their rear. Sir Richard, after due obſervation, was of opinion that the rebels could not be attacked without manifeſt diſadvantage to his own troops; however, the fiery ſpirit of the Welſh not brooking the leaſt appearance of coolneſs, they fell, againſt their leader's will, upon the rear of the malecontents; but Conyers had made ſuch an admirable diſpoſition, that the Welſh were repulſed with great loſs.

In the mean time the earl of Warwick, pretending that he could not remain an idle ſpectator of his country's diſaſters at a diſtance, returned to England, and repaired forthwith to his caſtle of Warwick, where he and his ſon-in-law, the duke of Clarence, who had accompanied him over, aſſembled a conſiderable army, with which they lay perdu till they ſhould ſee the event of the preſent commotions. The marquis of Montagu joined his brother Warwick ſoon after his arrival.

The rebels, upon hearing of the earl's arrival, inſtead of purſuing their road to London, took the way for Warwick, where they hoped to meet a cordial reception; but the earl of Pembroke, impatient to have his revenge, marched directly towards them, and forced them to halt near a town called Edgecot, about four miles from Banbury, and the two armies encamped at a ſmall diſtance from each other; but the earl of Pembroke and the earl of Devonſhire quarrelling about an inn, where each of them inſiſted upon taking up his quarters, a fatal diſſention aroſe from this trifling cauſe: the earl of Devonſhire, in revenge, during the night, traiterouſly drew off all his archers, and thereby left Pembroke expoſed to the defeat which afterwards followed.

On the morrow, by break of day, the malecontents marched in good order to attack the king's army. They had heard, by deſerters, of the earl of Devonſhire's retreat, and were reſolved to make the moſt of ſo fortunate an incident. Henry Neville, one of their leaders, venturing to charge at too great a diſtance from the main body, was ſurrounded by the royaliſts, all his men were cut to pieces, and himſelf taken priſoner: this ſomewhat checked the ardour of the inſurgents, who thereupon retreated to their camp for that day; but the Welſh having inhumanly put Neville to death in cold blood, the rebels were raiſed to ſuch fury by this act of barbarity, that the next day they attacked the royaliſts with irreſiſtible fury. They were received, however, with equal courage, and the fortune of the day was on the point of declaring for the earl of Pembroke, when ſir John Clapham coming up in the heat of the battle with a body of fifteen hundred men, bearing the enſigns of the earl of Warwick, one of whoſe officers he was, the rebels, upon his appearing in ſight, ſet up the cry of "a Warwick! a Warwick!" which ſo terrified the Welſh, who thought that earl, with all his troops, was at hand, that they betook themſelves to precipitate flight. The earl of Pembroke and his brother, ſir Richard Herbert, fell into the hands of the conquerors, who, carrying them to Banbury, ordered their heads to be ſtruck off, in revenge for the murder of ſir Henry Neville. After this, a party was ſent to the houſe of earl Rivers, the queen's father, at Grafton, who dragged that nobleman from thence, and, carrying him to Northampton, there ſtruck off his head, without any trial. The inſurgents, having thus taken vengeance on the moſt obnoxious of the miniſters, retired without doing any more harm; for the earl of Warwick, by keeping himſelf neuter, in appearance at leaſt, put a ſtop to any farther action on any ſide: not that there is the leaſt room to doubt that he was the prime mover of all the outrages that had been committed; and yet, by an inconceivable blindneſs, Edward was ſo far from ſuſpecting this to be the caſe, that, early in the next year, a commiſſion was iſſued to the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence, for holding a general array of all the king's ſubjects within Worceſterſhire and other counties where they had intereſt.

The winter of this year, 1469, was ſpent in receiving ambaſſadors from Lewis XI. of France, under colour of renewing a truce; though his true aim was to be particularly informed of the ſituation of affairs here. At the ſame time Edward, deſirous of ſtrengthening his alliance with the duke of Burgundy, ſent him the order of the Garter, which he received with great marks of honour and eſteem.

We muſt not forget to note, that Edward, imputing the loſs of the battle of Banbury to the earl of Devonſhire's ſeparating from Pembroke, on his return he ordered his head to be ſtruck off, which ſentence was executed at Bridgwater, on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt this year*.

The duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, who had hitherto preſerved the exterior of ſubmiſſion and loyalty, thought they could never have a more favourable opportunity of coming to a breach with Edward, than that with which he himſelf had furniſhed them in their late commiſſion of array. Accordingly Warwick levied what forces he pleaſed

* The battle of Banbury was fought on the twenty-ſixth of July preceding. Hall, p. 202. Stowe, p. 422.

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in the king's name, but reſerved the command of them to himſelf; and Clarence did the like. Early in the year 1470 they began to give ſuch broad indications of their deſigns, that Edward could be no longer miſtaken; and we find him, on the thirteenth of March, iſſuing a proclamation from York, where the court then reſided, appointing John, lord Tiptoft, lately created earl of Worceſter, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in the room of the duke of Clarence who before enjoyed that high poſt; and alſo ſetting a reward of a thouſand pounds, or an hundred pounds a year, upon the heads of the duke and the earl of Warwick. Three days after, general commiſſions of array againſt the duke and earl by name were iſſued all over the kingdom, but with very little effect, for all Edward's authority could neither diminiſh the army of the rebels, nor raiſe one ſuperior to them.

In this ſituation of affairs, Edward's beſt friends thought it would be moſt prudent to bring about a reconciliation; if poſſible, upon the baſis of public reformation. The propoſal was made, and accepted by the duke and earl, and an interview was agreed to be held between the king and the two chiefs of the oppoſite party, in London. But the conference had not the deſired effect; it paſſed only in mutual recriminations, and Warwick in particular behaved ſo haughtily on the occaſion, that Edward, unable to bear the inſolence of the over-grown traitor, ordered him from his preſence, and each ſide immediately appealed to the ſword.

Warwick, immediately after leaving London, commiſſioned ſir Robert Wills, ſon of the lord Wills, to levy troops in Lincolnſhire, which he did with ſuch great ſucceſs, that Edward, alarmed thereat, ſent an expreſs to order the lord Wills to repair to court, with a deſign to oblige him to uſe his authority with his ſon to deſiſt from ſupporting the rebels. The lord Wills did not think proper to ſlight this ſummons from his ſovereign, and accordingly ſet out for London; but being informed on his way, Edward was highly incenſed againſt his family for the attachment they had ſhewn to the Warwick party, he did not dare to face the king, but immediately upon his arrival took ſanctuary in Weſtminſter abbey, with ſir Thomas Dimmock, his brother-in-law, who had accompanied him in his journey. Edward, informed of this, immediately ſent them both letters of ſafe-conduct, upon the faith of which they quitted their aſylum, and, at the inſtances of Edward, lord Wills wrote a preſſing letter to his ſon, perſuading him to abandon the rebels and return to his duty. But this order the young nobleman refuſed to obey, juſtly imagining his father to be under compulſion when the letter was wrote; and Edward marching towards Stamford, and finding that ſir Robert Wills was more than ever attached to the party he had embraced, inſomuch that the earl of Warwick had given him the command next under himſelf, Edward, with a cruelty which nothing but the inhuman practices common in civil wars can account for, ordered the lord Wills, and ſir Thomas Dimmock to be put to death for the diſobedience of their ſon and nephew.

This cruel deed incenſed ſir Robert Wills to ſuch a degree, that, deaf to all the dictates of prudence, he ventured to attack the royal army with a body of raw and undiſciplined troops, without waiting to be reinforced by the earl of Warwick and the duke of Clarence, who were on the march to join him, and were expected every moment to arrive. The event was ſuch as may be ſuppoſed from ſo precipitate a meaſure; the rebels were obliged to yield to the ſuperior valour and diſcipline of the royaliſts, and were routed with great ſlaughter. Ten thouſand men are ſuppoſed to have fallen in this engagement †; and ſir Robert Wills and ſir Thomas de la Launde, being taken priſoners, were executed immediately after the action.

This defeat quite diſconcerted the earl of Warwick, who now gave over all thoughts of being able to keep the field that ſeaſon; and the forces he had with him not being ſufficient to face the royal army, ſuperior in numbers and flushed with ſucceſs, he ſaw no other remedy than to embark for France, in order to ſhun the impending danger, and therefore, diſmiſſing his troops, he ſet out, with the duke of Clarence in his company, for Exeter, in order to provide and fit out ſhips to carry them and their families to Calais.

But Edward, not thinking proper to allow Clarence and Warwick time to debauch the principles of the inhabitants of the Weſt by any long ſtay amongſt them, marched thither with ſo much expedition, that he was, by the fifteenth of April, at Dartmouth, from whence he iſſued commiſſions to the earl of Wiltſhire, the lord Mountjoy, and ſir John Forteſcue and others, for arraying the counties of Devon and Cornwall. The confederate princes, finding themſelves thus preſſed, embarked on board the few ſhips they had ready, on the twenty-fifth, and ſailed for Calais; but, to their great ſurprize, when they offered to enter the harbour, the cannon of the place fired upon them, upon which being forced to ſtand off to ſea, to add to their diſtreſs the ducheſs of Clarence, who, with her ſiſter, had accompanied her huſband and father, fell in labour and was delivered of a ſon, named Edward, who was afterwards earl of Warwick.

The command of the garriſon had been entruſted by the earl of Warwick to one Vauclere, a Gaſcon gentleman, one who had always before ſerved him with unſhaken fidelity; however, all he could obtain on this occaſion, were a few bottles of wine for the refreſhment of the ladies, who were in a truly pitiable ſtate; but at the ſame time Vauclere accompanied this trifling preſent by a private intimation, that he was compelled, by the diſpoſition of the garriſon, to act as he did, and counſelled the earl his maſter to retire into France, and truſt to his fidelity for improving any change of circumſtance to the advantage of his intereſt. It is not improbable that the Gaſcon intended to act a double game, and to lie by till he ſhould ſee which was the ſtrongeſt ſide: however this might be, Edward was ſo pleaſed with his behaviour, that he beſtowed the government of the place upon him; and the duke of Burgundy added a farther reward of a

† The Lincolnſhire men being driven out of the field, and throwing away their coats, that they might run the faſter, this battle, fought on the ſeventeenth of March, was called "the battle of Looſe-coat Field." Hall, p. 204. Hollingſhed, p. 1322.

thouſand

thouſand crowns by way of penſion. In the mean time the duke and earl, obliged to give way to their untoward fortunes, directed their courſe towards Normandy, and, in a few days after, landed at Harfleur, where they were amicably received by the baſtard of Bourbon, lieutenant-general of the province; and from thence they repaired to the court of France, at Amboiſe, where they were received by Lewis XI. with all the honours due to their dignity and reputation.

Lewis would not interfere in the affairs of England while the two rival families were contending for the crown; but now that Edward had engaged in ſuch a ſtrict alliance with the duke of Burgundy, his inveterate foe, he was induced from motives of intereſt to attempt the ruin of both; and to this he was the rather inclined, becauſe, while he conſulted the good and ſafety of his own dominions, by ſuppreſſing the inſolence of Burgundy, he ſhould at the ſame time have an opportunity of avenging the affront he had received from Edward in the affair of the marriage: moreover, the ſuccours which that monarch deſigned to ſend to the confederate princes of France in arms againſt Lewis, plainly ſhewed, that while he ſhould enjoy the crown of England, thoſe princes would always conſider him as a ſure protector and ally.

Influenced by theſe and the like conſiderations, he determined, if poſſible, to effect a reconciliation between Margaret of Anjou, queen of Henry VI. and the earl of Warwick; and for that purpoſe ſent for that princeſs, who had retired to her father's court. Lewis found great difficulty in bringing this point to bear, on account of the implacable and rancorous animoſity that prevailed between the two parties; but at length, their enmity giving way to their intereſt, a ſeeming accommodation took place, and it was reſolved to unite heartily in raiſing the houſe of Lancaſter from its miſery, and in reſtoring Henry to his throne. It was agreed between Lewis and the earl of Warwick, that the former ſhould fit out all the ſhips he could raiſe, and that theſe, joining with the earl's ſquadron, ſhould be entirely under his direction. Queen Margaret, on her part, promiſed that her ſon, prince Edward, ſhould marry Anne, the younger daughter of the earl of Warwick, and, on Henry's being re-enthroned, declared his immediate ſucceſſor; and in default of iſſue, the crown was to devolve upon the duke of Clarence, who, with the earl of Warwick, his father-in-law, were to be regents of England till Edward came of age. The duke of Clarence, being but one-and-twenty years of age, was entirely under the government of Warwick, and ſwore to this agreement; yet, young as he was, he could not but ſee that his hopes of an immediate poſſeſſion of the crown were defeated, and his pretenſions to it not only poſtponed, but made dependent on a mere contingency, which the marriage of Edward and Anne, now ſolemnized with great pomp, rendered unlikely to happen: nevertheleſs, the duke found himſelf too deeply engaged to be able to retreat, and was obliged to give himſelf up to the guidance of his father-in-law. Hence we may readily account for his being diſſatisfied with the earl of Warwick, and for the reaſons which induced him to abandon that party, and join with his brother Edward, againſt whom he had hitherto acted with all the keenneſs of inveterate rebellion. This, I ſay, may be accounted for, without having recourſe to the anecdote, which moſt of our hiſtorians have been ſo fond of relating after Philip de Commines, who has carried a lady from England, who outwitted Vauclere, governor of Calais, who had ſecret propoſals to communicate from Edward to Clarence, which, according to him, induced that duke to make his peace with his brother, and promiſe to ſerve him on his return to England. We cannot help pointing out one extraordinary circumſtance which happened in conſequence of this agreement of Amboiſe. By the marriage of prince Edward, Henry VI's ſon, with the daughter of the earl of Warwick, the duke of Clarence, Edward's brother, became brother-in-law to the young prince of the houſe of Lancaſter; and the earl of Warwick equally related to the two rival families.

Nothing now remained but for the earl of Warwick to paſs over to England with the fleet, which the French king had gotten ready for his ſervice; and the daily accounts received from England, by a crowd of refugees, of the diſpoſitions of the people to favour his cauſe, made the earl extremely urgent to depart. It ſeems that Edward, though he had been apprized by the duke of Burgundy of the agreement made at Amboiſe, had paid very little regard to that intimation, relying upon very uncertain principles, namely, the attachment of his ſubjects to his perſon and government, and Warwick's want of credit and influence; ſo that he neglected to take the neceſſary precautions for his own defence, and abandoned himſelf to a ſcandalous ſenſuality; but what is more amazing, at the time that he ſtood moſt in need of the good-will and affections of his people, he ſuffered them to be oppreſſed by every act of cruelty and malice that his miniſters choſe to exerciſe againſt thoſe who were obnoxious to them: of theſe acts none gave ſo much horror as the execution of ſir John Clapham, one of Warwick's officers, and about twenty other gentlemen of Henry's party, who, being taken on board a ſhip at Southampton, were, by the earl of Worceſter (Tiptoft), lately made high-conſtable of England, ordered to be hanged, then fixed to the gallows by their legs, and afterwards impaled upon the highways. Theſe inſtances of barbarity, inſtead of filling the ſpectators with fear and apprehenſion, inſpired them with the moſt implacable hatred and indignation againſt the authors of the horrid ſcene. Numbers of reputable perſonages of the Lancaſtrian party fled over to France, among whom was John de Vere, earl of Oxford; who giving Warwick an account of the temper and ſtate of the nation, and the certainty of his being ſtrongly ſupported on his arrival, that nobleman drew the moſt favourable omen of ſucceſs to his expedition: but he was for ſome time prevented from ſailing by the proceedings of the duke of Burgundy.

This prince, as we have elſewhere remarked, eſpouſed the intereſts of Edward; not ſo much out of regard to his alliance with him by the marriage of his ſiſter, or any perſonal regard for him or liking to his cauſe, as out of hatred to Lewis; this conſtant motive of all his actions had put him upon joining Edward in preſſing the parliament of Paris to ſend Warwick out of France; and he even carried his inſolence ſo far as to threaten, if he was not ſent away, to come with an army and ſeize him wherever he was concealed. This rhodomontade

was treated with the contempt it deſerved: however Charles prepared to put his threats in execution, and, having fitted out a ſtrong fleet, compoſed of large Flemiſh and Dutch veſſels, he ſent his admiral, la Vire, to block up the mouth of the Seine, where Warwick lay with his own ſhips and thoſe which the admiral of France had provided, ready to ſail for England; but a violent ſtorm ariſing, drove the Burgundian ſhips from their ſtation, and gave the earl of Warwick, with his fleet, an opportunity of ſailing for England, where they landed at Dartmouth about the middle of September, and immediately declared for king Henry.

It is almoſt incredible in how ſhort a time the wiſhed-for news of Warwick's arrival ſpread through the kingdom, and by what numbers he was joined. No event more clearly ſhews than this, the facility of bringing about a revolution in England, when the hearts of the people favour the attempt, and the government hath loſt its reputation: though, indeed, we ſhall have numberleſs examples to ſhew, that no people in the world are ſo liable as the Engliſh to the infection of plauſible pretexts; the art is to raiſe the cry of the multitude, and to follow it becomes the faſhion. Warwick was well acquainted with this diſpoſition of his countrymen, and made a proper uſe of it by iſſuing a proclamation for all who were capable of bearing arms, between ſixteen and ſixty, to enter immediately into the ſervice of their lawful ſovereign, Henry VI. The earl had not been landed ſix days before he ſaw himſelf at the head of ſixty thouſand men, all ready to draw their ſwords, and ſacrifice their lives, for the late deſpicable, diſtreſſed, deſpairing houſe of Lancaſter.

So unexpected an event opened Edward's eyes, and ſhewed him the folly of his expectations. He was then on a progreſs into the North, to quell an inſurrection raiſed in Yorkſhire by the lord Fitz Hugh, who had married Alice, ſiſter to the earl of Warwick; but hearing of the ſucceſs of the latter, he immediately turned back towards London, and had advanced on his way as far as Nottingham: but Warwick, being reſolved to engage him before he ſhould reach that capital, where he knew he was very popular, overtook him within three miles of Nottingham, and prepared to give him battle. Edward was ſo weak as to depend upon the fidelity of the marquis of Montagu, though the brother of his adverſary, and a nobleman whom he was ſenſible thought himſelf injured by being deprived of the great eſtate and honour of Northumberland. He had raiſed ſix thouſand men, with whom he followed the king at ſome diſtance, as if his intention had been to reinforce the royal army; but his real aim was to join his brother, and he had already concerted the affair with his officers; when he therefore underſtood that Warwick was ſo near the king's camp, he quickened his march in order to fall upon the rear of Edward, who had no intimation of his deſign, till the traitor was within two miles of his camp, and the air reſounded with the cry of "God bleſs king Henry!"

In this emergency Edward called a council of war, in which the lord Haſtings (who had married a ſiſter of Warwick, and who was the faithful companion of Edward in all his fortunes) gave it as his opinion, that great part of the army would revolt to the earl of Warwick; or that, even ſhould they do their duty, they would not be able to cope with the rebels, ſince this defection of Montagu: the duke of Gloceſter, Edward's brother, with the earls of Rivers and Northumberland, joined in the ſame opinion, and it was agreed that they had nothing to truſt to but flight, and that the king ſhould immediately make the beſt of his way, attended by the chief of his followers, towards Lynn, in Norfolk, where ſome Dutch ſhips were at that time lying, on board of which they propoſed to embark. Accordingly Edward ſet out, but without baggage or money, and got on board, on the third of October, and inſtantly put to ſea, with his brother Gloceſter, the lord Haſtings, and ſome other friends; and, after having narrowly eſcaped a fleet of Eaſterlings, a ſet of freebooters then at war with both France and England, landed ſafely at Alkmar, leaving Warwick entire maſter of the kingdom, without a blow; and, what may appear ſtill more ſurprizing, within the ſhort ſpace of eleven days after his landing at Dartmouth; for, on the morning of Edward's retreat, his army ſubmitted to the victorious earl, who forthwith directed his march to London, which he entered in triumph on the ſixth of October, accompanied by the duke of Clarence and other noblemen, when they once more led Henry from his priſon to his palace.

Edward's unfortunate queen, ſeeing this reverſe of fortune, though big with child, took refuge in Weſtminſter abbey, to which ſhe went privately by water from the Tower, and where, on the fourth of November, ſhe was delivered of an heir to the crown of England, afterwards Edward V. She thus ſaved herſelf from violence and inſult, for the whole city of London appeared now as extravagantly zealous for Henry as ever they had been for Edward.

Clarence and Warwick now aſſumed the government in Henry's name, and diſpoſed of all poſts: the judges, ſheriffs, and coroners were changed all over the kingdom: Langſtrother, prior of St. John of Jeruſalem, was made treaſurer; the archbiſhop of York, Warwick's brother, chancellor; the earl of Warwick himſelf, lord high-admiral of England; and the duke of Clarence, lord-lieutenant of Ireland. On this occaſion no perſon was put to death but John Tiptoft, earl of Worceſter, who ſeems to have fallen a ſacrifice to the public hatred. He was a corrupt and avaricious miniſter, and ſuch a monſter of cruelty that he was commonly ſtigmatized by the name of John the Butcher. Being taken concealed in a tree in the foreſt of Wavelring, in Huntingdonſhire, he was conveyed to London, tried in Weſtminſter Hall, found guilty of high-treaſon, condemned, and executed upon Tower Hill.

Writs were now iſſued for ſummoning the great aſſembly of the nation, which met on the twenty-ſixth of November; and as parliaments in ſuch a juncture are always compoſed of perſons obſequious to the will of the ruling party, this proceeded in all points agreeable to Warwick's directions. Edward was declared a traitor to his country, and an uſurper of the throne; the paternal eſtate of York was forfeited; and the crown of England, in default of male heirs from Henry, ſettled upon the duke of Clarence and his deſcendants, according to the treaty of Amboiſe: and even Henry's perſonal government was ſet aſide by this parliament, who declared the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick governors of the kingdom. They next

proceeded

proceeded to reverſe ſeveral attainders, particularly thoſe of the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and of John de Vere, earl of Oxford; and the duke of Clarence, to keep him firm in his preſent party, had a gift of the York eſtate: the marquis of Montagu was reſtored to his favourite poſt of warden of the Eaſt Marches of Scotland. A long truce was concluded with France, and all imaginable precautions were taken to guard againſt any invaſion. But it is now time to ſee what became of the fugitive Edward.

He had, on his arrival at Alkmar, a ſea-port town on the coaſt of Holland, been hoſpitably received by de Bruges, lord of Gruythuſe, governor of Holland under the duke of Burgundy, who provided the diſtreſſed king and his attendants whatever was ſuitable to their quality: and, conducting them to the Hague, he ſent to notify their arrival to his maſter, the duke of Burgundy, who was not a little perplexed when he heard of this event, as apprehending he might embroil himſelf with the new government in England, by giving this luckleſs exile an aſylum; and he had reaſons to dread the conſequences of a rupture with that court in the preſent juncture, being already attacked by Lewis XI. who had declared war againſt him, and taken poſſeſſion of St. Quintin and Amiens; but the obligations of alliance, the ties of blood, and above all their connections by being brethren of the ſame orders, fixed him to give Edward leave to come to his court of St. Paul.

Willing, however, to be aſſured in the part he had to act, he diſpatched his ſecretary, Philip de Commines (the hiſtorian) to Calais, to ſee what Vauclere would do in this ſudden change of affairs, and to take meaſures for preventing a rupture with England. Philip found the governor, the garriſon, and all the inhabitants of Calais dreſſed in Warwick's livery and wearing his badges, which they had aſſumed on the firſt news of his ſucceſs, and was aſſured the earl was ſending over four thouſand men to begin hoſtilities in the duke of Burgundy's dominions, who, as the protector of Edward, had been adjudged the enemy of England. Commines, though ſtartled at this intimation, put the beſt face upon the matter, and inſiſted that his maſter's treaty being made with the kingdom as well as the king of England, it was ſtill obligatory; and that the duke of Burgundy conceived himſelf bound to maintain it, the change of a king's name from Edward to Henry making no alteration. Theſe arguments, however would have had little weight had they not been ſupported by the (ſtaple) merchants of London and Calais, who were then perſons of great authority and influence upon the affairs of the nation, and who were afraid of loſing their commerce by a war. At their inſtances, therefore, the earl of Warwick put a ſtop to all hoſtilities, and it was agreed that the treaty with Burgundy ſhould continue in force*; and that duke even went ſo far in his complaiſance for the new government of England, as to order all his ſubjects to give Edward no aſſiſtance, though at the ſame time, with a double-dealing too common among princes, who think themſelves ſuperior to all the vulgar conſiderations which bind inferior perſons, he gave him underhand fifty thouſand florins, with four large ſhips, which were equipped in the Iſle of Walkeren, in Zealand, where there was a free port, and ſecretly hired fourteen Eaſterling ſhips for his ſervice. When all theſe ſhips were ready, Edward ſuddenly diſappearing, the duke immediately ordered a freſh proclamation to be iſſued, that none of his ſubjects ſhould preſume to aſſiſt him, directly or indirectly, upon pain of death.

Warwick, however, was too diſcerning and active a politician to be the dupe of this diſſimulation: he applied himſelf to every meaſure that he thought moſt likely to diſappoint the attempt of his enemy; the ſea-ports were ſtrictly guarded, and it appears in the Collection of Public Acts, that in the month of January, 1471, the duke of Clarence was commiſſioned to raiſe an army to oppoſe the deſigns of Edward, in caſe he ſhould return into the kingdom; and, on the tenth of February, the prior of St. John of Jeruſalem received a commiſſion to paſs over to the continent, and bring back to England queen Margaret, and her ſon the prince of Wales.

Mean while Edward, who had got every thing ready for his expedition, put to ſea from the port of Fluſhing, in Zealand, with the lords Haſtings and Say, and about two thouſand men, partly Engliſh and partly Flemings. On the twelfth of March he came before Cromer, in Norfolk, where he ſent on ſhore ſir Robert Chamberlain, ſir Gilbert Debenham, and others, to diſcover how the people ſtood affected. Theſe truſty meſſengers ſoon found, that, by the vigilance of John de Vere, earl of Oxford, and the great preparations he had made, it was unſafe to land in thoſe parts; wherefore it was reſolved to ſtand to the northward, and a ſtorm ariſing in the night, they be at about at ſea till the fourteenth, when they were obliged to run with their ſhips into Ravenſpur, in Yorkſhire, where Henry IV. had formerly landed, when he came to wreſt the crown from Richard II. and whoſe policy Edward copied on this occaſion; for finding, to his great aſtoniſhment and mortification, that, inſtead of being received with open arms, there was a general deſpondency and coldneſs in the people to his cauſe, he reſolved upon a total alteration of his meaſures, and publicly gave out that he came not to reclaim the crown, but his paternal eſtates, which, he ſaid, had been, againſt all law and right, given away, through the earl of Warwick's intereſt, by the late parliament.

It is incredible, ſays one of our old Engliſh hiſtorians †, what effect this politic diſſimulation had upon the people: compaſſion now ſupplying the place of affection, numbers flocked to join him, deceived by his humble pretenſions; and even the nobility ſhewed themſelves willing to have him for a fellow-ſubject, though not for a king. On the ſixteenth of March, the ſecond day after his landing, he marched directly for York, in the neighbourhood of which he arrived on the nineteenth, and found the inhabitants univerſally diſpoſed to aſſiſt him as duke of York, in recovering his paternal eſtates, though not as king of England. To quiet their minds in this reſpect, he heſitated not to take a ſolemn oath in the cathedral, never to renew his pretenſions to the crown; to uſe the city in a gentle and courteous manner; and laſtly, to be a true and faithful ſubject to his lawful king, Henry: an oath which he ſoon ſhewed he had no

* Memoires de Commines, liv. iii. chap. 6, 7.

† Hall, p. 215.

intention

intention to keep; however, the better to ſupport his perjury, he went ſo far as to put on the oſtrich-feather, the badge of Henry's ſon.

During his ſhort ſtay at York (where he borrowed ſome money of the citizens, and in return bridled them with a garriſon) his army was prodigiouſly encreaſed; he would not however, have ventured to march towards London, had he not received advice from his brother Clarence, whoſe eyes were now opened to his true intereſt, and who privately applied for a reconciliation with his brother, that he might ſafely approach, and that he would join him with all his troops the firſt convenient opportunity. He therefore began his march for the capital; but, inſtead of going through Pontefract, where the marquis of Montagu lay encamped with a ſtrong body of troops, he took a compaſs of about four miles, and came to Nottingham, a county well-affected to his perſon and family, and was there joined by ſir William Stanley with four hundred men, by the lord Haſtings, by ſir William Parr, ſir Thomas Burgh, ſir William Norris, ſir James Harrington, and other gentlemen. This encouraged him to lay aſide the humble guiſe he had hitherto worn, and to make an open claim of the crown, and his numbers ſtill increaſed as he approached nearer the centre of the kingdom.

In the mean time Warwick, having aſſembled a body of forces, proceeded to Leiceſter, in order to join his brother, the marquis of Montagu; and hearing that Edward had taken the road to Coventry, he directed his march thither, with a view to give him battle: but juſt as the two armies came in ſight of each other, the earl received a letter from the duke of Clarence, giving him to underſtand that he was on the march to join him, and deſiring he would not hazard a battle with Edward until he ſhould arrive with his forces. Warwick, who never ſuſpected any private correſpondence between Clarence and Edward, gave into the ſnare and ſuffered the latter to paſs him in his way to London, thinking that he ſhould by that means have him between two fires, that of his own army and that of Clarence, which was approaching. But while he was indulging himſelf in this expectation, and that Edward would ſoon be in his power, he heard of his reconciliation at Banbury with the duke of Clarence, and that this prince had joined him with his whole army.

This defection, which would have diſcouraged any other man, only animated the earl of Warwick to new efforts. The duke of Clarence, imagining it would be ſome kind of excuſe for the treacherous part he had acted, if he could mediate between his brother and father-in-law, accordingly ſent the latter a meſſage, with the offer and aſſurance in Edward's name of any terms he ſhould chuſe to demand; but Warwick, rightly judging that ſuch a mediator, who had ſo openly betrayed him, was not to be truſted, anſwered with great indignation, "That he had rather be conſiſtent with himſelf, than to follow the example of a perfidious duke; and that he was determined not to put up his ſword till he had either gained his point, or loſt his life."

Preſently after the junction of the two brothers, it was debated, whether they ſhould attack the earl of Warwick in his entrenchments, or march directly for London, and Edward aſſume the royal authority, which would give him infinite advantage over his adverſaries. The latter counſel was very prudently embraced, and the king ſet forward on his march to London, leaving Warwick behind him; though, it muſt be confeſſed, that Edward ran great riſques of being ruined in caſe the Londoners had kept their gates ſhut againſt him; but that unſtable people, ever leaning to the ſide of prejudice or intereſt, hearing of the reconciliation of the two brothers, and that Edward was in full march for his capital, gave the earl of Warwick over for loſt; and thinking they had nothing more to hope from the Lancaſtrian party, and every thing to dread from the reſentment of an incenſed and victorious ſovereign, without waiting for a confirmation of Warwick's defeat, which they took for granted, on the ninth of April the lord-mayor and his aldermen demanded and received the cuſtody of the Tower of London for king Edward's uſe; and on Thurſday the eleventh of April, Edward once more triumphantly entered his capital, while Henry, who had not found means to eſcape, nor perhaps ſo much as thought of it, was again conducted to his confinement in the Tower, from whence he had been taken only ſeven months before, to remount the throne.

Edward's firſt care, after having ſecured the perſon of his rival, was to viſit his queen, who ſtill remained ſhut up in the ſanctuary, from whence he now took her, and returned the ſame night to London, whoſe citizens ſeemed to vie with each other in expreſſions of loyalty and affection. He had, however, but ſhort time for reſpite, for the next day (the twelfth), being Good Friday, he held a great council upon the news that the earl of Warwick, having left Coventry, had advanced by Northampton to St. Alban's. Upon this it was determined that the king ſhould immediately put himſelf at the head of his army, which was quartered about London, and march againſt this formidable adverſary.

The earl of Warwick, unfortunate in his beſt-laid ſchemes, now took a ſtep which completed his ruin: he had not, without good ſhew of reaſon, depended upon the Londoners keeping Edward out of their city for at leaſt two or three days: with this view he had marched from Coventry with a fine train of artillery, purpoſing to ſhut Edward up between his own army and the walls of London; but when he came to St. Alban's, which was on the thirteenth of April, he learned, to his infinite ſurprize and mortification, that the variable Londoners had admitted the king into their city, and that he was actually within a few miles of him, with an army much ſuperior to his own. Edward pitched his camp to the north of Barnet, very near the earl's army, which lay upon a moor called Gladeſmere Heath, between Barnet and St. Alban's.

Warwick now repented his having left Coventry; Margaret of Anjou was expected every hour to land, with a large reinforcement of troops from France; and, in any other ſituation, the earl would in all probability have declined a battle: but he was ſeveral days march from a place of ſafety, and too far advanced to make a retreat; the attempt, in the face of a ſuperior enemy, flushed with ſucceſs, was certain ruin; beſides, his intrepid heart being a ſtranger to fear, he reſolved to venture an engagement,

Early

Early next morning, which was Eaſter-day, the fourteenth of April, both armies drew out in order of battle †. Edward's van-guard was commanded by the duke of Gloceſter; his main battle by himſelf, having with him the unfortunate king Henry and the duke of Clarence, who that day ſerved as a volunteer; and the rear was led by the lord Haſtings. In Warwick's army the right wing was commanded by the marquis of Montagu and John de Vere, earl of Oxford; the left by the earl of Warwick himſelf, and John Holland, duke of Exeter; and a body of archers, which was poſted in the centre, by Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerſet.

The battle began by four in the morning, and laſted till noon; and never was field diſputed with more bloody obſtinacy. The troops of Warwick, though inferior to thoſe of Edward in number, fought with deſperate reſolution, determined, after the example of their general, to conquer or die on the ſpot; and ſuch was the impetuoſity of their charge, that the earl of Oxford's diviſion broke the main body of Edward's army, but the victorious corps purſuing the fugitives with too ſanguine an eagerneſs, Warwick's main body was by that means left defenceleſs: Edward upon this brought up a ſtrong corps de reſerve, with which he attacked this weak part of Warwick's diviſion; but the earl of Oxford, recollecting his miſtake in following the Yorkiſts to ſuch a diſtance, wheeled about in order to recover his former ſtation; and that movement occaſioned the loſs of the battle: for his diviſion, in which the men wore ſtars for their badges *, returning from the purſuit, and paſſing by the duke of Exeter's wing, the latter, miſtaking their ſtars for ſuns, the badge which Edward gave (occaſioned, as ſome ſay, by a miſt that fell during the fight), furiouſly charged theſe ſquadrons as they were returning to their poſt, and put them to rout before the miſtake could be diſcovered. This gave an opportunity for Edward's routed wing to rally, and now the battle was no longer equal; the late unfortunate accident had begot a ſuſpicion of treachery in Warwick's ranks, and ſeeing the earl of Oxford's men fly, they imagined they had been charged in rear, and of conſequence that they themſelves were ſurrounded, they were inſtantly ſeized with terror and conſternation; the panic ſpread from rank to rank, and univerſal diſorder and confuſion enſued. Edward, improving this opportunity, made a freſh charge, more dreadful than ever, and Warwick in vain exerted his utmoſt efforts to rally and encourage his diſpirited forces; they reeled, they drooped, they ſhrunk from the charge, though they did not fly; at length, after having performed every thing that could be expected from the moſt conſummate general and the moſt undaunted hero in vain, the noble Warwick, diſdaining life when victory was gone, ruſhed into the middle of Edward's ranks, where he quickly fell, covered with wounds: his brother, the marquis of Montagu, deſirous to reſcue him, periſhed in the attempt a few moments after him. Their deaths completed the defeat of their army, in which about three thouſand of the earl's men fell, and about two thouſand of the king's, on whoſe ſide were ſlain the lord Cromwell, the lord Say, ſir Humphrey Bourchier, and the lord Mountjoy's eldeſt ſon. It is ſaid, Edward, who in all his other battles was accuſtomed to order that the common ſoldiers ſhould be ſpared, and the officers put to the ſword, had ordered now that no quarter ſhould be given. The earl of Oxford and the duke of Somerſet fled into Wales, to the earl of Pembroke, who was levying troops for the earl of Warwick; the duke of Exeter was wounded, ſtripped, and left for dead in the field, where he lay till the evening, when, coming to himſelf, he made a ſhift to crawl to the houſe of one Rutland, where his wounds were cured; but he was afterwards ſeized, and committed to the Tower.

This battle was no ſooner over than Edward poſted to London, and entering into St. Paul's at evening ſervice, with his royal captive, he there offered his own and his enemies ſtandards; and, to prevent any doubt of the death of the earl of Warwick and his brother, he cauſed their naked bodies to be expoſed to public view for three days ſucceſſively, in the cathedral of St. Paul, after which they were carried to Biſham, in Berkſhire, to be interred in the priory founded by their anceſtors of the houſe of Montacute.

Edward imagined, that by the death of the earl of Warwick he had eſtabliſhed his throne on a ſolid foundation; but he ſoon received freſh proofs that the war was far from being ended with this battle: for, on Tueſday in Eaſter-week, queen Margaret, the brand of the war, and no leſs terrible to Edward than Warwick, had landed at Weymouth, in Dorſetſhire, attended by her ſon the prince of Wales, the counteſs of Warwick, the prior of St. John of Jeruſalem, the lord Wenlock, many other perſons of diſtinction, and a body of French troops, in ſeveral ſhips. She had ſcarce time to repoſe herſelf after the fatigue of a very tempeſtuous paſſage, when ſhe received the fatal tidings of Warwick's defeat and death, and of her huſband being again a captive in the hands of his rival. Diſaſters like theſe were more than ſufficient to ſtrike the boldeſt with diſmay: Margaret's former courage and magnanimity gave way to the ſhock; ſhe was overwhelmed with grief and deſpair, and knowing not what other courſe to take, ſhe retired to the abbey of Beaulieu, in Hampſhire, where ſhe regiſtered herſelf, her ſon, and her followers as perſons claiming ſanctuary. But her drooping ſpirits were ſoon cheared, and her deſpair partly baniſhed by the appearance of the duke of Somerſet, the earl of Devonſhire, the viſcount Beaumont, ſir Thomas Fulford, ſir John Forteſcue, ſir Thomas Seymour, and many other gentlemen, who, on the firſt news of her landing, immediately repaired to her with their vaſſals and dependents, who all offered to ſtand by her with their lives and fortunes.

Encouraged with this ſhew of affection, and the aſſurances that numbers were ready to join her as ſoon as ſhe ſhould take the field, ſhe left her ſanctuary, and, putting herſelf and ſon at the head of the few troops ſhe had with her, began her march, paſſing through the counties of Devon and Somerſet, where her troops were continually increaſed by

† Hall, p. 217.

* Being part of the arms of the family of de Vere, which are, quarterly, gules and argent, a ſtar of five points in the firſt quarter.

the coming in of the inhabitants, until they amounted to a very conſiderable army. At length ſhe reached Tewkeſbury, in Gloceſterſhire, on the twenty-ninth of April, having that day performed an incredible march of thirty-ſix miles, through very bad roads: here Margaret propoſed to reſt her wearied troops for a few days, and then proceed towards Wales, to join the earl of Pembroke, who had gotten together a conſiderable body of archers from the counties of Cheſter and Lancaſter, famous for breeding that kind of ſoldiers, and was on the march to meet her.

In the mean time Edward, who, on the firſt notice of the queen's landing, had proſcribed her and all her adherents by proclamation, immediately ſet out at the head of his army, in order to attack her before ſhe could join the earl of Pembroke; but as he had with him a great train of artillery, it was impoſſible for him to march with ſo much expedition as the Lancaſtrians; he however made greater diſpatch than could be expected, and, after a very painful and fatiguing march, he, on the third of May, encamped within three miles of the enemy.

The queen and her generals hereupon held a council of war, to deliberate what meaſures were the moſt proper to be taken. Their firſt intention was to have paſſed the Severn about Gloceſter; but that city having refuſed to open its gates, ſhe could not croſs the river from her preſent ſituation, without expoſing her rear to certain ruin; it was therefore determined that the queen's forces ſhould entrench themſelves in a park adjoining to the town of Tewkeſbury, where they were flanked on both ſides with hollow ways, ditches, hedges, and almoſt impaſſable grounds, with the town and abbey behind, and a ſtrong entrenchment was to be thrown up in their front; and in this poſition, which, if fully effected, would have been impregnable, they were to wait the coming up of the earl of Pembroke with his forces.

But the execution of this ſcheme was prevented by the vigilance, courage, and activity of Edward, who determined to attack them in their entrenchments before they could farther fortify them. With this view, he, the next day, May 4, drew forth his army in two lines, one conducted by his brother, the duke of Gloceſter, while himſelf, with his other brother, Clarence, aſſiſted by the lord Haſtings, commanded the ſecond. On the ſide of the Lancaſtrians, the duke of Somerſet, with his brother, lord John Beaufort, commanded the firſt line; the lord Wenlock, under the prince of Wales, who was conſidered as the commander in chief, the ſecond; and Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, the third.

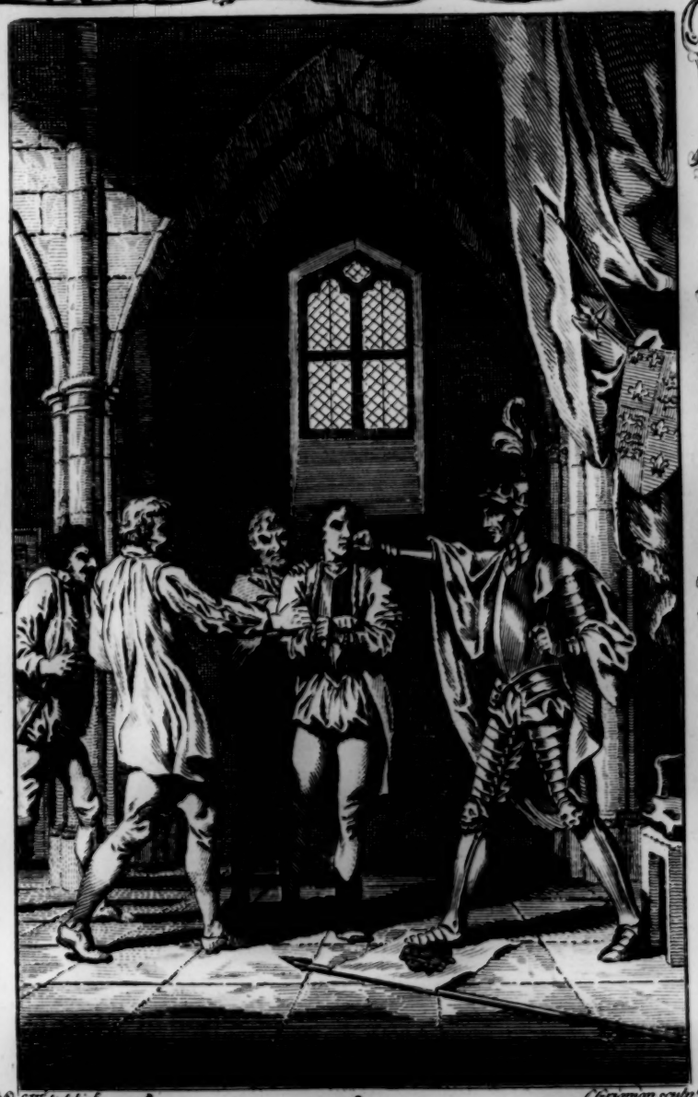
The attack was begun by the duke of Gloceſter with great fury; but Somerſet's men, who guarded the front of the entrenchments, ſtood their ground with great bravery, and it is more than probable that Edward would have been baffled in his attempt this day, had not one of thoſe accidents ſo frequent in engagements turned the ſcale of victory: it ſeems the duke of Gloceſter before the battle, had received inſtructions from Edward to uſe all poſſible means to draw the duke of Somerſet's diviſion out of the trenches; Gloceſter purſued theſe inſtructions with equal punctuality and ſucceſs. Finding himſelf ſo warmly received by the van of the Lancaſtrian forces, he began a ſham retreat, in ſuch ſeeming hurry and confuſion, that the duke of Somerſet, naturally of an impetuous diſpoſition, imagining they fled, ordered the ſecond and third lines to ſupport him, and began his march in purſuit of the runaways, through the defiles which led out of the trenches, and a deſperate fight enſued; for the Yorkiſts facing ſuddenly about, recovered their former ranks, and fell upon the Lancaſtrians with the utmoſt fury; at the ſame time a detachment of two hundred horſe, ſent off by Edward, attacked Somerſet's diviſion in flank, and diſordered him ſo much, that he was obliged to fall back through the defiles to his former ſtation; but in doing this he was ſo hotly purſued, that moſt of his line were cut in pieces. The duke of Somerſet, amazed at his not being ſupported by the lord Wenlock, found that nobleman coolly ſtanding at the head of his diviſion, without having advanced a ſingle ſtep to ſuſtain the firſt line: the fiery duke was ſo enraged at this treachery as he thought it, that, riding up, he clove the lord Wenlock through the brains with his battle-ax.

By this time the duke of Gloceſter had followed the enemy ſo cloſe that he was actually within their entrenchments, and was ſoon followed by his royal brother, with the ſecond line. Every thing in the queen's camp was now in confuſion; the firſt diviſion of her army was already defeated with great ſlaughter, and the ſecond and third lines betook themſelves to flight after a very faint reſiſtance. In ſhort, Edward gained the moſt complete victory perhaps that any hiſtory recounts; for, though not above three thouſand of the Lancaſtrians fell in the fight, yet ſcarce a man of note of the queen's party eſcaped death or captivity. Among the ſlain were the earl of Devonſhire, the lord John Beaufort, the duke of Somerſet's brother, ſir John Delves, ſir Edward Hamden, ſir Robert Whittingham, and ſir John Luckner. The duke of Somerſet, the great-prior of St. John, and about twenty other gentlemen, took refuge in the abbey church, as a place of ſanctuary; but they ſoon found themſelves deceived, for they were taken thence the next day, and executed. Margaret of Anjou herſelf was diſcovered, with her ſon, in another religious houſe, to which they had fled for ſhelter, and were brought to Edward, who ordered the queen to cloſe cuſtody in the Tower, where ſhe continued four years, till the king of France thought proper to ranſom her for the ſum of fifty thouſand crowns. But a more pitiable fate awaited the young prince; for, being brought into Edward's preſence, and that king aſking him "how he durſt preſume to invade his kingdom, with banners diſplayed?" the noble youth replied with an unſeaſonable vivacity, "that he came to recover his father's crown, and his own natural inheritance:" a reply which ſo ſtung Edward, that he ſtruck the prince on the face with his gauntlet; this ſerved as a ſignal to the king's remorſeleſs friends, Haſtings and the lord Thomas Grey (afterwards marquis of Dorſet), who forthwith dragged the gallant youth out of the apartment, and plunged their daggers in his breaſt.

The battle of Tewkeſbury, fought eighteen days after that of Barnet, was the twelfth ſince the beginning of the quarrel between the two houſes of York and Lancaſter; but it was not the laſt, though followed by no other during this reign: and though the event of this field ſeemed to have extinguiſhed the hopes of the houſe of Lancaſter, yet there was

ſtill

King Edward the 4.th striking Edward Prince of Wales with his Gauntlet.



S. Wale delin.t Corbyn sculp.t

To his Grace Fra.s Egerton,
Duke of Bridgwater
This Plate is most humbly Inscribed.

SIC DONEC

BRITISH
MUSEUM

ſtill a ſmall army in the field, under the command of the earl of Pembroke; but this diſperſed of its own accord, on hearing of Edward's late victory, and the earl, leaving the defence of Pembroke to ſir John Scudamore, fled into Brittany, taking with him his nephew Henry, the young earl of Richmond. This young nobleman, ſo illuſtrious afterwards as king Henry VII. was eldeſt ſon to Edmund, earl of Richmond, who was himſelf the eldeſt ſon of Owen Tudor and queen Catherine, his father having been married to Margaret, ſole daughter of John Beaufort, duke of Somerſet, grand-ſon to John of Ghent; ſo that, after the extinction of Henry's race, he had very high pretenſions to be the head of the houſe of Lancaſter. He and his uncle were received with great affection and tenderneſs by Francis II. duke of Brittany, at whoſe court we ſhall now leave them, to trace the remaining events of this year.

Whilſt Edward was employed in the Weſt, a commotion happened in the interior part of the kingdom, which threatened him with the loſs of his capital, and even of his crown. Thomas Neville, a natural ſon of the late William, lord Fauconbridge, earl of Kent, had been, by the late earl of Warwick, appointed vice-admiral of the Channel, but loſt his employment after the death of that nobleman; upon which he withdrew, with the ſhips under his command, and for ſome time he and his crews led a life of piracy, aſſiſted by a party of three hundred men from the garriſon of Calais; and, tempted by the opportunity which the king's abſence afforded, he ventured to make a deſcent with his forces at Sandwich, and was admitted into Canterbury by Nicholas Faunte, the mayor. The country flocking in to him, he began his march for London, at the head of ſeventeen thouſand men, and on the fourteenth of May, entered the ſuburbs of Southwark, from whence he propoſed to gain admittance into the city, over London bridge; but the news of the king's victory arriving about the ſame time, the citizens were ſo encouraged thereby, that they reſolutely oppoſed his entrance; and though he made a deſperate attempt to carry the bridge by ſtorm, he was forced to deſiſt, with ſome loſs, notwithſtanding that he ſent part of his army croſs the river to aſſault the the city in another quarter; at the ſame time one part of his detachment actually made their way into the city through Aldgate, but were driven out again, by the valour of alderman Robert Baſſet and the citizens.

The baſtard of Fauconbridge (for by that name this adventurer was known) finding himſelf thus baffled, and that his men, defeated of their hopes of plunder, began to deſert him, embarked on board his ſhips, which lay at Blackwall, in the river Thames, and ſailed round to Sandwich, whither king Edward, who, upon the advice of this diſturbance, had returned in great haſte, with a party of three thouſand men, to London, purſued him, and, reducing the town, took the baſtard priſoner, whom he cauſed to be immediately executed: and thus an end was put to the laſt enterprize of the Lancaſtrian party for recovering the crown of England.

All the legitimate male iſſue of that houſe now became extinct in the perſon of the hapleſs Henry VI. who, on the twentieth of June this year, died ſuddenly in his priſon of the Tower. Though he was wholly given up to devotion, and ſeemed utterly inſenſible to the cares of ambition, yet he could not but ſenſibly feel the heavy afflictions that now fell upon him at once, particularly the inhuman butchery of his only ſon, and the captivity of his queen; his feeble frame ſunk beneath the weight of ſo many calamities, and he died overwhelmed with grief, which probably brought on an apoplexy, for he was found dead in his bed between eleven and twelve at night. It has been induſtriouſly handed down by a number of hiſtorians, particularly thoſe of the Lancaſtrian faction, that the duke of Gloceſter ſlew him with his own hand; but that prince's memory has been loaded with this crime without any ſufficient authority; and if an act of that kind was really perpetrated, it ſeems much more reaſonable to impute it to the bloody jealouſy of Edward, who had now little about him of a man beſides his form and his follies, and who, from the late inſurrection under the baſtard of Fauconbridge, might ſuppoſe that he could never be ſafe on the throne while Henry was alive. But the truth is, no authority can be found to prove that Henry died a violent death; on the contrary, it is on all hands allowed that his corpſe was conveyed to St. Paul's church, and from thence to Black-friars, at both which places it lay for ſome time expoſed to public view; a circumſtance which ill agrees with a private murder. His remains were afterwards depoſited in the abbey of Chertſey, from whence they were removed by Richard III. and interred in a more pompous manner at Windſor.

Edward, now ſeeing himſelf in firm poſſeſſion of the crown of England, which had coſt him ſo much perjury, diſſimulation, and bloodſhed to acquire, thought proper to create his ſon Edward prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter, which he did on the twenty-ſixth of June this year; and, though he had ſeen ſufficiently, by his own practice and that of others, how weak an influence oaths have upon the actions of mankind, when forced upon them, yet he thought it no unneceſſary precaution to aſſemble, on the third day of July, ten biſhops, five dukes, ſix earls, fourteen barons, ſir William Courtney, and ten other of the moſt conſiderable among the knights, in the Parliament-chamber at Weſtminſter, where they ſwore to maintain and ſupport the ſucceſſion of the crown in his family, and took the oath of eventual allegiance to his ſon Edward, prince of Wales.

Shortly after, Edward granted a pardon to William of Wanefleet, biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſeven other prelates, who had adhered to the houſe of Lancaſter. From the beginning of his reign to the end he always carried it fair with the clergy; however, George Neville, archbiſhop of York, was ſent by him into exile, and impriſoned in the caſtle of Guiſnes, near Calais, for ſeveral years, during which time Edward enjoyed the revenues of his ſee, after having ſeized all his other effects. The dignity of great-chamberlain of England, vacant by the death of Warwick, was conferred on the duke of Gloceſter, who afterwards reſigned it to his brother Clarence, on being appointed conſtable. The government of Calais was beſtowed upon Anthony Woodville, earl Rivers, the queen's brother; but the garriſon refuſed to admit any perſon in that quality except the lord Haſtings, who was therefore appointed governor, and ſir John Howard was nominated his deputy.

The

The remaining part of the year was employed in negociations with different potentates, of which we ſhall proceed to give a curſory account. The firſt was with James III. king of Scotland. During the troubles in England, the truce between the Engliſh and Scots had been frequently violated, contrary to the intention of the two kings: after Edward's reſtoration, James ſent ambaſſadors to propoſe a congreſs, and it was agreed that one ſhould be held at Alnwick, in Northumberland, on the twenty-fourth of September, for a mutual reparation of the outrages committed by the two nations upon one another. The two kings were equally deſirous to preſerve the truce, and even to conclude a final peace; this negociation, however, was not ended till the year 1473. It appears in the Collection of Public Acts, that Edward empowered his ambaſſadors to propoſe a marriage between the king of Scotland and one of his daughters: but more of this in the ſequel.

On the thirtieth of September he renewed a treaty of commerce and truce for thirty years with Francis II. duke of Brittany. This confirmation was neceſſary, as the truce made during the earl of Warwick's adminiſtration had been often violated.

Lewis XI. was very ſenſible Edward had no reaſon to be pleaſed with him: but, however, he made him propoſals of a truce, as that made with Henry VI. was of no force now Edward was reſtored. In the preſent ſituation of the Engliſh affairs, it was by no means proper for Edward to renew the war with France: his kingdom was too much exhauſted to think ſo early of ſuch an undertaking; therefore, without much entreaty, he agreed to continue the truce from the firſt of September this year, to the firſt of May following.

Edward, however, did not place ſo much dependence on theſe truces as to neglect the neceſſary means either for defending his realm, or attacking his enemies; and a parliament meeting on Tueſday the ſixth of October, at Weſtminſter, he obtained from the commons a ſupply of fourteen thouſand archers; and from the lords ſpiritual and temporal, a grant of the tenth of their rents and the profit of their eſtates. The thirtieth of November the houſe was adjourned to February following.

The years 1472 and 1473 were neither of them diſtinguiſhed by ſo many great and important events as the laſt; they were wholly ſpent in negociations tending to ſettle the tranquility of the king and kingdom, by truces or alliances with foreign princes. Edward was particularly careful to prevent every poſſible cauſe of diſcontent with the duke of Burgundy's ſubjects; for this purpoſe he appointed commiſſioners for ſettling all commercial differences, and to conclude a final peace with the Hanſe towns *. A congreſs was accordingly held at Utrecht; but it was not till the year 1474 that all difficulties were adjuſted. Edward alſo, by his letters patent, confirmed the ancient alliance between Richard II. and John, king of Portugal, for them and their ſucceſſors.

But while Edward was thus providing for his ſecurity abroad, his peace at home was interrupted by the arrival of John de Vere, earl of Oxford, in England. Of all the noblemen whom his cruelty had made his enemies, none were more determined than Oxford: this earl, who was a zealous favourer of the houſe of Lancaſter, had retired into France after the battle of Tewkeſbury; but as he met with a cold reception from Lewis XI. who did not chuſe to quarrel with Edward, he reſolved to return to his native country, and maintain his ground to the laſt drop of his blood. With this view he ſhut himſelf up, with only ſeventy followers, within St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall. Edward, ever fearful that the leaſt ſpark of reſiſtance left unextinguiſhed, might rekindle the flame which had threatened the deſtruction of his houſe, loſt not an inſtant in providing againſt it: he ordered Forteſcue, one of his favourites, to march immediately with ſome troops into the Weſt, and beſiege the earl in his ſtrong hold. Though Vere had no chance of either eſcaping or of holding the place out for any time, he boldly ſtood a ſiege; but being at length obliged to ſurrender, through a ſcarcity of proviſions, he was ſent priſoner, with two of his brothers, the lord Beaumont, and ſir Thomas Clifford, to London, where the regard which all ranks of people had for the earl, prevented Edward's accuſtomed cruelty from taking place. The earl and his two brothers had their lives ſpared; but the former had his eſtate confiſcated, without any proviſion being left for himſelf or counteſs, even the common neceſſaries of life; and the earl himſelf was ſent priſoner to the caſtle of Guiſnes, where he remained as long as Edward lived.

But John Holland, duke of Exeter, who had been in confinement ever ſince the battle of Barnet, had entreated his wife, who was Edward's ſiſter, to employ her good offices for his releaſe; but that princeſs preferring her affection for her brother to that for her huſband, abandoned the latter in his diſtreſs, and received from Edward a ſeparate allowance. Upon this the duke found means to get out of his priſon, and no one knew what was become of him, till he was found dead, ſome months after, on the ſea-ſhore in the county of Kent.

This nobleman was the laſt branch of the houſe of Lancaſter that could give Edward any diſturbance, except the earl of Richmond, who reſided at the court of Brittany, with his uncle Jaſper, earl of Pembroke; and although theſe were in no condition to interrupt the quiet of his reign, he eagerly deſired to have the young earl in his power: he accordingly ſent over an embaſſy to the duke of Brittany, preſſing him to deliver up theſe noblemen; but that duke pleading the protection he had granted, and the ties of blood, excuſed himſelf from complying with this requeſt; though, at the ſame time, he gave Edward the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, that he would keep them in ſuch a manner that they ſhould never diſturb his government.

The parliament, which had, by different prorogations, ſat almoſt two years, paſſed an act, on the

* Theſe are certain towns in Germany, confederate for the benefit of trade. They are ſo called from the word Hanſe, ſignifying Alliance. Bremen, in Lower Saxony, is ſaid to have been founder of this confederacy, about the year 1164. How many towns were aſſociated at firſt is not known: but the deſign ſo viſibly proſpered, that moſt of the chief trading places in Europe, to the number of ſeventy-two, entered into the confederacy. In the flouriſhing times of their alliance, theſe Hanſe towns had four general ſtaples viz. London, Bruges in Flanders, Bergen in Normandy, and Novogrod in Ruſſia. At preſent the Hanſe Towns are in a manner reduced to theſe ſix, Lubeck, Hamburgh, Bremen, Roſtock, Dantzick, and Cologne.

ſixth of October, 1473, for the reſumption of all grants of lands and offices, in order to improve the royal revenues. The king of Portugal this year demanded the reſtitution of ſome veſſels, which had been taken by the Engliſh from his ſubjects; but as it appeared, in the courſe of the inquiry, that they had been pillaged by the baſtard of Fauconbridge, during his rebellion, the king of Portugal deſiſted from his demand. In this parliament the earl of Northumberland was reſtored to the honours and eſtates of his family; and Edward, willing to teſtify his gratitude to Lewis de Burges, lord of Gruytheuſe, by whom he had been ſo hoſpitably entertained in Holland, created him a peer of England, by the title of earl of Wincheſter; and afterwards, by letters patent, allowed him to bear the arms of England in his eſcutcheon. We now come to the year 1474, which will afford us a greater plenty of matter.

Notwithſtanding the cold reception which the duke of Burgundy had given Edward during his exile, the political intereſts of the two nations were ſo cloſely connected, that the Engliſh monarch was ſtill obliged to maintain a friendly correſpondence with that duke, and this correſpondence now became more frequent than ever; for the duke of Burgundy having continual reaſons to be diſguſted with Lewis XI. whoſe reſtleſs and turbulent diſpoſition would not ſuffer any of his neighbours to be at peace, ſaw no other way to free himſelf from the perſecutions of his enemy, than to engage the king of England to make a powerful diverſion in France; and, in order to effect this purpoſe, he ſent ambaſſadors to England in the beginning of the year 1474, furniſhed with very ample powers for concluding a treaty for undertaking the conqueſt of France jointly with the king of England. The duke of Brittany was in the ſecret of this negociation, and it was ſo privately carried on that Lewis, notwithſtanding the good intelligence he generally had, got his firſt information of it from the court of Scotland, the king of which at that time was in treaty of marriage with Edward, for his ſon James with the princeſs Cicely, Edward's youngeſt daughter. Lewis thereupon ſent one of his miniſters to Scotland, to thank James for his intelligence, and to endeavour to keep him firm to the ancient treaties between the two crowns.

It was the twenty-firſt of July this year, before matters could be adjuſted, for the great undertaking of the conqueſt of France, between Edward and the duke of Burgundy. On that day is dated the duke's convention for aſſiſtance to Edward: in the preamble of this act, the government of France is loaded with the moſt horrible imputations; Lewis is termed its uſurper, and Edward its lawful king. This convention, which is mutual, ſtipulates,

"I. That before, or about, the firſt day of July 1475, Edward ſhould be in readineſs, with an army of upwards of ten thouſand men, to land in France, for the recovery of the duchies of Normandy and Guienne in particular, and the kingdom of France in general.

"II. The duke of Burgundy engages to aſſiſt him in perſon with all his force, towards the ſaid recovery, againſt Lewis and all others.

"III. The third article propounds that Edward ſhall liſten to no propoſitions, nor ſo much as admit any meſſages, or letters, without conſent of the duke, from Lewis or any poſſeſſing the crown of France. This article is mutual.

"IV. Both powers, as ſoon as they ſhould declare war, were, throughout their dominions, to proclaim Lewis as their common enemy, and to diſtreſs him in all convenient places, ſo as to be within reach of one another's aſſiſtance.

"V. By the fifth article, both parties, and their lieutenants, are obliged to march to one another's aſſiſtance in all places of neceſſity or danger.

"VI. The ſixth article provides, that neither prince ſhall give over the war while the other is willing to continue it; and that if either is abſent from the army, his lieutenant ſhall be bound to obey the prince that is preſent; and that both ſhall agree in their winter-quarters, and in finiſhing their campaign: nay even after both parties were retired to winter-quarters, if either prince thought fit again to take the field, with all, or part of his army, the other prince, or his lieutenant, was obliged to do in like manner."

Next follows what the records call "a letter of agreement between the two contracting parties," but it is only in general terms, and Edward by it promiſes to relieve France from the hardſhips ſhe ſuffered under the government of Lewis, and to reſtore baniſhed juſtice; he likewiſe renews his former engagements with the duke of Burgundy. Then follow what they call "explanation of the articles concerning the mutual quotas of troops."

"It is agreed, that when either party make the requiſition of ſix thouſand men (which either party might do of the other), the party ſo required was obliged to pay three thouſand ſix hundred of them out of his own pocket, in caſe the other party was engaged in a war for his own defence; while the remainder was to be paid by the party requiring: but if the war was undertaken from other motives than ſelf-defence, then the requiring party was to be at the expence of all the ſix thouſand. This treaty was held to be perpetual."

The next article ſtipulates, "That the duke of Burgundy ſhould, in conſideration of the aſſiſtance he was to give Edward, have the dutchy of Barr, the earldoms of Champaign, Nevers, Retel, Eu, and Guiſe; the barony of Ducie, and the lordſhip of Tournay, the city and lordſhip of Linghen, the town and caſtle of Pequigney, all the towns with their lordſhips on each ſide of the Somme, and all the eſtates of the earl of St. Paul, not holding of tht duchies of Normandy and Guienne; all which he was to hold without any reſort, independent of Edward, or any of his ſucceſſors; as he was to do all the reſt of his dominions, which he then held of the crown of France."

We have next a more particular convention between Edward and the duke, by which the latter obliges himſelf "to furniſh to the former any number of men not under ten thouſand, nor above twenty, whenever he ſhould be required; the wages and particular proviſions for theſe men are likewiſe ſtipulated." Edward next promiſes to pay thoſe troops regularly; and in caſe he was a year in arrear, that the duke ſhould not be obliged to furniſh him the next year. He then ſtipulates, "That, notwithſtanding any convention between him and the duke, he ſhould be crowned at Rheims*."

* Rymer, vol. xi. p. 806, 807, 808, 809, &c.

These treaties being ratified and approved by the parliament, now in the fifth session, which granted the necessary supplies, the king began to issue commissions for levying troops, and in the mean time sent ambassadors to the different courts of Europe, to form new alliances, or at least to prevent the union of the several powers with his enemy; and he secured the commerce of his subjects, and his realm from invasion during his absence, by renewing the truce with Scotland, which having, ten years before, been agreed on till October 31, 1479, was now renewed for four years longer. This was farther cemented by a contract for a mariage between the princess Cecily, Edward's youngest daughter, not yet five years old, and James, eldest son and heir of James III. king of Scotland, not yet three years of age; and in case either of the parties died, his or her place was to be supplied by another of the same sex respectively. A jointure was settled; the sum of twenty thousand marks fixed for the young princess's portion, to be paid by stipulated sums at different times; but to be refunded if the marriage was not completed when the parties came to be of a fit age, or, through any accident, did not take effect: the two kings engaged mutually to assist each other in suppressing all rebellions, and to give neither countenance, aid, or protection to any rebels whatever.

On the first of February, 1475, Edward directed his letters to almost all the sheriffs and magistrates in England, for a rendezvous of his troops by the twenty sixth of May, at Portsmouth, in the county of Southampton. The army accordingly assembled to the number of thirty thousand; and, what is very extraordinary, those all of them Englishmen, a circumstance which was peculiar to this Edward, his great predecessors Edward III. and Henry V. having under them, in all their expeditions, great numbers of French and foreigners.

On the twelfth of June, the lords Audley and Duras had a commission to command three thousand auxiliaries, in the duke of Brittany's service: and on the twentieth of that month, the army being embarked, Edward, after leaving his son, the prince of Wales, not yet five years old, guardian of England, sailed over to Calais; and his troops, mindful of the great conquests which their ancestors had made in the French dominions, flattered themselves with the prospect of the same good fortune.

But all their sanguine hopes were blasted, when they saw themselves joined by the duke of Burgundy with no more than his ordinary equipages, and not a soldier attending him. That prince, transported by the violence of his temper, had carried his armies to a great distance, and employed them in wars on the frontiers of Germany and against the duke of Lorraine: when Edward justly reproved him with his remissness in executing his part of the convention between them, he excused himself by pretending that his army would soon be reassembled, and by putting into the king's hand a letter from the count St. de Pol, constable of France, promising to deliver up St. Quintin immediately to the English. Edward appeared somewhat satisfied upon reading this letter; and, in full confidence of its contents, he advanced towards Peronne, and sent off a detachment to take possession of St. Quintin. Being arrived at Peronne, he was acquainted that his detachment had not only been refused admittance into St. Quintin, but lost some men by a sally from the garrison. The duke of Burgundy in vain laboured to reinspire the English with confidence, after this instance of dissimulation; and beginning to be apprehensive about the safety of his own person, the next morning, under pretext of setting out for his army, he took his leave of Edward, without giving any orders for the subsistence or accommodation of his allies.

Edward perceiving that there was no dependence to be placed on so thoughtless and treacherous an ally, resolved to depend upon his own strength for making conquests. He had brought with him as fine an army as had ever entered France from this country, was attended by all the considerable noblemen of his kingdom, and his forces were provided with all necessaries, and qualified in every respect to force its way from one end of France to the other.

Lewis saw this, and trembled; more influenced by political considerations than the vain punctilios of honour, he thought no submissions too mean, which could deliver him from enemies who had proved so formidable to his predecessors, and who again threatened to involve the kingdom in the like calamities which it had suffered by their victorious arms. Edward, upon his landing at Calais, had sent an herald with a letter to Lewis, demanding the crown of France, and giving him defiance in case of refusal. Lewis received the letter with great moderation, and was so far from treating this bravado with that contempt and indignation which a prince of less prudence would have discovered, that he replied in a very mild and gentle manner, and even made the herald a handsome present: this so won upon the latter, that he gave Lewis a hint, that the lords Howard and Stanley, who had Edward's ear, would not be inaccessible to any application from Lewis. The French king took the hint, and it afterwards did him great service.

For hearing that Edward was now preparing to enter Artois, he took an occasion to send an herald to the English camp, and gave him directions to apply to the lords Stanley and Howard, who, he was informed, were inclined to a peace, and whose good offices he earnestly solicited towards effecting an accommodation. The two lords interested themselves warmly in this project; and Edward himself being equally dissatisfied with the duke of Burgundy, for failing in his engagements, and with the constable of St. Pol for his treachery, was the more disposed to hearken to Lewis's proposals: in fine, the matter being debated in the cabinet-council, it was resolved to agree to a treaty for free commerce with France, and a truce for seven years, on the following terms.

"That Lewis should pay seventy-five thousand crowns to indemnify Edward for the expence of the expedition, on receipt of which the king of England should immediately retire with his forces. That Lewis should likewise grant him an annuity of fifty thousand crowns for their joint lives, by two equal half-yearly payments, the first to commence at Easter next following. That the dauphin of France should espouse Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, and settle sixty thousand livres a year upon her, as a jointure. And that neither party should encourage civil wars in the other's kingdom; but that both parties should assist each other in suppressing the insurrection of their subjects."

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We know of no manner of objection made on the part of the French king againſt theſe preliminary demands, which being accepted, an interview was agreed upon between the two kings at Pecquigny, after a ſeven years truce was propoſed and agreed upon. The lord Howard and John Cheney, eſq. were pledges from Edward for his performance.

The duke of Burgundy no ſooner heard what had paſſed between Edward and the king of France, than he poſted to the Engliſh camp, and ſeverely upbraided Edward with his breach of the alliance ſubſiſting between them: but the latter ſet his own conduct before him in ſo ſtrong a light, that the duke had little left to ſay: in a word, neither his oppoſition, nor that of the duke of Gloceſter, Edward's brother, who, enraged to ſee the fine proſpects he had formed by the conqueſt of France, now about to vaniſh, could divert Edward from his reſolution of giving Lewis the meeting. This interview was held between the two kings on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, near Pecquigny, on a bridge built quite acroſs the Somme: in the middle of the bridge was a box, which was divided into two by a lattice, the openings of which were but juſt large enough for thruſting a man's head through them; and on each ſide the lattice was a room for twelve perſons. A ſhort compliment paſſed between the two monarchs, and the articles that had been agreed upon being produced, both kings ſwore to obſerve them: after this, the attendants being ordered to withdraw, they had a private conference, the reſult of which was, that if the duke of Burgundy and the conſtable de St. Pol ſhould refuſe to take the benefit of the treaty, the king of France was left at full liberty to treat them in what manner he pleaſed; but as to the duke of Brittany, Edward gratefully declined abandoning him; and Lewis finding this, inſiſted no longer upon it: but by another circumſtance of this agreement, Lewis gained an advantage which contributed greatly to the aggrandizing of the French monarchy; for on this occaſion he perſuaded Edward to releaſe Margaret of Anjou, for the ranſom of fifty thouſand crowns: to this Edward conſented, though not till Lewis had engaged to get a full diſcharge from Margaret of all her claims upon the crown of England for her dower. This unfortunate princeſs was releaſed the November following, and Lewis punctually paid the money. Full of gratitude to her deliverer, Margaret, the following year, ſigned a conveyance of all her right of ſucceſſion to Provence and Anjou to Lewis and his heirs, and confirmed it afterwards by her will at her death, which happened in 1482. Thus Lewis became the ſole heir of all thoſe dominions, which by this means became united to the crown of France.

This interview being ended, the two kings parted extremely well ſatisfied with each other. Lewis, however, appears to have been ſtruck with terror at the ſight of the Engliſh army: he was of that genius, that he bought peace if he could at any rate; but if forced upon a war, no prince acted with greater reſolution, and few had better fortune. Commines, who was an eye and ear-witneſs of all theſe tranſactions, tells us that Lewis dreaded nothing ſo much as Edward's taking a liking to France; and wiſhed above all things, that he would return to his own kingdom†. And he was ſo much afraid of the other's breaking his engagements, that he beſtowed conſiderable penſions upon the principal members of Edward's council*, that they might exert their endeavours in perſuading their maſter to adhere to the treaty.

If we candidly examine all the circumſtances of this treaty, we cannot give our aſſent to the repreſentations of thoſe hiſtorians, who, without foundation, have magnified the wiſdom of Lewis on this occaſion, and pretend that the Engliſh were his dupes. It is plain, that the French king did not diſpute any one article preſcribed him by Edward; and though it was afterwards diſputed between the French and Engliſh, whether the annual payment of fifty thouſand crowns was to be ſtyled a penſion or a tribute, the former being willing to conſider it in the firſt light, and the other in the latter, yet I think we may with the ſtrongeſt reaſon give the name of tribute to this annuity: this ſeems to be implied by the word "Cenſus," put in the title of acquittances and other inſtruments relating to the payment, though all words expreſſing either, ſeem to be induſtriouſly avoided in all ſuch inſtruments: again, as the court of France never granted a penſion to any foreign prince, without receiving for it an oath of fealty and an act of homage (neither whereof were required in this caſe); and as Edward in the treaty ſtyles Lewis only his couſin of France, this annuity ſeems to be a ſort of tributary compenſation for Edward's delaying his claim upon the crown of France, occaſioned by this truce: and the following circumſtance, given us by Commines, ſtrongly proves that the French court dreaded nothing ſo much as an altercation on this point.

"One of the Engliſh (ſays that hiſtorian) told me, that had the duke of Burgundy joined them with his army, perhaps the peace had not been concluded. The viſcount of Narbonne over-hearing him, replied, "Could you be ſo weak as to believe the duke of Burgundy wanted a great number of good ſoldiers? he had only put them into quarters of refreſhment; and you were in ſuch haſte to be at home again, that ſix hundred pipes of wine, and a penſion from our king ſent you back into England." The Engliſhman was in a paſſion, and anſwered with much warmth, "Do you call the money your king gave us, a penſion? It is a tribute: and, by St. George! you may prate ſo much as will bring us back again to prove it." I interrupted them (adds Commines) and turned it into a jeſt; but the Engliſhman would not underſtand it ſo. When I informed the king of it afterwards, he was highly offended with the viſcount

† The interview being ended, Lewis repaired to Amiens, attended by the lord Howard, who was left as an hoſtage for Edward's performance of the articles of the treaty; and while the king was waſhing his hands, after ſupper, this nobleman whiſpered in his ear that Edward might eaſily be perſuaded to take a journey to Paris: Lewis made no anſwer to this hint until it was repeated, and then he ſaid, that the war which he was carrying on with the duke of Burgundy would not allow him to go to Paris, and therefore he was very ſorry he could not have the honour of receiving the viſit of the Engliſh monarch. "Edward (ſaid he privately to Commines) is a very handſome and amorous prince; ſome ladies at Paris may be as fond of him as he ſhall be of them, and may invite him to return in another manner." Commines, liv. iv. chap. 10.

* The lords Haſtings and Howard, the biſhop of Lincoln, the maſter of the rolls, the marquis of Dorſet, ſir Anthony St. Leger, with ſix or eight more of Edward's chief counſellors, all received yearly ſtipends from the French court; and all but the lord Haſtings gave acquittances for the ſame. Commines, lib. vi. chap. 2.

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of Narbonne." Commines could ſpeak of theſe things with certainty, ſince he was in Lewis's ſervice and confidence. At length, however, Lewis was rid of all his fears by the departure of the Engliſh, who returned to their own country extremely well pleaſed with the reliſh of the French wine, and the goodneſs of the French money.

The duke of Burgundy, at parting with Edward at his laſt interview, had ſworn that he diſdained the mediation of England ſo much, that he would not be comprehended in the truce, nor enter into any negociation with Lewis until three months after the Engliſh army had arrived in their own country; but he ſoon found reaſon to retract his declaration, and within a very few days, viz. on the thirteenth of September, he made a truce for nine years with Lewis. As to the conſtable St. Pol, who had deceived the three princes, and been the principal author of their diviſion, he ſaw himſelf forſaken in the end by all, and forced to retire into the duke of Burgundy's dominions, upon the faith of a ſafe conduct; but, notwithſtanding that ſecurity, he was delivered up by the duke to Lewis, who commanded his head to be ſtruck off; a juſt retaliation upon a perſon who had ſo ſcandalouſly juggled with both parties.

Edward being now at peace with all his neighbours, and having no inſurrection to dread at home, applied himſelf to the adminiſtration of juſtice, and filling his coffers. The diſbanding of the army, lately returned from France, had filled all the roads with robbers, and nobody could travel without danger of loſing their lives or effects: to remedy this grievance, the king, early in the ſpring of 1476, made a circuit with his judges through the kingdom, and exerted himſelf on this occaſion with ſuch vigour and impartiality, that he reſtored the public peace, that had been ſo greatly injured. The nation had ſhewn itſelf ſo diſcontented with the miſcarriage of the late expedition, from which it had entertained ſuch ſanguine expectations, that Edward was deterred from aſking any farther ſupplies from parliament, and therefore had recourſe to other methods of accumulating treaſure: he engaged in commerce, which he carried on to a great extent as a private merchant; he ſold the profits of vacant prelacies; he demanded fines for the reſtitution of temporalities; he ranſacked old records to find defective titles, and obliged the proprietors to pay large ſums for their confirmation; and he impoſed exorbitant taxes upon the clergy. By theſe methods he amaſſed large ſums, the vice of avarice growing ſtronger as his wealth increaſed and his age advanced: the time not employed in theſe cares, he chiefly paſſed in female converſation and amuſements; and his court, from the example of its head, became a ſcene of luſt and lewdneſs.

In this ceſſation of every manly employment, the reader is to expect very little buſineſs: the ancient treaties, however, with the king of Denmark were now renewed; as alſo thoſe with the Hanſe Towns, in Germany, and with the court of Caſtile. The open demonſtration of friendſhip which Edward had given towards the duke of Brittany, made him imagine that duke would readily embrace an opportunity of ſhewing his acknowlegement; he therefore ſent ambaſſadors to him, under colour of renewing their truce; but the true end of their commiſſion was to propoſe the delivering up of the earl of Richmond, pretending that Edward, deſirous of reconciling the jarring factions of York and Lancaſter, propoſed to marry young Henry to one of his own daughters. The duke of Brittany, a good prince, judging of others by himſelf, agreed to deliver up Richmond and his uncle, the earl of Pembroke: and the ambaſſadors having got them into their hands, carried them with all ſpeed to St. Malo's, there to embark; but the duke's miniſters repreſenting to him how infamous it would make him appear in the eye of the world, ſhould the two princes fall victims of Edward's jealouſy, which was moſt probable, he, upon recollection, confeſſed the juſtneſs of the remonſtrance, and forthwith diſpatched his favourite, Landois, poſt to prevent their embarkation. Landois arrived juſt time enough; the earl and his uncle were on the point of embarking, but Landois found means to draw them aſide, and gave them intimation of his errand; thereupon they inſtantly took refuge in a church, from whence Landois told the Engliſh ambaſſadors they could not be taken, and thoſe latter were forced to depart without their prey; and when they came to England, their failure brought them into diſgrace, and embittered all Edward's enjoyments. Thus, by a ſort of miracle, Henry, earl of Richmond, eſcaped the danger to which he was expoſed, Providence having preſerved him on this occaſion, in order to place him one day on the throne of England. The reſt of the year 1476 affords nothing remarkable concerning the affairs of England, except the death of the duke of Burgundy. This prince poſſeſſed the ambition as well as the courage and intrepidity of a conqueror; but being deſtitute of policy and prudence, qualities no leſs neceſſary, he was unſucceſsful in all his enterprizes, and periſhed at laſt in a battle againſt the Swiſs, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, leaving behind him an only daughter, Mary, who, as ſhe was heireſs of his extenſive dominions, was earneſtly courted by all the potentates of Europe.

The death of the duke of Burgundy afforded Lewis an opportunity of procuring this match for the dauphin, and by that means of adding to the crown of France all the provinces of the Low Countries, together with Burgundy, Artois, and Picardy; but Lewis had conceived ſuch a violent and implacable hatred againſt the houſe of Burgundy, that he determined to reduce the young ducheſs by force of arms; and entering her dominions with his troops, in the ſpring of 1477, he made himſelf maſter of the duchy of Burgundy, and of that part of Picardy which had been yielded to Philip the Good by the treaty of Arras: but the ſtates of the Netherlands were ſo incenſed at his baſe and ungenerous proceedings, that they beſtowed their ſovereign on Maximilian of Auſtria, ſon of the emperor Frederic, from whom they hoped for relief in their preſent diſtreſs. Thus was France deprived of the opportunity, which ſhe could never after regain, of enlarging her dominions by the addition of thoſe fertile and beautiful provinces; and the marriage of the ducheſs with Maximilian not only changed the face of affairs, but introduced a new ſyſtem of politics into Europe: nay it may be ſaid to be the firſt and principal ſource of moſt of the wars wherewith we have been troubled ever ſince. But it is now time to take a view of affairs in England.

It appears, that the adminiſtration was wholly engroſſed by the queen and her relations, who were

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now become extremely unpopular, not only by their continually graſping at all power, but alſo by the haughtineſs of their demeanor, and the pride they ſeemed to take in oppoſing, on all occaſions, the king's brothers. Richard duke of Gloceſter, who was naturally cloſe, reſerved, and deliberate, managed ſo with them as not to come to an open breach; but George, duke of Clarence, a weak prince, of great pride, ambition, and impetuoſity, could not ſuppreſs his indignation, which was continually breaking out into threats and invectives.

This behaviour, doubtleſs, increaſed the averſion of the queen and her family to Clarence; and an event which happened about this time, contributed to heighten the animoſity between them, and ſeems to have laid the firſt foundation for the duke's untimely fate: George having loſt his wife Iſabel, daughter of the late earl of Warwick, a ſhort time before the death of Charles, duke of Burgundy, applied to his ſiſter Margaret, ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, who loved him above all her brothers, for employing her good offices to bring about a match between him and her ſtep-daughter, Mary, the heireſs of Burgundy. It was the moſt deſirable alliance for England that could be formed; and Margaret uſed her utmoſt endeavours to effect it: but Edward, king of England, having gotten intelligence of this negociation, by means of Lewis XI. (who ſtrove all in his power to keep the Engliſh court in good humour), and being jealous of his brother's elevation to ſo great a ſovereignty, or biaſſed by the queen, who wanted to ſecure this match for her own brother, Anthony Woodville, earl Rivers, threw ſuch obſtacles in the way, as allowed time and means for the emperor Frederic to ſucceed in behalf of his ſon Maximilian.

It is natural to ſuppoſe that ſuch treatment would not fail to exaſperate the mind of Clarence, who ſhewed his reſentment by coming leſs frequent to court, by ſaying little or nothing in the privy-council, and carefully avoiding ſeeing his brother Edward in private. This behaviour occaſioned a coldneſs and reſerve in the king towards Clarence, who now complained of the meaſures of the court with greater vehemence than ever. This inconſiderate conduct ſerved only to facilitate the deſigns of his enemies, every motion of his being watched, every peeviſh expreſſion aggravated, and every action miſrepreſented, or wreſted to render him ſuſpected. In this his brother Richard, duke of Gloceſter, is ſaid to have had a principal hand, who having already formed a deſign to ſeize the crown at the death of their elder brother, whoſe ſpirits and health were daily waſted by his exceſſive indulgence in pleaſure, thought the only means to ſecure ſucceſs to his enterprize, would be to remove Clarence out of the way, who ſtood between him and the ſucceſſion, and therefore determined to accompliſh his ruin. With this view he artfully inflamed the hatred of that duke againſt the king, until he wrung from him ſuch expreſſions as, being afterwards related to Edward, made that barbarous brother, who held no blood dear, if his jealouſly was alarmed, gave orders for ſeizing Clarence, on ſuſpicion of treaſon againſt his crown and life; and he was committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower.

A parliament was ordered to meet on Friday the ſixteenth of January, 1478, at Weſtminſter; and Henry, duke of Buckingham, was appointed high-ſteward of England, to preſide at the trial of Clarence, whoſe accuſation was laid in the following articles.

I. For having reflected on the king for putting to death one Burdett, a retainer or vaſſal of the duke's; and that he, the ſaid duke, had induſtriouſly propagated this accuſation againſt his ſovereign.

II. That he had accuſed the king of practiſing necromantic arts to take off ſuch of his ſubjects whom he could not reach by law.

III. That he had openly ſaid king Edward was a baſtard, and not begotten by Richard, duke of York.

IV. That the ſaid duke had compelled his vaſſals to take an oath of fealty to him and his heirs.

V. That he had ſlanderouſly alleged the king did him wrong, and that he had uſed witchcraft to deprive him, the ſaid duke, of his life.

VI. Laſtly, that he had attempted to avail himſelf of the act of parliament, by which he and heirs were declared ſucceſſors to the crown of England, failing the male iſſue of Henry VI.

The duke denied every part of the charge, and it is certain it would have been very difficult for his enemies to have proved all theſe articles of impeachment: they ſeem to have been too ſenſible of this; and all our hiſtorians agree, that he was ſecretly put to death in the Tower, a few days before his trial was to have come on; and that the duke of Gloceſter aſſiſted in this inhuman office, by helping to thruſt his head into a butt of malmſey, by which he was ſuffocated.

The death of the duke of Clarence raiſed ſuch an outcry among the people, that the court began to grow apprehenſive for the conſequences; and, to quiet their diſcontents, gave out that he died of an immoderate debauch of drinking, to which he had taken out of grief for his confinement; but this artifice was not capable of amuſing the public, who could not without horror reflect upon a prince of the blood thus dying a priſoner in private, and in the power of his declared enemies. The duke left behind him one ſon, named Edward, who inherited from his grand-father, by the mother's ſide, the title of earl of Warwick; and a daughter called Margaret, who was afterwards counteſs of Saliſbury; both of them following their father by a violent death, from the cruel unrelenting ſuſpicion of their kindred kings.

It has been pretended by an old writer (Hall), that Edward was afterwards greatly grieved for the death of his brother, inſomuch that when any one ſued to him for the pardon of a condemned malefactor, he would break out into this exclamation, "Oh, unfortunate brother Clarence! for whoſe life not one creature would make interceſſion!" And yet we find this penitent prince chuſing the very time of his brother's untimely fate, to redouble the revels of his court by inveſting his eldeſt ſon, Edward (afterwards Edward V.) with the principality of Wales, the earldom of Cheſter, and his other eſtates; and creating his ſecond ſon, Richard, duke of York; and, though not above two years and a half old, marrying him to Anne, only daughter of John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, and heireſs to that title and eſtate, then about ſix years old, and her fortune, in caſe of death, was ſettled upon the young duke. The rejoicings of Edward and his court on this occaſion ſeemed not ſo much

on account of the two princes promotions, as their ſatisfaction to ſee the project of the duke of Clarence's ruin effected; and their indecent conduct ſerved only heighten the murmurs of the people.

During theſe tranſactions in England, Maximilian, who had married the young ducheſs of Burgundy, reſolved to wreſt from Lewis the French king the places he had taken in his bride's country; and he met with ſuch ſucceſs in his endeavours, on account of the affection of the inhabitants for the houſe of Burgundy, that, in all probability, he would have recovered the whole duchy, had he been ſupported by his father, the moſt covetous, or Edward, the moſt voluptuous prince of his age: but both of them failed him; the one being loth to part with his money, and the other wholly under the influence of his queen, who reſented the refuſal her brother Anthony, earl of Rivers, had met with in his pretenſions to the young ducheſs of Burgundy: add to this, that Edward ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed from time to time by Lewis, with flattering promiſes, that the other never intended to perform; nor had any thing been adjuſted all this time relating to the treaty of Amiens. But this year Lewis ſent over ambaſſadors, to offer that both the truce and the payment of the annuity ſhould be continued for one hundred years after the death of each of the kings. To this Edward agreed; but, at the ſame, time he put the French ambaſſadors in mind, that his daughter Elizabeth was now twelve years of age, therefore capable of matrimony: and that, though the dauphin was yet too young for conſummation, yet that was no reaſon why ſhe ſhould not be betrothed to him, and immediately enter on poſſeſſion of the ſixty thouſand livres a year, agreed upon as her appointment, as ſoon as ſhe came to a matrimonial age. All this was digeſted into inſtructions to Edward's reſidents at the French court, who had orders to make the demand, and betroth the princeſs to the dauphin.

But Lewis, who had another match in view for his ſon, put them off, from time to time, with a dilatory anſwer; and finding that money was the means to prolong Edward's lethargy, he paid off, the remainder of the ranſom of Margaret of Anjou, and ſent over the biſhop of Elna, in February of the following year, 1479, to offer ſecurity for the payment of fifty thouſand crowns annuity for the long term to which it and the truce were now extended. The ſecurity which the prelate offered, was the oath of Lewis, together with the bonds of the bank of Medicis, and letters patent confirmed by the eſtates of France, and the papal authority denouncing excommunication in caſe of failure. This ſecurity effectually quieted Edward's ſcruples: indeed, the Engliſh monarch was grown too indolent to undertake any enterprize that required perſonal activity, and all that we know of Edward's proceedings this year (1479), was that he entered into a treaty with the duke and ducheſs of Burgundy, by a marriage between his daughter Anne and their ſon, a child ſcarcely a year old; as alſo another treaty between the prince of Caſtile and his daughter Catherine, to the ſame purpoſe; that he confirmed his alliance with the court of Denmark; and made his infant ſon Richard, duke of York, lord-lieutenant of Ireland *.

Thus ſtood matters in England till May, 1480, when Edward, beginning to be uneaſy at the ſhuffling of Lewis, ſent over John, lord Howard, to treat with that king, about the ſpeedy celebration of the marriage between the dauphin and Elizabeth, and to adjuſt the time and place for that princeſs's coming over to France and taking poſſeſſion of her dowry; but Lewis was ſo far from giving any ſatisfaction on theſe heads, that, having gained the principal point he had at heart, namely, the preventing Edward from acting offenſively on the continent, he no longer thought it neceſſary to keep meaſures with the Engliſh court, and entered into a treaty with Maximilian of Auſtria, and Mary, heireſs of Burgundy, for marrying the dauphin to their daughter Margaret, an infant of two years of age.

Not contented with this notorious breach of faith, or, perhaps, fearful, that Edward's eyes being opened to his perfidy and diſſimulation, he might be tempted, indolent as he was, to take revenge for ſuch indignity, the French monarch, whoſe prudence was equal to his falſhood, endeavoured to avert the impending danger; and, by a proper diſtribution of preſents in the court of Scotland, he prevailed on James III. to break off the marriage which had been ſtipulated between his eldeſt ſon and Cecily, Edward's ſecond daughter, though the Scottiſh prince had actually received a great part of her portion, and to commence hoſtilities againſt England, notwithſtanding a truce ſubſiſted at that time between the two nations for forty years to come.

James III. king of Scotland retained all his family affection for the houſe of Valois: though he had hitherto continued in good correſpondence with the court of England, yet it was only by the permiſſion and direction of the king of France. He was governed by a ſet of low, worthleſs, and corrupt miniſters, at whoſe inſtigation he had thrown his brother Alexander, duke of Albany, into priſon; but this prince having made his eſcape, took refuge at the court of England, where James, earl of Douglas, had long found protection: and the Scottiſh monarch and his favourites making this an handle, it was reſolved in his worthleſs cabinet that England ſhould be invaded. Accordingly, having gotten together an army, they entered the borders; but the Scottiſh authors and records give us a very blind account of the proceedings of this army: thus much is certain, they did nothing of any moment, probably owing to the diſappointments James met with in the ſupplies he expected from France, and that the duke of Albany and the earl of Douglas had a powerful party attached to their intereſts among the great men in Scotland; and to diſtract that kingdom the more, endeavours were uſed to draw the earl of Roſs, lord of the Iſles, into their meaſures.

Edward, who now began to rouſe from his lethargy, was equally aſtoniſhed and incenſed at Lewis for the unpardonable affront that monarch had put upon his family in the perſon of his daughter Elizabeth, who had for ſome time been diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of dauphineſs, in which ſhe was now ſupplanted by an infant. Liſtening to the ſuggeſtions of his revenge only, without conſidering that Lewis, on this occaſion, had done nothing

* Rymer, vol. xii. p. 110, &c.

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more than retort his own behaviour in the caſe of the lady Bona, and that his own finances were in a bad ſtate for ſupporting a war, he reſolved to carry fire and ſword into the heart of France. But as it was neceſſary to end his quarrel with Scotland before he embarked in a foreign expedition, he, in the beginning of the year 1481, declared his reſolution of marching in perſon againſt the Scots, and gave orders for the neceſſary preparations towards a great expedition.

In the mean time, in order to ſecure his intereſt in the continent of France, he renewed his alliance with the duke of Brittany; and, on the twenty-ſecond of June this year, we find him concluding a peace with that prince, which was cemented by a marriage between Edward's ſon the prince of Wales and the duke's eldeſt daughter Anne, preſumptive heireſs of the duchy. Neither of the parties were yet of an age fit for marriage; it was therefore provided by the articles, that if either of them died before conſummation, their places ſhould be ſupplied by brother or ſiſter ſo long as Edward and Francis ſhould have any children remaining alive of the reſpective ſexes. The dower of Anne was ſettled at twenty thouſand crowns a year, and her fortune at two hundred thouſand crowns, if Francis ſhould leave a ſon to ſucceed him in the duchy, who in that caſe was to marry one of Edward's daughters; but if the princeſs of Brittany inherited her father's territories, a moiety of this fortune was to be remitted: it was farther provided, that in caſe two ſons were born of this intended marriage, the younger ſhould bear the arms of Brittany, be brought up in that country, and ſucceed his mother in the dutchy: the other articles of the treaty provide that each power ſhould furniſh to the other, if attacked by France, three thouſand archers, to be maintained three months at the expence of the furniſhing party*.

On the twentieth of January, 1482, Edward called a parliament at Weſtminſter, in order to obtain a ſupply for carrying on the war with Scotland; and, on the fifteenth of February, the commons, by the aſſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, granted him ſuch an aid as they thought proportioned to his neceſſities, by the help of which he was enabled to raiſe a powerful army, in the mean time: but for ſome reaſons, inſtead of heading it in perſon, he gave the command to his brother Richard, duke of Gloceſter, with whom he joined Alexander, duke of Albany, younger brother to James III. whom he had engaged to aſſume the title of king of Scotland, and concluded with him a moſt infamous contract to depoſe his brother and uſurp his throne. A private treaty was alſo made between them, in which Alexander promiſed to do homage to Edward for his crown: he then engaged to break the ancient alliance between France and Scotland, and aſſociate with Edward againſt Lewis; to ſurrender Berwick to England; to eſpouſe Edward's daughter Cecily, already affianced to the prince of Scotland, provided he could get rid of his preſent wife, according to the laws of the church; or, ſhould that be found impracticable, to match his ſon with ſome princeſs of the royal family of England †.

This treaty being ratified, the duke of Gloceſter, accompanied by the duke of Albany, began his march for Scotland, about the latter end of May, and arrived at Alnwick in the beginning of July. The number of men in this army, with their chief commanders, are thus handed down to us by three of our old Engliſh hiſtorians ‡: the firſt column was led by Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland, under whom ſerved the lord Scroop of Bolton, ſir John Dukfield, and other perſons of diſtinction, with ſix thouſand ſeven hundred common men: the ſecond column was commanded by the dukes of Gloceſter and Albany, having under them the lords Lovel, and Greyſtock, ſir Edward Woodville, and others, with five thouſand eight hundred men: the lord Neville brought up the rear with three thouſand. Theſe three columns, which were all foot, were accompanied by two great bodies of horſe, to act as wings; the right of which was commanded by the lord Stanley, and conſiſted of four thouſand men of Lancaſhire and Cheſhire; and the left wing was led by the lord Fitz Hugh, aſſiſted by ſir William Parr and ſir James Harrington, conſiſting of two thouſand men; while a thouſand were appointed to guard and attend the ordnance. Beſides all theſe land forces, a fleet was likewiſe fitted out, under Robert Radcliffe, which was to tranſport the heavieſt of the artillery, and attend the motions of the army. In this order they marched, and formed the ſiege of Berwick, the town of which preſently ſurrendered, though the caſtle prepared for a vigorous defence: but the duke of Gloceſter having advice that the Scottiſh nobility, who generally hated James, had riſen on their march, murdered three of that prince's chief favourites, and afterwards diſbanded their troops, and that James himſelf had taken refuge in Edinburgh caſtle, he left the ſiege of the caſtle of Berwick to be carried on by the lord Stanley, ſir John Elrington, and ſir William Parr, with four thouſand men, and ſet out with the reſt of the army towards Edinburgh, waſting the country as they advanced; and as James was in no condition to make head againſt him, they entered Edinburgh in triumph. The duke of Gloceſter, unwilling to come to extremities, deſired a conference with the nobility at Haddington, a town between Edinburgh and Berwick; when, after ſome altercation on both ſides, it was agreed that the citizens of Edinburgh ſhould give ſecurity for the repayment of the ſums Edward had advanced as the fortune of his daughter Cicely with the eldeſt ſon of Scotland, in caſe that match ſhould miſcarry; that the caſtle of Berwick ſhould belong to the Engliſh; that the duke of Albany ſhould be appointed regent of Scotland, that duke promiſing to acknowlege James as his ſovereign; and the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, the biſhop of Dunkeld, the chancellor, and the earl of Argyll, obliging themſelves to procure a free pardon and ſafety for the duke's own perſon, and indemnification to his followers ‖. This agreement being ratified, the duke of Albany, to his great mortification, found himſelf obliged to lay aſide his late aſſumed title of king, and do homage anew to his brother James. That prince, however, could not forgive him the part he had acted, and reſolved to ſeize the firſt opportunity of being revenged: the duke, apprized of his intention, ſoon after retired to the caſtle of Dunbar, which he ſurrendered to the Engliſh, after having renewed

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 141, 142.
† Ibid. p. 154, 156.
‡ Hall, Stowe, Hollingſhed.
‖ Rymer, vol. xii. p. 160—168.

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his former treaty with Edward; but, upon that king's death, deſpairing of ſuccour from England, he repaired to the court of Lewis XI. where he was accidentally killed by a ſplinter of a lance, in a tournament with the duke of Orleans, afterwards Lewis XII.

The war with Scotland being thus terminated, though in a manner far from honourable or advantageous to Edward or his kingdom, the king then devoted his whole attention towards the proſecution of the revenge he had vowed againſt Lewis: but, as he was buſied in making preparations for this purpoſe, death put an end to his life and projects, on the ninth of April, 1483, in the forty-firſt year of his age, and twenty third of his reign. Some writers will have it, that he was carried off by a ſevere fit of a quartan ague; but it is moſt probable that his intemperance and incontinency had broke his conſtitution, and that an ill habit of body, contracted by exceſſes, terminated his life without any particular viſible diſtemper.

The hiſtory of this prince's reign, and what has been already ſaid of his perſon, his manners, and his political connections, leave little more to be added to his public or private character: we ſhall only obſerve, that ſome writers have ſhewn an unpardonable impartiality between this king and his brother the duke of Gloceſter, afterwards Richard III. and in the character they have given of them, have, at the expence of truth, blanched the memory of Edward, in order to blacken that of Richard. Certain it is, that Edward poſſeſſed many amiable qualifications; but they were all diſgraced by a daſtardly jealouſy, which made him ſeek to drown every riſing apprehenſion in torrents of blood, no matter how noble, or nearly allied to his own; and he could teach his face to wear the bewitching ſmile of affability, while his breaſt meditated perjury, revenge, and murder. But we ſhall forbear enlarging upon this ſubject, and proceed to cloſe the hiſtory of the fourth Edward with an account of his iſſue.

Edward his eldeſt ſon, and Richard duke of York, were all the male lawful iſſue that out-lived him; his ſon George, who was born at Shrewſbury, and created duke of Bedford, dying in his cradle.

His daughters were,

1. Elizabeth, born at Weſtminſter on the eleventh of February, 1466; promiſed in marriage to the dauphin of France; courted by her uncle Richard; and at laſt married to Henry VII.

2. Cicely, who had been betrothed to the prince of Scotland, but afterwards married to the lord Wells, and had iſſue two daughters, both of whom died childleſs. The ſecond huſband of this Cicely was one Kyme, of Lincolnſhire, by whom ſhe had no children. Her body lies buried in Quarenna, in the Iſle of Wight.

3. Anne of York, ducheſs of Norfolk, third daughter of Edward IV. was eſpouſed to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, earl-marſhal and lord-treaſurer of England, by whom ſhe had a ſon, named Thomas Howard, who died young.

4. Bridget of York, his fourth daughter, was born at Eltham, in Kent, on St. Martin's eve, the tenth of November, 1480, in the twentieth year of his reign.

5. Mary of York, fifth daughter, was promiſed in marriage to the king of Denmark, but died before the conſummation thereof, at Greenwich, on the Thurſday before Whit-ſunday, 1482.

6. Margaret of York, ſixth daughter of Edward IV. was born the nineteenth of April, 1472, and died the eleventh of December following, and was buried in Weſtminſter abbey, in the king's chapel.

7. Catherine of York, who was married to William Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, and died the fifteenth of November, 1527, leaving iſſue one ſon, Henry Courtney.

His natural children, mentioned by writers, were,

1. Arthur Plantagenet, viſcount Liſle, begotten on Elizabeth Lucy. And,

2. Elizabeth Plantagenet, married to Thomas, lord Lumley.

They ſeem, from the name of Plantagenet, to have been owned by their father. But, beſides theſe, there was another, called,

3. Elizabeth (by Catherine, daughter of ſir Robert Clavenger, and widow of Thomas Petit), who was married to John ap William, ſerjeant at arms, and reduced at laſt to ſuch poverty, that Glover, Somerſet herald, who knew her, ſays ſhe was forced to ſue for relief.

There is ſtill another mentioned in a MS. of Thomas Wriotheſley, Garter king at arms, called Iſabel Mylbery, ſaid to be married to John Audley, eſq. brother to the lord Audley.

Remarkable Occurrences.

In the ſeventh year of this king's reign the people had an extravagant way of adorning their feet; they wore the beaks or piques of their ſhoes ſo long, that they encumbered them in walking, and were forced to tye them up to their knees; the fine gentlemen did it with chains of ſilver or ſilver gilt, and others with ſilk laces. This ridiculous faſhion was in vogue ever ſince the year 1382; but now it was prohibited on the forfeiture of twenty ſhillings, and pain of curſing by the clergy. The ſame year the king concluded a league with the king of Caſtile and Arragon, by which he allowed certain Cotſwold ſheep to be tranſported into Spain, where the breed ſo increaſed that their fine wool has ſince proved very detrimental to England.

In the eleventh year of his reign, 1471, William Caxton, a mercer of London, a lover of letters, and author of the Chronicle called Fractus Temporum, brought the art of printing into England, and practiſed it firſt in Weſtminſter abbey.

In his ſeventeenth year there was ſo dreadful a plague, that hiſtorians relate more people were deſtroyed by it than by fifteen years war before.

In his nineteenth year, Robert Byfield, one of the ſheriffs of London, was fined fifty pounds by the court of aldermen for affronting the lord mayor; which it ſeems was only kneeling too near him at prayers, at St. Paul's church.

In the year 1483, the laſt of this reign, was born Thomas Parr, a Shropſhire man, noted for his extraordinary great age. He lived till the year 1635, being then brought up to London by the earl of Arundel, as a great rarity; when he died, after having lived in the reigns of ten kings and queens, and to the age of one hundred and fifty-two years.

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History of England.

S. Wale delin.

C. Grignion sculp.

EDWARD. V.

EDWARD V. The ſecond King of ENGLAND of the Line of YORK. A. D. 1483.

EDWARD IV. was ſucceeded on the throne by his eldeſt ſon, of the ſame name, who was proclaimed the very day of his father's deceaſe, in London, by the name of Edward V. being then only twelve years, five months, and ſome days old. Before we enter into the hiſtory of this reign, in which the meaſure of England's guilt was full, it will be neceſſary to ſhew the ſtate of the court of England at the death of Edward IV.

Elizabeth Woodville (or Grey), who from a ſubject was raiſed to the dignity of queen, held the firſt rank at court, as well by the privileges common to all queens, as by her great credit. Edward, notwithſtanding his libertiniſm, could never get rid of that weakneſs for her perſon which firſt ſubdued him into marriage; hence, during his life-time, ſhe had prevailed on him to laviſh honours and preferments on all her relations; and hence, at his death, ſhe, by the ſame influence, got him to leave her and her family in actual poſſeſſion of all the executive power of the kingdom; nor do we find that either the duke of Gloceſter, or any of the old nobility, had any ſhare in the public councils.

It is natural to ſuppoſe that this diſpoſition of affairs ſat very uneaſy upon the latter, and that they could not look upon the queen and her family with any friendly eye: they had ſhewn it before Edward's death, by retiring from court. The principal members of this party, beſides the duke of Gloceſter, were Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham; William, lord Haſtings; and Thomas, lord Stanley. The firſt of theſe was ſprung from a daughter of Thomas of Woodſtock, duke of Gloceſter, and ſon of Edward III. and enjoyed the office of high-conſtable; the lord Haſtings was high-chamberlain, and poſſeſſed a large ſhare of the king's confidence, on account of the many eminent ſervices he had done him; and the lord Stanley was the repreſentative of an ancient family. Edward had not been able, during his life-time, to moderate the animoſity of the two rival parties; but fearing that, after his deceaſe, they would come to an open rupture, he on his death-bed, earneſtly recommended a reconciliation, to which they in appearance readily agreed: the queen undertook for her brother Rivers, who was abſent, and her eldeſt ſon, the marquis of Dorſet, embraced the duke of Buckingham and the lord Haſtings, in the preſence of the dying king, with all the marks of the moſt cordial affection. The duke of Gloceſter, who was then in the North, on the affairs of the kingdom, was not preſent at this ceremony, which bade fair to ruin his deep-laid ſchemes of uſurpation, had not an inward animoſity ſtill remained between the parties.

This ſhewed itſelf almoſt as ſoon as the breath was departed from Edward's body; they forgot their mutual engagements, and each party endeavoured to gain the aſcendant over the other by ſecuring the perſon of the young king, whoſe name might ſerve to authorize all their proceedings.

Young Edward, at the time of his father's deceaſe, was keeping his court at Ludlow caſtle, in Shropſhire, under the tuition of Anthony Woodville, earl Rivers, his mother's brother, who had been appointed his governor; his uterine brother, ſir Richard Grey, poſſeſſed another very conſiderable place about his perſon; ſir Thomas Vaughan was his chamberlain, and all the other places in his houſhold were filled with the queen's creatures.

Upon the death of her huſband, ſhe diſpatched an expreſs to her brother, earl Rivers, to bring the young king up to London, attended by a large body of troops, in order to his coronation, which was fixed for the fourth of May. The intent of the queen and her party in this, was to have a ſufficient force at hand to over-awe their enemies, in caſe they ſhould attempt to obſtruct them in the full government of all affairs during the king's nonage.

On the other ſide, the duke of Buckingham and the lord Haſtings ſent an expreſs to the duke of Gloceſter, acquainting him with the king's death, and the queen's meaſures, preſſing him either to come immediately to town and take on him the protectorſhip, or to take Ludlow in his way, and aſſume the guardianſhip of the king's perſon. The duke of Gloceſter, during the life time of Edward IV. had been greatly embarraſſed between the two parties at court: he knew the only way to pleaſe the king was to affect a complaiſance for the queen; but, on the other hand, as he ſaw the aim of the latter was to engroſs the government, and her haughty treatment of the old nobility, he could not be attached to her without forfeiting the affections of the ancient families, of which he might one day ſtand in need. As he was naturally a great diſſembler, he reſolved to make his court publicly to the queen, but in private he joined with the duke of Buckingham, the lord Haſtings, and their party. On receiving the letters of the above noblemen, he ſent to deſire they would meet him at Northampton, in order to a conference: thither they accordingly repaired, with a great number of their vaſſals, and there, in a long and laboured harangue, they repreſented to Gloceſter the danger to which both himſelf and they would be expoſed, ſhould the queen continue to manage the reins of government; and concluded with deſiring him to get the king out of the hands of Rivers, and take the helm of ſtate into his own management. Richard required not much entreaty to gratify the favourite purpoſe of his ſoul; however, finding that Rivers had got the ſtart of him in point of ſtrength, he had recourſe to policy and diſſimulation: he cauſed his nephew to be proclaimed at York, and, taking the oath of allegiance to him, he obliged all the magiſtrates, with the nobility and gentry of the county, to follow his example: he wrote a letter of condolence to the queen, ſo full of deference, ſubmiſſion, and kindneſs, that Elizabeth, who knew little of men or things, fondly imagined that ſhe ſhould find as much obſequiouſneſs from the firſt prince of the blood, who alone could rival her in the government of her ſon, as ſhe had found from her late huſband.

In the mean time Haſtings returned to London, where he was very popular, and, coming to the council, preſented letters from the duke of Gloceſter, wherein, under pretence of keeping the peace of the nation, he adviſed them to prevail on the queen to countermand her late order to her brother Rivers, and that the number of troops deſtined to attend the young king to London, might not exceed two thouſand; "for (alledged the artful duke) the raiſing forces for the defence of the king, at a time when there is not the leaſt appearance of danger, may revive former jealouſies and ſuſpicions, and finally involve the kingdom in civil war and confuſion." The queen, very imprudently, followed the advice, of which ſhe perceived not the venom, and ſent orders to her brother Rivers to diſband his forces; with which he was the more readily induced to comply, as the crafty Gloceſter had taken care to write to him in much the ſame ſtyle as he had to the queen; his letters were filled with aſſurances of friendſhip to him, and with thoſe ſolemn profeſſions of duty and obedience to the king, which he affected to make upon all occaſions, and in all public places. Rivers was completely duped on this occaſion; he was weak enough to believe all that was wrote to him: diſmiſſing therefore his forces, he ſet forth with the young king and his ordinary attendants, and even ſuffered himſelf to be trepanned into fellowſhip, feaſting, and even familiarity with the dukes of Gloceſter and Buckingham at Northampton. It was ſo contrived that young Edward lay that night at Stoney Stratford; and as earl Rivers, with Buckingham and Gloceſter, were going thither the next morning, when they came almoſt to the entrance of the town, the earl and ſir Richard Grey, who had come forth from the king to meet them, were both ſeized; and Gloceſter haſtening to the houſe where the king lodged, took him into his own cuſtody, and ſecured his principal officers and attendants. It was in vain for the young monarch by his tears and intreaties to intercede for perſons ſo near to him in blood, ſo dear to his tender years; though no act of exterior reſpect, reverence, and tenderneſs were omitted by Gloceſter towards the king, yet he lent a deaf ear to his requeſt, and Edward was carried back to Northampton, while Rivers, Grey, and ſir Thomas Vaughan, were ſent priſoners to Pontefract caſtle.

The queen was no ſooner apprized of theſe proceedings, than ſhe at once conceived the whole deſign of the duke of Gloceſter, and, conſidering her brother and two ſons as totally loſt, fled for refuge in the middle of the night to the abbey of Weſtminſter, accompanied by the duke of York, who was about nine years of age, the marquis of Dorſet, and the reſt of her family. The lord Haſtings, then at London, though he hated the queen and her relations, had yet a ſincere affection for his late maſter, Edward IV. and was unalterably devoted to the young king and his brother: he had been in the ſecret of Gloceſter's taking Edward out of the hands of the earl of Rivers; and, as he had an high opinion of Gloceſter's virtue and loyalty, received the news of their deſign having taken effect with great pleaſure; he even wrote to Rotheram, archbiſhop of York, then lord-chancellor of England, deſiring him not to be alarmed at what had happened, as it would all turn out for the good of the nation: and making uſe of his popularity with the city of London, which began to ſhew ſome tumultuous inclinations upon hearing of their ſovereign being forcibly taken from his friends and relations, he took upon himſelf to anſwer for the duke of Gloceſter's conduct and loyalty: this pacified the majority of the people; and Gloceſter coming to London on the fourth of May, with the king, he carried him to the biſhop's palace, where he was attended by the lord-mayor, the magiſtracy, and a great number of lords. Gloceſter, on this occaſion, rode bare-headed before his royal nephew, bowing on each ſide popularly low, and ever and anon crying out to the gaping crowd, "Behold your king! behold your king!" This management, and the king's being lodged among the citizens, entirely removed the ſcruples they had began to entertain againſt Gloceſter, on account of the affair at Northampton.

The rejoicings for the king's ſafe arrival being over, it was neceſſary to ſettle the government during his minority, which was to laſt ſeven years. The great-ſeal was taken from the archbiſhop of York, and delivered to John Ruſſel, biſhop of Lincoln: the former of theſe prelates had given Gloceſter a very plauſible pretence to remove him; for when the queen fled to ſanctuary, he haſted thither before day-light, to give her all the conſolation in his power, and had even aſſured her, that if any ill fortune ſhould befal the king, he would immediately crown the duke of York, his brother; and, as an earneſt of his ſincerity and affection to his former maſter's family, he had left in her cuſtody the great-ſeal of England; he had, indeed, ſent for it again next morning, but this could not excuſe him in the eyes of the faction.

Gloceſter, finding no one dare to oppoſe his will, was, on the twenty-ſeventh of May, declared protector and defender of the kingdom. All theſe ſteps were very agreeable both to the ancient nobility and the common people, as well on account of their general hatred to the queen's family, as that the duke of Gloceſter was the only prince of the blood capable of holding the reins of government, and he had carefully concealed his true deſign from the eye of the world; but knowing that theſe could be but half completed, unleſs he could get the duke of York in his power as well as the king, ſince were the latter removed, the other muſt ſtand in his place, Richard therefore, in an artful ſpeech, addreſſed to the council, grievouſly complained of the diſtruſtful conduct of the queen, which, he ſaid, "reflected diſhonour on all the lords of the council, and would make foreigners expect to ſee troubles break out in the realm, when the king's brother ſhould ſeem under a neceſſity of taking refuge like a common felon in a ſanctuary, and that the king ſhould not be attended on his coronation-day (which he declared to be fixed for the twenty-ſecond of June) by his only brother:" in ſhort, he wrought ſo much upon the council by his plauſible arguments, or rather the members were by this time ſo moulded to his purpoſe, that the greater part concurred in his ſentiments, and it was now propoſed to take the young duke away from his aſylum by force. Here Gloceſter had a freſh opportunity of playing off his artillery of diſſimulation: he objected to the leaſt appearance of violence being uſed towards the young prince, and recommended that the archbiſhop of Canterbury might be ſent, at the head of a deputation from the lords, to make the queen ſenſible of the impropriety

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The Queen Dowager of King Edward 4th parting with the Duke of York.

To his Grace
Duke of
This Plate is most

Thomas Osborne
Leeds,
humbly Inscribed

propriety of her conduct, and to requeſt that ſhe would deliver up the duke, "as the place he was then in was not only a ſcandalous ſhelter, but dangerous to his health, and very afflicting to the king, who pined for want of his brother's company *."

The deputation waiting upon the queen, a long conference paſſed between them, the reſult of which was, that Elizabeth, ſeeing, in caſe of her obſtinate refuſal, that ſhe ſhould be obliged to do that by force, which was now only reſpectfully deſired of her, and the archbiſhop pledging his ſacerdotal word that the duke of Gloceſter did not entertain the leaſt deſign injurious to the royal family (as indeed the good prelate truly thought), ſhe ſuddenly caught the young prince in her arms, and, taking a moſt affecting farewel of him, delivered his perſon to the lords of the deputation, by whom he was inſtantly carried to his uncle Gloceſter, then waiting for the event of the conference in the Star-chamber, who received the royal youth with diſſembled affection, ſaying, "Now welcome, my lord, even with all my heart." Then taking the child in his arms, he introduced him to the king his brother. This was done on the thirtieth of May, and the protector having now both the princes in his power, he removed them from the biſhop of London's palace to the Tower. This ſtep occaſioned the leſs ſuſpicion, as it was the conſtant practice for the kings of England to paſs ſome time there before their coronation, from whence they always went in cavalcade to Weſtminſter to go through that ceremony.

Now Gloceſter was drawing near the ſummit of his wiſhes: maſter of the perſons of the king and his next heir, all he required to crown his ambition was to get ſome of the leading perſons among the old nobility to favour and abet his views. Buckingham he had already made ſure of, by promiſing him the earldom of Hereford, which he claimed by a family-right; by his ſettling in his family the office of high-conſtable of England, and by laviſhing other gifts and preferments upon him even beyond the extent of his wiſhes: add to this, that he knew Buckingham mortally hated the queen and her family, becauſe it was through their means that the late king had refuſed to give him poſſeſſion of the Hereford title and eſtate. The lord John Howard was actuated by the ſame principles as Buckingham; a ſettled hatred to the Woodville family, by whom he had been diſobliged: of the lords Stanley and Haſtings, between whom there was a great intimacy, he was not yet ſo ſure, and therefore it behoved him to come at their ſentiments, thoſe of Haſtings in particular, as the leaſt miſtake might be fatal to his enterprize.

The protector would gladly have won over the lord Haſtings to his intereſt, both on account of that nobleman's great credit with the people, and a perſonal friendſhip he had for him; but finding by ſir William Cateſby, a tool, whom he had employed to ſound him, how inflexibly Haſtings was attached to his deceaſed maſter's family, and conſidering how eaſily his intereſt, with that of the lord Stanley, might diſconcert all his ſchemes, if once they had ſure grounds for believing he aimed at poſſeſſing himſelf of the crown, he reſolved upon the deſtruction of both thoſe lords. In the mean time, to amuſe thoſe he had the moſt reaſon to apprehend, Richard artfully named a committee to ſettle the form, manner, and pretenſions at the approaching coronation. This committee conſiſted of the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, Morton, biſhop of Ely, the lords Haſtings, Stanley, and others. Thus buſineſs enough was found for them to blind their vigilance, and give Gloceſter full ſcope for completing his treaſon; who, continuing his diſſimulation, iſſued out writs, on the fifth of June, to upwards of fifty noblemen and gentlemen, ſummoning them to take the degree of knighthood at the approaching coronation; and, between that and the thirteenth, ſuch pageants and preparations were made as inclined even the moſt diſtruſtful at laſt to believe that the protector was in earneſt; but the deceitfulneſs of theſe appearances ſoon became manifeſt.

The duke of Gloceſter, deſirous to rid his hands of the priſoners at Pontefract, as their death would deprive the royal family of their chief ſupport, now ſigned a warrant for the execution of the earl Rivers, ſir Richard Grey, and ſir Thomas Vaughan. The lord Haſtings had but too great a ſhare in this ſanguinary meaſure: the queen and her family had done him many ill offices with the late king, and were once very near worming him out of the royal favour; on this account he hated them mortally, and dreaded nothing ſo much as their getting again into power; but by concurring with the protector in their deſtruction, he unhappily furniſhed a precedent for his own.

Richard, as we have already obſerved, had taken a reſolution to remove him, if he could not be gained over to his intereſts; but he was ſtill willing to have him his friend if poſſible: he therefore commanded Cateſby to try him once more, and even to hint the ſcheme that was laid for the excluſion of his nephews. Cateſby, in this ſecond conference, found Haſtings more reſolved than ever to oppoſe any attempt that ſhould be made againſt the rights or lives of his maſter's children; which being reported to Richard, he determined to get rid of him without delay.

This reſolution being taken, he called a council at the Tower on the thirteenth of June, under colour of finiſhing the affair of the king's coronation: he came himſelf at nine o'clock in the morning, and his behaviour was remarkably affable and good-humoured; after a ſhort ſtay he went out, deſiring the lords of the council to continue their deliberations in his abſence. In about an hour after his departure, he returned with a furious aſpect, knitting his brows, biting his lips, and exhibiting all the marks of the moſt violent indignation: after a ſhort pauſe, "My lords (ſaid he), what puniſhment do thoſe deſerve who have plotted againſt my life?" He then proceeded in a long ſpeech to accuſe the queen and her adherents of having practiſed upon his health and life by necromancy, a pretence common enough in thoſe days, when men in power wanted to get rid of their enemies; and, to confirm the truth of his allegation, he bared his left arm, which was withered, and ſhewed it to the council, who all ſtared upon each other, as they knew his arm had always been in that ſhrivelled condition. The lord Haſtings was the firſt who broke ſilence, incenſed at this infamous piece of deceit in a man he had once ſo good an opinion of:

* Sir Thomas Moore.

"If

"If, my lord (ſaid that nobleman), they have been guilty of ſuch practices—" "How! (cried the protector, interrupting him in a fury), doſt thou anſwer with Ifs and Ands, as if I had forged the accuſation? I tell thee, they have conſpired againſt my life, and thou thyſelf art one of their accomplices!" ſo ſaying, he ſtruck the table with his hand, and immediately a number of armed men ruſhed into the council-chamber, and, at the protector's command, ſeized Haſtings and Stanley, with Rotheram, archbiſhop of York, and Morton, biſhop of Ely; the three laſt of whom were conducted to priſon; but the firſt, being allowed only half an hour for confeſſing to the firſt prieſt that offered, had his head chopped off on a log of timber, which was found on the green before the Tower chapel. His execution happened, as near as could be judged, about the very hour when the queen's unfortunate relations and friends were, by his advice, ſuffering the ſame fate at Pontefract caſtle.

Gloceſter being apprehenſive that the death of ſo diſtinguiſhed a nobleman and ſo very popular as Haſtings was, might, from the illegal and ſudden manner of it, occaſion a tumult in the city; to prevent it, ſent for the mayor and chief citizens, to acquaint them with the reaſons of the proceeding: they found him and his confident, Buckingham, caſed up in ruſty armour, haſtily put on over their cloaths, and affecting to be under the terror of an immediate inſurrection; the protector, taking the word, told them, "that the lord Haſtings, and ſome others, had formed a conſpiracy for killing them both that day in the council; that they had no certain information of it till ten o'clock in the morning, and had no time to provide for their defence, or to put on any armour but what came next to hand: that the ſuddenneſs of the execution, without a legal trial, was owing to the imminent danger of an inſurrection to reſcue him; and his guilt being evident, it was thought proper to inflict the deſerved puniſhment of his crimes immediately, to ſecure the peace of the nation:" he concluded with telling the mayor and his brethren, "that he had ſent for them to be witneſſes of the truth, that they might acquaint the people, and prevent or appeaſe the commotions which ill affected perſons might endeavour to excite in the city."

The mayor, Edmund Shaw, was a mere creature of the protector's, and of courſe was eaſily ſatisfied with any apology; and cauſing a proclamation to be made in the city, to the ſame effect as the ſpeech that had been addreſſed to him, interſperſed with many falſe and malicious aſperſions on the character of Haſtings, matters were ſo ordered, that no diſturbance enſued; and the next day ſir Richard Radcliffe, a creature of Gloceſter's, arriving in town with a body of troops from Yorkſhire, and others that Buckingham had ſent for from Wales, all apprehenſions of a forcible oppoſition vaniſhed, and Gloceſter now began to be leſs reſerved in declaring his purpoſe of dethroning his nephew. In the mean time, to give the more colour to his proceedings, he ordered the ſheriffs of London to arreſt Mrs. Jane Shore, who had been the favourite miſtreſs of the deceaſed Edward IV. and had, after his death, continued her unlawful commerce with the lord Haſtings. This lady too was charged with treaſon and witchcraft, and having conſpired, in concert with the laſt-mentioned nobleman, againſt the life of the protector; but not being able to fix either of thoſe charges upon her, ſhe was condemned to do penance through the ſtreets of London for incontinence, and it was by proclamation ordered that no one ſhould preſume to accommodate her with lodging, or even food. Notwithſtanding this ſeverity ſhe found ſupport, and was alive in the reign of Henry VIII. when ſir Thomas Moore, the hiſtorian knew her; but ſhe was then without any remains of her former beauty, for which ſhe had been ſo much renowned.

Theſe proceedings of the protector rather loſt than gained him the affection of the Londoners, who began to think the accuſation againſt Haſtings and the reſt of his friends was all a forgery, calculated to ſerve the worſt purpoſes. Gloceſter was therefore put to his laſt expedient, which was to endeavour to eſtabliſh a belief of the baſtardy of the of the young king and his brother. Pretences are never wanting on ſuch occaſions, and they were now furniſhed by the late king's inordinate paſſion for the fair ſex; it was ſaid that the late king Edward had promiſed marriage to ſeveral of his miſtreſſes, and that he had been actually joined in wedlock to the lady Eleanor Talbot, widow of ſir John Boteler, by which means all the poſterity of Edward's marriage with the lady Elizabeth Grey, the preſent queen dowager, became illegitimate. This ſtory was given to Dr. Ralph Shaw, the mayor's brother, an eminent preacher of thoſe days, to handle in ſuch a manner as ſhould be moſt likely to prepare the minds of the people for approving Richard's title to the crown. Shaw accordingly mounting the pulpit, on Sunday the twenty-ſecond of June, at St. Paul's croſs, preached a ſermon from theſe words, "Baſtard ſlips ſhall take no deep root," (Wiſd. of Solomon, chap. iv.) and after ſetting forth as above repreſented, he expatiated on the bleſſings which God uſually beſtowed on the fruits of the marriage-bed, and the calamities which on the contrary fell upon the children born out of wedlock. He ſupported his argument with a number of examples, as well from ſacred as prophane hiſtory: he then warmly aſſerted Richard's right to the crown, running into a thouſand exceſſive and ridiculous encomiums upon the perſon of the protector, who he ſaid carried in his air, his countenance, his diſpoſition, and in his whole behaviour, the expreſs image of his illuſtrious father, Richard, the late duke of York.

It was ſo contrived, that at the moment when his fulſome periods were cloſed, the protector and the duke of Buckingham came into the congregation, expecting no doubt peals of applauſe, and that the people would ſhout, God ſave king Richard! but they were diſappointed; the people hung their heads in ſullen ſilence, equally enraged at the impudence and the venality of the preacher, who loſt all his popularity by this ſhameful proſtitution of his talent.

The protector and his cabal finding the little impreſſion this ſermon had made on the audience, it was determined by them, that, on the Tueſday following, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, ſhould be aſſembled at Guildhall, whither the duke of Buckingham was to repair, and in direct terms to propoſe Richard to be king. Buckingham was univerſally eſteemed the fineſt ſpeaker of his age and country, and he exerted every nerve of elocution to carry his point; but when he had cloſed his oration, and waited for the

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S. Wale delin.t

C. Grignion sculp.t

RICHARD III.

the cry of King Richard! ſo ſullen a ſilence enſued, that even the ſet of hirelings who had been planted to begin the cry, durſt not venture to open their venal throats. The duke, vexed to the ſoul at the ſtubbornneſs of the people, could not forbear hinting his diſappointment to the mayor, who, not knowing what elſe to ſay, anſwered, that perhaps the people were ſilent becauſe they uſed to be harangued only by the recorder, who was the mouth of the city; upon this he commanded that officer (Thomas Fitz Williams) to ſpeak to the people. He accordingly repeated the ſubſtance of the duke's harangue, but ſtill without effect. Upon this the duke, addreſſing himſelf again to the aſſembly, told them in plain terms, "that the lords in council, and the commons of the kingdom, had reſolved that no baſtard ſhould ever reign over them, and that the election of Richard was a thing reſolved on, whether they gave their concurrence or not; however, he deſired they would give their opinion, and anſwer whether they would have the protector for their king." This ſpeech, which was in the ſtyle of a menace, cauſed a general murmur through the crowd, when ſome of the duke's creatures, at the lower end of the hall, throwing up their caps, ſhouted, Long live king Richard! This acclamation was ſeconded by a few of the citizens, who had been previouſly bribed for the purpoſe, and re-echoed by the rabble and apprentices who ſtood without the gate. This the duke pretended to call an univerſal aſſent, and ordered the mayor, aldermen, and chief citizens to attend the next day at Croſby Place, where the protector reſided, to join with the lords and commons in an addreſs, that his highneſs would be pleaſed to aſcend the throne and manage the reins of government.

Richard and his junto had previouſly drawn up an act of ſucceſſion to the crown, which he got ſigned by ſeveral lords ſpiritual and temporal, and ſome principal men among the commons: this roll was the next day preſented to him in form, as from the three eſtates of the kingdom; the lord-mayor and aldermen, being introduced by the duke of Buckingham and other noblemen, joined their endeavours to perſuade him to accept of the crown. This matter was carried on with amazing grimace: the modeſt and loyal Richard pretended to be greatly ſurprized at the propoſal, which he abſolutely rejected, declaring that he loved his brother's children better than all the crowns upon earth. In this ſtrain he went on, till Buckingham, with a well-counterfeited reſentment at his obſtinacy, roundly told him, "that the people were firmly determined that none of Edward's children ſhould enjoy the throne of England; and that, if he refuſed to accept the crown, they muſt caſt their eyes on ſome other perſon." In this Buckingham ſeems to have copied after Mortimer and his faction, when they depoſed Edward II. and raiſed his ſon, Edward III. prematurely to the throne.

Richard affecting to be greatly moved with this ſolemn declaration, yielded with hypocritical reluctance to their deſires; and going, the day following, to Weſtminſter Hall, he placed himſelf in the royal ſeat, made an harangue to the audience, and gave the judges a ſtrict charge for the due adminiſtration of juſtice. He was the next morning, June 27, proclaimed king in London, and gave the great-ſeal to John Ruſſel, biſhop of Lincoln, declaring him chancellor: from that day all acts of royalty paſſed in Richard's name, and we muſt therefore here cloſe the ſhort reign of Edward V.

RICHARD III. commonly called CROOKBACK. The third King of ENGLAND of the Houſe of YORK, and laſt of the Race of PLANTAGENET. A. D. 1483.

THE firſt care of Richard, after his getting poſſeſſion of the regal power, was to reward thoſe who had aſſiſted him in his treaſonable attempt, and to gain others over to his intereſt by acts of munificence. The lord Howard, one of his chief favourites, was ſon to the daughter and coheireſs of Mowbray, duke of Norfolk and hereditary earl-marſhal of England; the Mowbray family being extinct in the male line by the death of John the late duke, Richard, the young duke of York, ſecond ſon to the deceaſed king Edward IV. had been married to his only daughter and heireſs *, and was made duke of Norfolk and earl-marſhal of England: but on this occaſion the uſurper Richard, by the plenitude of his power, without regarding the infant duke's rights, on the twenty-eighth of June, created the lord Howard duke of Norfolk, and appointed him earl-marſhal of England and high-conſtable, to act as ſuch for his coronation. This promotion was followed by ſeveral others: the duke of Norfolk's eldeſt ſon, Thomas Howard, was made earl of Surry and Warren; William Barclay (or Berkeley) was made earl of Nottingham (a title which had likewiſe been conferred by the late Edward upon his ſon the duke of York); the lord Lovel was made viſcount of that name; Thomas Rotheram, archbiſhop of York, was releaſed from priſon; and the lord Stanley was not only ſet at liberty, but even appointed ſteward of the houſhold, and made a knight of the Garter: this laſt promotion, however, ſeems to have been the effect of fear rather than of favour; for the lord Strange, Stanley's ſon, had began to raiſe forces in Lincolnſhire, and Richard thought this the moſt likely means of preventing the danger of a rebellion from that quarter.

But the flood-tide of his bounty was directed towards the duke of Buckingham, who ſo eſſentially ſerved him on the late occaſion: this nobleman received vaſt ſums of money from him by way of preſent, and was conſtituted governor of all the royal caſtles in Wales, and ſteward of all the royal

* See p. 117, of this volume.

manors in the counties of Salop and Hereford, and chamberlain of North and South Wales; and, beſides other poſts of profit and power, was made conſtable of England; he was likewiſe put in poſſeſſion of all the lands which he claimed as the next heir in blood to Humphrey de Bohun, laſt earl of Hereford.

The coronation of Richard and his conſort, Anne (daughter of Richard, earl of Warwick), was performed in Weſtminſter abbey, on the ſeventh of July, with the greateſt magnificence; the queen's train was borne up by Margaret, counteſs of Richmond, wife of lord Stanley and mother to the earl of Richmond, then in exile in Brittany. To give this ceremony a greater luſtre, ſeventeen knights of the Bath were made: in ſhort, no circumſtance of pomp or pageantry was omitted; as if the addition of theſe could ſupply the defect of right!

Richard, after his coronation, began to think of ſecuring himſelf on the throne, to which he had mounted by ſuch a ſeries of treachery and diſſimulation; and that he might ſtrengthen his power with foreign alliances, and prevent his enemies from receiving any aſſiſtance abroad, he, on the twelfth of July, appointed Bernard de la Force his ambaſſador to the court of Caſtile, with orders to renew the ancient alliance between that crown and England. The next day he gave the like commiſſion to Thomas Hutton, to treat of the prolongation of the truce with Francis II. duke of Brittany*; probably Hutton had ſecret inſtructions to endeavour to procure the earl of Richmond to be given up, or at leaſt to renew the treaty upon that ſubject between Edward IV. and Francis. On the ſixteenth of July Dr. Gunthorpe was made keeper of the privy-ſeal; and two days afterwards Richard appointed commiſſioners to treat with the court of France concerning ſome breaches of the truce, in order to have occaſion to confirm it. Lewis XI. of France was now drawing near his laſt moments, but ſtill retained his old maxims; the infirmities under which he laboured gave him a ſpecious pretence for ſhifting off any perſonal connections with the uſurper, nor does it appear that he ever entered into any connections with him. The duke of Brittany, though ready to renew the alliance with the crown of England, could not be prevailed on to violate the rights of hoſpitality, by giving up young Henry of Richmond; but the league with Caſtile (now governed by queen Iſabella and Ferdinand, king of Arragon, her huſband) was renewed.

Theſe public affairs being diſpatched, Richard reſolved upon a progreſs through ſome parts of England, and paſſing through Windſor, Oxford, Gloceſter, and Coventry, he at length ſtopped at York, where he appeared in all the pomp of royalty, with his queen and his ſon prince Edward (lately created prince of Wales, and knighted), and was crowned anew in the cathedral. It was during this progreſs that, according to all our hiſtorians, Richard contrived the making away with the late king's two ſons, Edward and Richard, duke of York, that their death happening in his abſence, he might be the leſs ſuſpected. This murderous commiſſion was given to one ſir James Tyrrel, a man fleſhed in the ways of blood, and who, having found acceſs to the Tower, is ſaid to have taken away the lives of the two innocent princes by the hands of two ruffians, Miles Foreſt and John John Dighton, who ſmothered them in their beds, and buried their bodies under the ſtair-caſe†. Various are the opinions of writers concerning this tragedy, ſome peremptorily charging the whole guilt of it upon Richard, others endeavouring to exculpate him from it. That Richard got the crown by the moſt infamous and villainous means, is moſt certain; but their murder ſeems inconſiſtent with Richard's cunning and diſſimulation; nor can we ſuppoſe him ſo weak a man as to give ſuch a bloody commiſſion under his hand, or put it in the officer's power to blaſt that reputation which he was ſo anxious to preſerve; beſides, it may be conſidered, that, after what had paſſed with regard to the illegitimacy of the young princes, it was ſcarcely worth Richard's while to remove them by murder. That the two princes either died or diſappeared about this time, is beyond all doubt, though no hiſtorian is abſolutely poſitive as to their fate.

Richard having finiſhed the buſineſs of his progreſs, and received the welcome tidings of the death or removal of his two nephews, he returned to London; but it was only to meet with an inveterate enemy where he thought he had a faſt friend; and though he thought his throne ſecure, as having been recognized king of England by the court of Spain, and the other courts of Europe, he found himſelf deceived.

We have already ſeen with what a laviſh hand Richard had beſtowed honours and riches on the duke of Buckingham, who had been his great friend and ſupport; it happened, however, that Buckingham, preſuming too far on his merit, had raiſed the jealouſy or indignation of Richard; and, while they were together at Gloceſter, the duke having made ſome demands which the king thought unreaſonable, he gave him ſuch an anſwer as plainly ſhewed he was highly diſpleaſed. Buckingham, who was haughty, violent, and avaricious, was ſo offended with the king's refuſal, that he deſired leave to quit the court to look after his private affairs: Richard, not imagining his denial had made ſo deep an impreſſion upon the duke, or perhaps deſpiſing the effects of his reſentment, gave him the leave he deſired, and Buckingham quitting Gloceſter, retired to his caſtle of Brecknock, where Morton, biſhop of Ely, who had been committed to his cuſtody by Richard, was confined. This prelate was an artful politician, and a zealous friend of the family of Lancaſter. As he was known to have great politeneſs and addreſs, the duke indulged himſelf in frequent converſations with him, in the courſe of which it was eaſy for the biſhop to perceive that his noble keeper was highly diſſatisfied with the court; he drew a favourable omen from this diſcovery, which he reſolved to improve

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 193, 194.

† In the time of ſir Thomas Chicheley maſter of the ordnance, great heaps of records of bills and anſwers lying in the Six Clerks Office, were removed to be repoſited in the White Tower; and a new pair of ſtairs were made into the chapel there, for the eaſier conveyance of them thither. The labourers in digging at the foot of the old ſtairs, came to a wooden cheſt, containing the bones of conſumed corps, covered with a heap of ſtones: which bones king Charles cauſed to be interred in Henry VIIth's chapel, near two other royal chidren, Mary and Sophia, daughters of James I. with a monument of white marble, and an inſcription on it in capital letters. Sandford, p. 427—429.

to the advantage of that cauſe for which he was ſo warm a ſtickler: he plied the duke with that judicious flattery which is the key to almoſt every breaſt, how reſerved ſoever; he expatiated on the virtues of the duke; thought that ſervices like his were never to be forgotten; and diſtantly hinted, that the reigning king had been ſomewhat deficient in gratitude to the man to whom he owed his crown.

Buckingham took fire; he inveighed againſt Richard in ſuch terms, that emboldened Morton to talk to him more freely: in a word, without detaining our readers with the long converſations which have been recorded by Hall, Hollingſhed, and others of our hiſtorians, we ſhall only obſerve, that they ſoon came into a ſcheme for driving the tyrant Richard from the throne, and placing thereon the young earl of Richmond, who, by his mother Margaret, indiſputably inherited all the rights of the houſe of Lancaſter, on condition that the ſaid earl ſhould oblige himſelf upon oath to marry the princeſs Elizabeth, the eldeſt daughter of the deceaſed Edward IV. as this alliance would engage the two families of York and Lancaſter in his intereſt; an expedient which was at once conformable to juſtice and equity, and admirably well calculated to extinguiſh the flames of civil war, which had ſo long deſolated the kingdom.

In order to ſecure this alliance, which was the neceſſary preliminary to all their future proceedings, they determined to impart their ſcheme to Margaret, the old counteſs of Richmond, that ſhe might inform her ſon of their deſign, and endeavour to procure the conſent of the queen dowager. The biſhop being intimately acquainted with one Reginald Bray, a ſervant of the counteſs of Richmond, ſent for him to Brecknock, where he was charged with inſtructions to treat and ſettle theſe different points; and it appears from ſeveral authentic accounts, that this man had credit enough to draw in many of the moſt conſiderable perſonages in England to join in the ſcheme for recalling the earl of Richmond, and even to get them to appoint a general day of inſurrection.

His firſt ſtep was to gain the queen dowager's conſent, and that of the princeſs Elizabeth; this was done by the mediation of one Dr. Lewis, a Welſh phyſician, who being conſulted in that capacity by both the queen and the counteſs of Richmond, went between them without ſuſpicion; for as the counteſs and the queen were declared enemies to each other, a perſonal interview might have cauſed an alarm. She aſſured the doctor that ſhe was ready to concur in any deſign that tended to remove the barbarous uſurper; but ſhe inſiſted on the article of marriage between the earl of Richmond and her daughter as a ſine qua non. This great point of the queen's concurrence being ſettled, the counteſs of Richmond found means to raiſe a large ſum of money among her friends in London, and ſent it over to Brittany by ſir Hugh Conway, to enable her ſon to levy a body of troops, and provide ſhips, ſailors, and all other neceſſaries for his enterprize; at the ſame time ſhe diſpatched ſir Thomas Rain over to Calais, from whence he was to proceed with all haſte to Vannes, in Brittany, where the earl then reſided, to inform him of the diſpoſition of the nobility to join him, and with ſome inſtructions about the proper place for his landing. Both theſe meſſengers arrived ſafe in Brittany, and returned with the earl's conſent to the propoſed marriage. Bray, in the mean time, managed matters ſo well in different parts of England, that a reſpectable body of the nobility engaged to be ready for a riſing in their ſeveral counties on the eighteenth of October, when the duke of Buckingham was alſo to declare himſelf.

But while theſe things were tranſacting, the biſhop of Ely, with whom a regard for perſonal ſafety was more prevalent than any other conſideration, reflecting that the impetuoſity of the duke of Buckingham's temper might hurry him into ſome raſh attempt before their deſign could be brought to maturity, and thereby endanger the lives of all concerned therein, began to grow very uneaſy under his confinement; and being now indulged in greater liberty than he formerly had, he took an opportunity to eſcape in diſguiſe, and got over ſea to Flanders. His eſcape threw the duke of Buckingham into great conſternation, from which he was, however, ſomewhat relieved on receiving a letter from the prelate, excuſing the ſtep he had taken, and exhorting him to proceed in his enterprize, and aſſuring him that he could be of more ſervice to him on the continent, than in England.

The biſhop's ſuſpicion proved to be but too well grounded; for Buckingham having impoliticly forced great numbers into his ſervice, this made them his enemies; and Richard ſpared no money to get intelligence, and, to have it brought him the earlier, had eſtabliſhed ſtages of poſt-houſes, at twenty miles diſtance from each other, throughout the realm, a practice firſt introduced by his brother Edward during the late war with Scotland; he had likewiſe his ſpies and emiſſaries in all parts, and and we have an undoubted proof from the public records, that by the beginning of October he had full information of the conſpiracy againſt him; for at this time a proclamation was iſſued, directed to the ſheriffs of England, offering one thouſand pounds in money, or one hundred pounds per annum in land, for apprehending the duke of Buckingham, the biſhops of Ely and Saliſbury, or the marquis of Dorſet, who had it ſeems eſcaped out of ſanctuary; and five hundred marks each, for ſeveral other perſons, their accomplices, mentioned therein. We are told, that before this proclamation Richard had ſent ſeveral orders to the duke of Buckingham, commanding him to repair to court, but which he as often diſobeyed, returning for anſwer, that he did not think proper to expoſe his perſon by putting himſelf into the power of his mortal enemy, whom he neither loved nor would ſerve.

After this declaration Richard found that he muſt neceſſarily proceed to extremities. He accordingly collected his troops, and began his march towards the weſtern counties, where he was informed the earl of Richmond propoſed to land, and where ſeveral of his friends were already up in arms, expecting to be joined by Buckingham with his forces, a junction which if it had been effected, Richard's reign muſt have had yet a ſhorter date; but they were kept aſunder by a wonderful operation of nature, equally ſudden and unforeſeen.

The duke of Buckingham having advanced, by long and haſty marches, into the Foreſt of Deane, in order to croſs the Severn and join his weſtern friends at Saliſbury, found that the waters of that river had overflown their banks in ſuch a manner,

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as had not been known before in the memory of man; the inundation laſted ſix whole days, during which his army could neither paſs the river, nor ſubſiſt where they were. He now found it impracticable to keep his men together; his ſoldiers had a diſtaſte to his perſon, they were ſo ſtruck with the prodigy they beheld before their eyes *, and terrified with the proſpect of periſhing for want of proviſions, that they deſerted in ſuch numbers as to leave the duke in a few days with only one ſingle ſervant, who was faithful enough to attend his maſter in his diſtreſs. In this wretched condition he ſaw no other reſource than that of concealing himſelf until he ſhould be able to retrieve his ruined affairs; he therefore took refuge in the houſe of one Baniſter, who had been a dependent on him, and whom he had by his liberality raiſed to a comfortable eſtate near Shrewſbury; but this wretch, dead to all the feelings of honour and gratitude, and allured by the promiſed reward in the king's proclamation for ſeizing the duke, treacherouſly betrayed his maſter and benefactor to John Milton, the ſheriff of Shropſhire, who conducted him to Shrewſbury, at which place he, on the ſecond of November, loſt his head without any form or proceſs of trial. Upon the firſt news of this cataſtrophe, Buckingham's friends, who were ready in arms expecting him in the Weſt, diſperſed themſelves; ſome lurked among their friends, and others took refuge in ſanctuaries; but the greateſt part took ſhipping and went over to the earl of Richmond, perceiving there was no ſafety for them in the kingdom; the marquis of Dorſet was of this number.

In the mean time Henry, earl of Richmond, ſuppoſing that every thing was ready for his reception in England, embarked at St. Malo's about the latter end of October, with five thouſand men, on board of forty veſſels; but a violent ſtorm ariſing forced the greateſt part of his fleet on the coaſt of France, though the earl's ſhip, being ſtouter than the reſt, rode it ſo well out, that ſhe caſt anchor off Poole, in Dorſetſhire, where he ſaw the ſhore crowded with troops, with which Richard had lined all the coaſt, with orders to the officers of the ſeveral parties, that if the earl ſhould attempt to land he ſhould not be oppoſed; and that if he ſhould ſend on ſhore to make any enquiries, they ſhould pretend they belonged to the duke of Buckingham, and were ſtationed there to wait the arrival of the earl of Richmond. The earl, as the tyrant had foreſeen, ſending a boat with a meſſenger on ſhore, received this anſwer, which he miſtruſted, and made the beſt of his way back towards the coaſt of France.

Upon his return to the court of Brittany, he there found the marquis of Dorſet, the two Courtneys, the lord Wells, ſir John Bourchier, ſir Edward Woodville, ſir Robert Willoughby, ſir Giles Daubeney, ſir John Cheney and his two brothers, with ſeveral others who had fled from England: from theſe he learned the diſmaying news of Buckingham's overthrow, and their own diſperſion, which ſeemed totally to annihilate all future hopes of ſucceſs, and muſt have ſunk the ſpirit of any but a prince of Henry's deep ambition and true judgment, who conſidered the abhorrence in which Richard was held by the greateſt part of the Engliſh nation as a happy omen of future ſucceſs; and the duke of Brittany engaging to continue his aſſiſtance, he determined to make another attempt with all convenient diſpatch: mean while he bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath, in the cathedral of Bennes, that he would eſpouſe the princeſs Elizabeth, or, in caſe of her death, her younger ſiſter Cecily; upon which all the Engliſh who were there preſent did homage to him as king of England. But let us now return to England.

On the twenty-third of January, 1484, the parliament met at Weſtminſter, in conſequence of its ſummons, when an act of attainder was paſſed againſt the biſhops of Ely, Saliſbury, and Exeter, the earls of Oxford and Pembroke, and other ringleaders of the late inſurrection, who had fled the kingdom; and Richard was empowered by the two houſes to make grants of their forfeited eſtates. Among the perſons attainted were the earl of Richmond, and his mother, the counteſs dowager of Richmond; the eſtate of the latter, however, was given to her huſband the lord Stanley, whom the uſurper had lately created conſtable of England, and who became anſwerable to keep the counteſs from all illegal correſpondence for the future. Richard's title to the crown, as ſet forth in the addreſs of the three eſtates before-mentioned, was confirmed; and his ſon Edward being declared heir apparent, the lords ſpiritual and temporal ſoon after ſwore to maintain his ſucceſſion. The parliament then broke up, on the twentieth of February, after paſſing ſeveral excellent laws for the good of the people, for the ſecurity of their liberties and properties, for the redreſs of grievances, and for the adminiſtration of juſtice: in a word, if we will believe Richard's moſt bitter enemies, he exerciſed his ill-acquired power with a moderation and equity, which might have done honour to a better title.

Richard, however, was ſoon alarmed by the arrival of Dr. Hutton, a civilian, whom he had ſent as his ambaſſador to the court of Brittany, and who informed him that the duke had engaged to continue his aſſiſtance to the earl of Richmond; and that Henry and the refugees were actually planning another invaſion. Richard, on receiving this intelligence, thought it behoved him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to detach the duke from the intereſt of his rival; and an accident furniſhed him with a very favourable opportunity. The duke being old and infirm, was entirely guided by his treaſurer, Peter Landois, the ſon of a taylor, who behaved himſelf with ſo much inſolence, that he incurred the hatred of all the Bretons, inſomuch that in the courſe of this very year the nobility had entered into an aſſociation againſt him, and had even made an attempt to ſeize his perſon in the court; but miſcarrying in their project, they were, by the intereſt of the favourite, declared rebels and traitors, and obliged to fly the court. Landois dreading that the weight of popular reſentment might at length cruſh him, reſolved to ſtrengthen himſelf by foreign connections; and having learned by his intelligence that Richard was now become abſolute

* This inundation was ſo remarkable, that for a hundred years after it was called the Great Water, or Buckingham's Water. It is ſaid to laſt ten days, and that men, women, and children were carried away in their beds with the violence of it, and that the tops of the mountains were covered with the waters. Hall. fol. 39. Hollingſhed, p. 1402.

maſter

maſter over the Engliſh, he ſent ambaſſadors to him with certain propoſals, which the latter readily embraced. On the eighth of June an armiſtice was agreed on between Brittany and England; and by another private treaty the king agreed to ſend a thouſand archers, under the lord Grey of Powis †, for the ſupport of Landois, who, in conſideration of this, promiſed that the earl of Richmond ſhould be delivered up, and that his maſter and Richard ſhould oppoſe the regency of France with their joint forces. Richard, that he might omit no precaution neceſſary to maintain the crown he had uſurped, entered into ſeveral other negociations in the courſe of this year, either for making new alliances, or rivetting the old ones; he ſecured the courts of Caſtile and Portugal, and the friendſhip of Maximilian, archduke of Auſtria; and though he had no apparent occaſion to fear any thing from France under a minority, diſturbed with inteſtine diviſions, yet he ſent ambaſſadors to Charles VIII. to deſire a prolongation, or at leaſt confirmation of the truce. There remained now only Scotland that could give him any uneaſineſs. As James III. who held the ſceptre of that kingdom, was deſcended from a princeſs of the houſe of Somerſet, the king imagined that he might naturally be induced to countenance the deſigns of Richmond, and therefore that he ought to make himſelf ſecure from that quarter: to that end he negociated with James a truce, which was concluded in September this year, and which was to laſt to the ſame day of the year 1487. At the ſame time he gave his niece, Anne de la Pole, daughter of his beloved ſiſter Elizabeth and the duke of Suffolk, in marriage to James, duke of Rotheſay and prince of Scotland, the king of Scotland's eldeſt ſon; and, to deprive the earl of Richmond of all hopes of accompliſhing his deſigns, he laid hold of a melancholy incident which happened in his family by the death of his own ſon Edward, prince of Wales, and declared his nephew John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, and brother to the lady Anne above-mentioned, preſumptive heir to the crown, and propoſed to have this declaration confirmed by parliament.

Theſe ſeveral precautions appeared ſo juſt as to ſcreen Richard from all danger: but coming to the knowlege of that moſt material circumſtance of the plot which his enemies had formed againſt him, the union of the friends of the York family with the adherents of the houſe of Lancaſter, by means of the earl of Richmond's marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, he determined if poſſible to defeat a match which might occaſion the ſubverſion of his throne; and he ſaw no method ſo effectual as that of making Elizabeth his own wife, a rank to which he had an opportunity of raiſing her by the death of the lady Anne, daughter of the famous earl of Warwick, and widow of Edward, eldeſt ſon of Henry VI. whom he had perſuaded, ſoon after the cruel murder of her huſband, to accept of his hand. And we wiſh that hiſtorical truth would allow us to ſay, that the alliance now propoſed was diſreliſhed by the queen dowager and the princeſs Elizabeth, with all the horror that was due to the uſurper of the rights of their family, the ſuppoſed murderer of both their huſbands, and the author of the infamous baſtardization of his brother's children; but the contrary is, unhappily for the memory of the fair, too notorious *: in ſhort, the fact is, that Richard knew the queen's weak ſide ſo well, that he found means to revive in her mind all her hatred towards the houſe of Lancaſter, and, by taking a ſolemn oath to her and her daughters, before an aſſembly of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, that he would never do her or hers the leaſt injury, or ſuffer any to be done, and by laviſh promiſes of taking her family and friends, the marquis of Dorſet particularly, into high favour, he made ſuch an impreſſion, that the queen was perſuaded to leave her ſanctuary, and to deliver up her five daughters; nay, ſo thoroughly ſatisfied does ſhe appear to have been with the uſurper, that ſhe ſent into France, to her ſon the marquis of Dorſet, preſſing him to quit the earl of Richmond, and return home to take poſſeſſion of the high honours that awaited him.

Mean while the earl of Richmond, having gotten intelligence of the treaty concluded between Richard and Landois, and knowing that miniſter to be a perſon capable of committing the vileſt acts for his own advantage, he reſolved to retire privately into France, and for that purpoſe ſent Chriſtopher Urſwick, one of his followers, ſecretly to king Charles for a paſſport, which was readily granted him, and he departed from Vannes in diſguiſe, attended by five perſons only, and with great difficulty eſcaped the ſpies Landois had ſet to watch his motions, who purſued him ſo hotly that he was obliged to ſtrike out of the high road, acroſs the country, and at length got to Angers, a town in the French dominions, from whence he went to Lanſy, where the French court then reſided, and where he was received with great politeneſs and friendſhip; but the affairs of the French regency being at this time in great confuſion, no prompt reſolution was taken for the earl's aſſiſtance: however, the appearance of Engliſh noblemen and gentlemen, who every day flocked to the French court, gave his cauſe a favourable turn.

Among others, he was joined by John de Vere, earl of Oxford, who, as we have already ſeen, had been ſhut up priſoner, by Edward IV. in the caſtle of Guiſnes, or, as the Engliſh called it, Hames. Having heard in priſon, that the earl of Richmond laid claim to the crown of England, he had perſuaded ſir John Blount, governor of the caſtle (in the room of the lord Mountjoy, then lying dangerouſly ill), to declare for the houſe of Lancaſter, and actually brought that officer with him to pay his reſpects to Henry. The regency began now to look more favourably upon the earl, and to take his affairs into ſerious conſideration, and it was reſolved to lend him three thouſand fighting men, a certain number of ſhips, and even to ſupply him with a ſum of money.

Richard had fitted out a large ſquadron of ſhips, to oppoſe any attempts Henry might make to land in England; but having notice of his flight from Brittany, and being aſſured from the court of France that they had very little inclination to aſſiſt

† Rymer, vol. xii. p. 222—248.

* There is a letter written with the princeſs Elizabeth's own hand, perſerved in the Arundel collection, expreſſing her impatience till her marriage with Richard took effect, and preſſing the duke of Norfolk to uſe all his intereſt for the concluſion of it, "as the king (ſhe ſays) was her only joy in the world." Buck's Life of Rich. III. p. 128, 129.

his enemy, he thought it needleſs to incur the expence of maintaining a fleet, and ordered it be laid up in the beginning of the ſummer of 1485. This ill-timed meaſure proved the uſurper's ruin; for the earl of Richmond, reſolving to embrace this opportunity, ſolicited the French miniſtry with ſuch importunity to put their laſt reſolves in his favour into execution, that they at laſt agreed to his requeſt, not from any belief that his enterprize would ſucceed, but as imagining it to be for the intereſt of France to ſtir up diſſentions in England: they, however, demanded hoſtages of him, as a ſecurity for the repayment of their expences; and the earl, who had ſome reaſon to ſuſpect the fidelity and attachment of the marquis of Dorſet, took an occaſion to leave him, together with ſir John Bourchier, as his hoſtages at the French court.

Every thing being nearly adjuſted, the earl ſet out for Rouen, that he might be nearer at hand for equipping his ſmall ſquadron. At length, having muſtered all his troops, both Engliſh and French, he put to ſea on the firſt day of Auguſt, from Harfleur, in Normandy, and landed, on the ſeventh day of that month, in Milford Haven, expecting to be there joined by the friends and followers of his uncle Jaſper, earl of Pembroke, and ſir Rice ap Thomas; but they not being in readineſs, he continued his march next day to Haverfordweſt, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants.

But it is more than probable that he would have met with inſuperable difficulties in his enterprize, had it not been for the unaccountable indolence and ſecurity of Richard. This prince, who, on all other occaſions, was the moſt active man in nature, did not think it worth his while to exert any great efforts againſt ſo deſpicable an enemy as Henry appeared to be; but contented himſelf with ſending orders to ſir Walter Herbert to raiſe the militia of the county, and drive out the invaders, which he imagined was a very eaſy matter: nor was it here alone, but almoſt in every ſtep that he afterwards took, that Richard appears to have contradicted the natural ſagacity for which he was before remarkable; he had, indeed, on news of the intended invaſion, marched to Nottingham, a place ſituated near the centre of the kingdom, and convenient enough as well for the rendezvous of his northern forces, as for diſpatching parties to any quarter where the enemy ſhould appear; but he betrayed ſuch ſtrong ſymptoms of his miſtruſting his principal officers, that ſir Thomas Bourchier and ſir Walter Hungerford, with ſeveral other perſons of rank, went over to the earl of Richmond, who was not without his diſquietudes.

He had no ſooner landed than he diſpatched meſſengers to his friends in the different parts of the country, deſiring them to join him on his march towards London, for which capital he intended to puſh with all haſte. Accordingly, making but a ſhort ſtay at Haverfordweſt, he ſet out for Shrewſbury, where he intended to croſs the Severn; while he was on the road, he was joined by ſir Richard Griffith, ſir Walter Herbert, and ſir Rice ap Thomas, who had gotten together a ſtrong body of troops, under pretence of oppoſing Henry of Richmond, thereby to blind the emiſſaries of Richard; and the whole country ſupplying him in his march with all neceſſaries, the earl arrived in a few days at Shrewſbury, where he was received without oppoſition. Here ſir Gilbert Talbot, with his ward the young earl of Shrewſbury, then a minor, joined him with two thouſand men, tenants of that nobleman.

But Henry's chief dependence was upon Thomas, lord Stanley, who had a very great intereſt in Cheſhire and Lancaſhire, as his ſon George Stanley, lord Strange, had in Shropſhire, and his brother, ſir William Stanley, chamberlain of North Wales, which was ſubject to his command. The lord Stanley enjoyed under Richard the great poſts of ſteward of the houſhold and conſtable of England; but having married Margaret, counteſs of Richmond, the young earl's mother, ſhe had even won him over to her ſon's party; and when Richard went to Nottingham, lord Stanley had aſked leave to viſit his houſe and family, from which he had long been abſent. As Richard had ſome jealouſy of him, on his wife's account, he inſiſted that he ſhould leave his ſon George at court, as hoſtage for his fidelity, and then gave him permiſſion to go into Lancaſhire.

Stanley employed the time of his ſtay there in levying a body of five thouſand men, on pretence of aſſiſting Richard, and marched with them to Lichfield, as if to oppoſe the invaders; but, upon notice of Henry's arrival at Shrewſbury, he ſent his brother William Stanley to him privately, to aſſure the earl that he would join him with all his forces, as ſoon as he could take ſuch a ſtep without too far riſquing the life of his ſon, the lord Strange, whom he had left in the uſurper's hands. Accordingly Stanley, not to give the tyrant any umbrage, marched to Atherſtone, while the earl went and took poſſeſſion of Lichfield.

Richard, finding that the earl of Richmond was daily joined by many noblemen, and other perſons of diſtinction, thought it was high time to ſet forward in perſon to oppoſe his progreſs: he accordingly ſent orders to the duke of Norfolk, his ſon the earl of Surry, and ſir Robert Brackenbury, to march immediately, with all their followers, and join him at Nottingham; and his whole army being aſſembled, to the number of twelve thouſand men, he ordered them to march for Leiceſter, putting himſelf at their head, and doing all the duties of an able general. Richmond, on the king's approach, quitted Lichfield, and, agreeable to meaſures concerted with the lord Stanley and his brother ſir William, directed his route to Leiceſter, where he reſolved to hazard a general engagement. Arriving the next morning at Tamworth, he was joined by ſir John Savage, ſir Brian Sandford, ſir Simon Digby, and many others; the ſame day he privately viſited the lord Stanley, at Atherſtone: and, on the morrow, being informed that Richard had marched from Leiceſter to give him battle, he reſolved to meet him half way. On the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt the two armies came in ſight of each other at Boſworth, a place rendered famous in hiſtory by the battle which terminated the diſpute between the houſes of York and Lancaſter.

Richard's army, as we have already obſerved, conſiſted of twelve thouſand men, well accoutered and trained to martial diſcipline: the command of the van he conferred on the duke of Norfolk, and he himſelf took poſt in the centre, with a crown upon his head, either as a mark of diſtinction, or as a challenge to his adverſary the earl of Richmond, who had not above five thouſand men. He drew up his army likewiſe in two lines, of which the

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Lord Stanley puts ye Crown of Richd. 3. on ye Earl of Richmond.

To his Grace George Spencer,
Duke of Marlborough,
This Plate is most humbly Inscribed.

the earl of Oxford headed the firſt, and himſelf the ſecond; ſir Gilbert Talbot commanded the right wing, and ſir John Savage the left: between the two armies was a moraſs, which the earl left on his right hand, to ſecure him on that ſide, and in ſo doing he had the ſun at his back and in the face of the enemy.

Whilſt the two armies were preparing for battle, the lord Stanley, who had till then continued at Atherſtone, came and poſted himſelf with four thouſand men, on a piece of ground fronting the interval between the two armies; while his brothe, ſir William Stanley, with three thouſand, ſtood facing him on the other ſide. Richard, ſuſpecting Stanley's deſign, ſent him orders to join his army: but the lord Stanley returning an equivocal anſwer, Richard, enraged at his treachery, would inſtantly have ſtruck off the head of his ſon, the lord Strange, had he not been diſſuaded from that reſolution by ſome of his beſt officers, who repreſented to him, that ſuch an act would be of no advantage to him, and might provoke Stanley and his brother to join the foe, though perhaps their intention might at preſent be to remain neuter, and declare for the victor. Richard gave way to this remonſtrance, though, as his apologiſt, Buck, obſerves, he certainly committed a capital error in leaving the two brothers to act as they ſhould think proper, his army being equal in number to that of Richmond and the two Stanleys put together; he ought to have poſted two bodies oppoſite to the brothers, with orders to attack them if they ſhould attempt to join the enemy, while he himſelf with the remainder of his forces might have given battle to Henry.

Every thing being now ready for the bloody conflict, both armies moved, and the battle began with a general diſcharge of arrows; after which they advanced to cloſe combat. The duke of Norfolk, extending his lines, made a motion to encloſe the left wing of the earl's army; to prevent which the earl of Oxford fell with great fury upon Norfolk's diviſion, but in ſo doing was very near being hemmed in himſelf; which being perceived by the lord Stanley, who had till then continued neuter, he advanced, and falling in with the earl of Oxford's line, ſecured his flank, and ſtood ready to receive the front of the king's firſt line. This motion cauſed the duke of Norfolk to halt, in order to cloſe his line, which occaſioned ſome moments of ceſſation in the fight; but Norfolk ſoon advanced to the charge again with more fury than ever, and would have found a great deal of bloody work for his adverſaries, had not ſir William Stanley at that very inſtant, with three thouſand men, flanked the right of the king's firſt line ſo critically, that they were driven back upon the main body; but the duke of Norfolk having ſtrengthened the ſecond ranks, a moſt terrible carnage enſued.

In the mean time Richard, finding himſelf thus deceived by the two Stanleys, collected all his force, and perceiving Henry at a ſmall diſtance, advanced eagerly, at the head of a choſen body of men, to attack him, in hopes of deciding by his death the fate of the battle and of empire; and ſuch were his ſpirits, activity, and addreſs, that nothing could withſtand his fury, and he quickly opened a way to his rival, after having with his own hands ſlain ſir William Brandon, Henry's ſtandard-bearer, and father to Charles Brandon, afterwards duke of Suffolk, and unhorſed ſir John Cheney, an officer diſtinguiſhed for his ſtrength and dexterity. Henry with all his reſolution was appalled at the ſight of Richard's ſuperior proweſs; he would gladly have declined encountering ſo formidable an adverſary, but there was now no retreating; Richard called aloud to him to pay the forfeit of his treaſon, and rebellious invaſion of his realm; he preſſed on him with a fury that added double terror to his words: all Henry could do, all he ſought to do, was to keep him at his ſword's point, till ſome of his followers coming up, preſerved him for a fairer fortune.

While Richard was thus nobly employed in the centre of the battle, the reſt of his troops, diſpirited at the conduct of the two Stanleys, and not knowing whom to truſt, ſtood in a ſtupid inactivity, blind to the example, and unanimated by the preſence, of their valiant leader. The earl of Northumberland's men, by their commander's orders, threw down their arms, and gave Richmond's ſoldiers leave to mow down whole ranks: in a word, the rout of Richard's army became general, while he, finding it in vain to attempt to rally his diſperſed troops, ſeeing the duke of Norfolk killed, and his ſon the earl of Surry a priſoner, the lord Ferrers of Chartley, ſir Richard Radcliffe, ſir Robert Brackenbury, ſir William Conyers, ſir Richard Clendon, and many of his braveſt officers dead upon the field, and either ſcorning to endure the diſgrace of an overthrow, or dreading the thought of falling alive into the hands of his enemy, ruſhed into the midſt of the battle, where he ſoon fell, overpowered with numbers, after having atchieved exploits that would have done eternal honour to his memory, if exerted in any other cauſe.

The death of the king put an end to the battle, which had laſted only two hours, during which time Richard's van alone bore the whole brunt of the action, ſo that there were not ſlain on the ſpot above two thouſand men on his ſide. The earl of Richmond's loſs did not exceed one hundred. Richard's body was expoſed to a thouſand indignities as it lay on the field; it was ſtripped by the brutal and revengeful ſoldiers of Henry's army, then thrown, naked as it was, acroſs an horſe, and ſent to Leiceſter, where it was buried, without any ceremony, in the Grey Friars church in that town. His crown, being found in the field, was brought to the lord Stanley, who placing it upon Richmond's brows, hailed him at the ſame time king, in preſence of all the army, who rent the air with repeated acclamations of Long live Henry VII. king of England!

Of Richard's ſurviving adherents, the earl of Northumberland ſurrendered himſelf to the conqueror, who eaſily forgave him; the earl of Surry was ſent priſoner to the Tower, from whence he was afterwards releaſed. Cateſby, the infamous tool of Richard's arts and ambition, being diſcovered in his hiding-place, was taken priſoner, and loſt his head next day at Leiceſter. The lord viſcount Lovel, with the two Staffords, Humphrey and Thomas, all of them hated becauſe of their attachment to Richard, eſcaped from the battle; and the earl of Richmond, with right policy, received into pardon, or to favour, all who ſubmitted.

What has been already exhibited of the character of Richard, in the hiſtory of this and the three preceding reigns, makes it almoſt impoſſible to add

add to it without running into tautology: thus much, however, we may ſay of him as a king, that, abating his cruelties in the purſuit of the crown, and the unjuſt meaſures he uſed afterwards to keep it, he certainly ſhewed a diſpoſition for government not inferior to that of the moſt virtuous princes antiquity can boaſt. Lord Verulam ſays of him, that he was in military virtue approved, jealous of the honour of the Engliſh nation, and an excellent lawgiver; of this, indeed, many of his ſtatutes afford irrefragable proofs; they are, in general, full of equity and humanity, and though paſſed in all the confidence of power and pride of conqueſt, in a juncture too often employed by uſurpers to trample on the liberties of a nation, to gratify their revenge or avarice, they are evidently calculated for the public good, and excellently adapted to preſerve the eaſe, quiet, and rights of the ſubject. Upon the whole, we cannot uſe too much caution in giving our aſſent to what hiſtorians of the Lancaſtrian party have written againſt this prince, who, though undoubtedly bad, was not perhaps ſo deteſtable as has been repreſented; nor ſhould the calumnies with which his memory has been loaded (ſome of which we have attempted to diſprove in the courſe of theſe ſheets) by thoſe whoſe intereſt it was, under his ſucceſſors, to blacken his character to the utmoſt, efface the juſt praiſe due to Richard for his excellent laws, and his conſtant application to ſee juſtice impartially adminiſtered, and good order eſtabliſhed in all parts of his kingdom.

His perſonal character, like his political one, has been induſtriouſly handed down to us by writers, who choſe to court the favour of Henry and his poſterity, in as odious colours as poſſible. The ſurname of Crookback has been given him on account of his ſuppoſed deformity; and we are told that one of his arms was withered and uſeleſs; that he was born with long hair, with teeth; in a word, a ſpectre of a man: and yet there want not hiſtorians of undoubted veracity, who had opportunities of ſeeing him, and ancient pictures drawn of him, that ſhew the contrary, and that the whole of his deformity amounted to no more than that he was low of ſtature, and thick-ſet, like his father, whom he much reſembled in his face, which was comely, though ſtern and warlike.

Richard III. was the laſt of the Anjouvin race, ſurnamed Plantagenet, which had poſſeſſed the crown of England for the ſpace of three hundred and thirty years; but he was not the laſt male of that family in England, for the earl of Warwick, ſon to his brother Clarence, was ſtill alive, and the only remaining branch of the numerous poſterity of the third Edward, which had been almoſt totally extinguiſhed in the civil war; a war which had raged for thirty years, and was finally determined by the battle of Boſworth, after having coſt the lives of above one hundred thouſand Engliſhmen, including a great number of the princes of the houſes of York and Lancaſter.

Richard left but one natural ſon, ſurnamed John of Gloceſter, a minor, whom he had appointed governor of Calais, Guiſnes, and all the Marches of Picardy belonging to the crown of England; and a natural daughter, Catherine Plantagenet, who was contracted in marriage to William Herbert, earl of Huntingdon, but died before ſhe was of age for conſummation. Carte tells us, that there is preſerved in the family of the earls of Winchelſea an account of a natural ſon of Richard's (moſt probably John of Gloceſter above-mentioned), who lived at Eaſtwell, in Kent, a manor belonging to that family, in a private, auſtere, and devout manner, to a very great age, eſteemed by all, though unknown till a little before his death, when he ſatisfied the curioſity of the anceſtors of that noble family.

HENRY VII. Firſt King of ENGLAND of the Name of TUDOR, and Uniter of the two Houſes of YORK and LANCASTER. A. D. 1485.

BEFORE we can introduce the reader with advantage to the events which we are now to deſcribe, it is neceſſary that we ſhould collect the ſeveral parts of Henry of Richmond's genealogy, and his title in point of blood to the crown of England, in which we ſhall follow the moſt approved writers on this ſubject.

In the firſt place then it is to be obſerved, that the root of Henry's family was John of Ghent, duke of Lancaſter, fourth ſon to Edward III. This prince was thrice married:

Firſt to Blanche of Lancaſter, by whom he had a daughter, Philippa, married to John I. king of Portugal; a ſecond daughter, named Elizabeth, married to John Holland, duke of Exeter; and a ſon, named Henry, afterwards the fourth of that name king of England, whoſe male deſcendants became extinct in the perſon of Henry VI.

The ſecond wife of John of Ghent was Conſtance, princeſs of Caſtile and Leon, who bore him Catherine, married to Henry III. king of Caſtile, who had a numerous iſſue, both male and female; and from this marriage it is ſuppoſed that Philip II. of Spain exhibited as being prior to the houſe of Somerſet from John of Ghent, the author of the Lancaſter family.

The laſt wife of John of Ghent was Catherine, widow of ſir Otter Swinford: this lady had lived in adultery with John of Ghent, and while in that ſtate bore him four children, John Beaufort, duke of Somerſet; Henry Beaufort, the cardinal; Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter; and Joan Beaufort, counteſs of Weſtmoreland. John Beaufort had iſſue John, duke of Somerſet, who left a daughter Margaret, who was married to Edmund Tudor, of Hadham, earl of Richmond, whoſe eldeſt ſon was Henry, earl of Richmond, whom we have juſt ſeen defeat and kill the tyrant Richard.

Whoever looks on this genealogical deduction with the ſlighteſt attention, muſt perceive two very ſtrong objections againſt any manner of right which Henry, earl of Richmond, could pretend, in point of blood, to the crown of England. The firſt was the allowed priority of right which was in the houſe of

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of York, and had been declared by repeated acts of the legiſlature: the ſecond was the illegitimacy of all the children born of John of Ghent's third marriage. The anſwers to thoſe objections were as follow.

Firſt, that though the right of blood next to Edward III. the common author of both families, was undoubtedly in the houſe of York, yet that the family of Lancaſter having, as well as that of York, been recognized on the throne by repeated acts of the legiſlature, which deprived the houſe of York of all right, both before and after that houſe put in its claim, therefore the parliamentary right of the houſe of Lancaſter was prior to, and ſtronger than, the houſe of York; eſpecially as the laſt houſe had been attainted, and, when reſtored, was reſtored only to a capacity of ſucceeding to its hereditary eſtates, without mention of the crown. As to the ſecond objection, that of illegitimacy, the favourers of the houſe of Lancaſter urged, that the illegitimacy of the family of Lancaſter, by dame Swinford, had been removed by letters patent from Richard II.

To thoſe anſwers it was replied, that Henry IV. and his deſcendants, who had been kings, were no other than uſurpers upon the rights of an unoffending family, as we have already ſeen in diſcuſſing the queſtion of the rights of the two houſes. It was likewiſe urged, that the parliamentary right was as ſtrongly eſtabliſhed for the houſe of York, both before and after the acceſſion of Edward IV. as it ever had been for the houſe of Lancaſter. The reply to the ſecond anſwer, viz. on the point of illegitimacy, was, as is true, that an expreſs exception was made in the charter of legitimation, which provided that the heirs of John of Ghent by dame Swinford might ſucceed to any eſtate or honours whatſoever, the regal dignity excepted.

This is the true ſtate of the caſe of Henry VII's famous hereditary right to the crown of England, a right which he himſelf thought ſo weak, that, as he had thought fit before his enterprize, to ſtrengthen his claim by a matrimonial union with the houſe of York, he now reſolved to imitate the precedent ſet him by Edward IV. and Richard III. in accepting the military and popular recognitions, by which he had been, in the field of battle, declared king, and to act as ſuch before any formal coronation. In the mean time he thought it neceſſary to take ſuch precautions as might defeat or prevent any oppoſition to his meaſures.

With this view he ordered ſir Robert Willoughby to convey Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, ſon and heir to George, duke of Clarence, an innocent young prince then only ten years of age, to the Tower, where he was kept a cloſe priſoner, and excluded from all intercourſe or correſpondence with others. The princeſs Elizabeth, who had likewiſe been detained in a kind of honourable confinement by Richard, in the caſtle of Sheriff Hutton, in Yorkſhire, was brought from thence to London, and lodged with her mother. The young lady ſeems to have been entirely paſſive, and indifferent whether ſhe was deſtined to the bed of Richard or Richmond.

Henry next, having given the neceſſary orders concerning the diſpoſition and march of his army, ſet out for London, which he entered on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt, attended by the magiſtracy and the companies, who met him at Shoreditch: the citizens, however, were ſomewhat diſpleaſed at his paſſing through the ſtreets in a cloſe chariot, ſo that he could not be ſeen like their former kings, who always made their entrance on horſeback. He repaired directly to St. Paul's church, where he offered up the ſtandards he had taken, and ordered Te Deum to be ſung; after which he retired to his lodging at the biſhop's palace.

And now, to remove all umbrages, the very day after his arrival at London, he aſſembled the chief nobility at the biſhop's palace, and ſolemnly ſwore to marry the princeſs Elizabeth. This ſtep was the more neceſſary, as a report had been induſtriouſly ſpread, that he had entered into a contract of marriage with Anne, daughter and heireſs of Francis duke of Brittany; but, as he had an unconquerable averſion to the houſe of York, he could not bear the thought of reigning in right of his wife, deſcended from that family, and therefore, though he firmly reſolved to perform his engagement, yet his intention was to delay his marriage until after his coronation, that he might appear to reign by his own claim, and his marriage ſeem a meaſure taken to conciliate the affection of his ſubjects rather than a giving him any right to the crown.

But, leſt the people ſhould grow cool, and require the performance of this or ſome other obligations before his coronation, he hurried on that ceremony as faſt as poſſible. It was, however, delayed for ſome days by an epidemical diſorder, which broke out about the end of September, and was, from its ſymptoms, termed the ſweating ſickneſs. This diſeaſe, which was till then altogether unknown, threw the patients into a prodigious ſweat, and carried them off in four-and-twenty hours; thoſe that died not within that ſpace, were almoſt ſure of recovering: happily it laſted not above a month, but in that time it ſwept away an infinite number of perſons, before the manner of cure and attendance was known*. Hall tells us, that two mayors and ſix aldermen of London died of it within a week.

Henry employed the intermediate time in rewarding the ſervices of ſeveral of his faithful friends and adherents: John de Vere, earl of Oxford, was made conſtable of the Tower and keeper of the lions there; Jaſper, earl of Pembroke, uncle to the king, and the tutor and guardian of his tender years, was created duke of Bedford; the lord Stanley, earl of Derby; ſir Edward Courtney, earl of Devonſhire; and the following gentlemen were made bannerets†, ſir Gilbert Talbot, ſir John

* The method of cure was to keep the patient neither too hot nor too cold, with temperate cordials, which, without too much increaſing the heat, aſſiſted nature in expelling the humours that cauſed this extraordinary ſweating. Bac. Comp. Hiſt.

† This was an ancient order of knights, or feudal lords, who poſſeſſing ſeveral large fees, led their vaſſals to battle under their own flag, when ſummoned thereto by the king.

This order is certainly moſt honourable, as it never was conferred but upon ſome heroic action performed in the field. Anciently there being but two kinds of knights, great and little, the firſt were called bannerets, the ſecond bachelors; the firſt compoſed of the upper, and the ſecond the middle nobility.

In France they are ſaid to tranſmit their degree to their poſterity: but in England it dies with them. We have had none of this order created in England ſince the time of king Charles I. ſo that this order is now become extinct among us.

The form of the banneret's creation was this; on a day of battle, the candidate preſented his flag to the king, or general, who cutting off the train, or ſkirt thereof, and making it a ſquare, returned it again; the proper banner of bannerets, who, from hence, are ſometimes called knights of the ſquare flag.

Cheney, ſir William Stonar, ſir William Troutback, ſir John Mortimer, ſir Richard Croſby, ſir John Forteſcue, ſir Edward Bedingfield, ſir Thomas Cookſey, ſir James Baſkerville, ſir Humphrey Stanley, and ſir Richard de la Bere. At the ſame time the office of high-ſteward, for the king's coronation, was put in commiſſion, and the commiſſioners for executing it were, Jaſper, duke of Bedford, the earls of Oxford, Derby, and Nottingham, the lord Fitz Walter, Thomas Maſon, maſter of the rolls, ſir Thomas Brian, chief-juſtice of the King's Bench, ſir Humphrey Hartley, chief-baron of the Exchequer, and ſir Richard Croft, treaſurer of the houſhold. Henry's next care was to iſſue a proclamation, importing that he had agreed to a truce for one year with the king of France, a circumſtance that greatly contributed to his intereſts in England; which was the more inclined to ſubmit to his government, as his title was owned by ſo powerful a court, even before it was acknowleged by the Engliſh parliament.

The late malady having ceaſed entirely towards the latter end of October, and the neceſſary preparations being made for the purpoſe, Henry was crowned, with great pomp and ſolemnity, on the thirtieth of October, by cardinal Bourchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury. The ceremony of his coronation was attended with the exhibition of a pomp till then unknown in England; I mean a body-guard, which Henry then inſtituted: it conſiſted of fifty archers, called yeomen, under the command of a captain, to be in continual attendance upon his perſon; thus covering with the pretence of grandeur, a prudent precaution which in all likelihood he thought indiſpenſably neceſſary for his own ſafety: the utmoſt care, however, was taken that this inſtitution ſhould not be conſidered as perſonal to the king, but a compliment to his ſucceſſors, whoſe ſtate it was to enhance, and the unſuſpecting, or rather unthinking, people ſwallowed every plauſible pretext ‡.

Henry having thus ſeized not only the ſeat but the reins of government, now ventured upon a parliament, which met in his name (the higheſt act of authority which denominates a king of England) at Weſtminſter, on the ſeventh of November, which entailed the crown upon him; not by way of recognition, or ordinance, but in the manner of ſettlement, enacting, "That the inheritance of the crown ſhould reſt, remain, and abide in him and the heirs of his body:" and this ſtatute was afterwards confirmed by the pope's bull, in which at the ſame time the titles of deſcent and conqueſt were mentioned.

The act of ſettlement or ſucceſſion being paſſed, another point came under conſideration, which proved not a little embarraſſing: ſome of the moſt conſiderable members of the preſent aſſembly had been attainted, as well as Henry himſelf, in the reigns of Edward IV. and Richard III. and a motion being made for annulling the ſentences of attainder againſt Henry's adherents, it was alleged, that thoſe perſons could not, with any appearance of juſtice ſit as judges in their own cauſe. This point was therefore ſubmitted to the arbitration of the judges, who, ſupporting the authority of parliament and the legality of the acts of the houſe of York, gave it as their opinion, "That the knights and burgeſſes attainted by the courſe of law, ſhould forbear to come to the houſe till a law was made for a reverſal of their attainders *."

Another debate aroſe concerning the king himſelf, who had been denounced a traitor and rebel by an authentic act of parliament; this point being likewiſe referred to the ſame arbitration, the judges unanimouſly agreed, "That the crown takes away all defects and ſtops in blood, and that from the time the king did aſſume the crown, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruption of blood diſcharged †." Thus Henry found himſelf ſtrengthened on the one ſide by a title de facto, and on the other by a title de jure. This matter being ſettled, an act paſſed for reverſing the attainder of one hundred and ſeven perſons ‖: this was followed by diſtinct bills in favour of particular perſons, reſtoring them in blood, and to the enjoyment of their eſtates.

But it is not eaſy to conceive by what law, or with what pretence of reaſon, thoſe who fought in Boſworth field on Richard's ſide, againſt the earl of Richmond, could be charged with high-treaſon; yet, beſides Richard himſelf, John Howard, duke of Norfolk, his ſon the earl of Surry, the lords Lovel, Zouch, and Ferrers of Chartley, ſir Walter and ſir James Harrington, ſir Humphrey Stafford, ſir William Berkeley, and twenty other gentlemen were attainted, and all their lands declared forfeited. This proceeding ſeemed little calculated to promote that union between the two houſes of York and Lancaſter, which was the principal thing propoſed in the marriage of Henry and Elizabeth: beſides, how are we to reconcile the attainder of Richard with the deciſion of the judges in the caſe of Henry, that the actual poſſeſſion of the crown took away all defaults, and diſcharged all attainders; unleſs we are to ſuppoſe ſuch attainder meant the forfeitures and treaſons by Richard committed before he was poſſeſſed of the crown?

Henry, having thus at once gratified his revenge and his avarice, for the money ariſing from the confiſcations amounted to ſuch an immenſe ſum, that he had no occaſion to aſk a ſupply this ſeſſion, thought proper to ſweeten the late act of ſeverity in the parliament, by an act of clemency in the prerogative, and publiſhed a general pardon in favour of all thoſe who had borne arms againſt him, provided they would ſubmit themſelves within a limited time; and immediately a great number left their ſanctuaries and took the oath of allegiance. Some other acts of royal favour paſſed likewiſe. About the ſame time the lord Chandois, a native of Brittany, and one of Henry's companions during his exile, was created earl of Bath; ſir Giles d'Aubeney was made a baron, by the title of lord d'Aubeney; and ſir Robert Willoughby was made lord Brooke; while Edward Stafford, ſon to the late duke of Buckingham, was reſtored to all his father's honours and eſtates, which had been confiſcated by the uſurper Richard.

On the tenth of December, the laſt day of the ſeſſion, the houſe of commons thought fit to addreſs the king as he ſat upon the throne, that he

‡ This band has been kept up by all his ſucceſſors, who have increaſed the number to one hundred, who are in daily waiting, beſides ſeventy ſupernumeraries; and when any one of the hundred dies, his place is ſupplied from among the ſeventy.

* Year Book, 1 Hen. VII. Term. Mich.

† Ibid.

‖ Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. VII. n. 2.

would

would be pleaſed to marry the princeſs Elizabeth without delay, that he might have heirs of his body. This addreſs was no ſooner heard by the lords ſpiritual and temporal, than, all riſing up from their ſeats, and making each a profound reverence before the throne, they made the ſame requeſt. Henry promiſed to gratify them in conſummating the marriage, and the two houſes were prorogued to the twenty-third of January next following, having firſt repealed the act 1 Richard III. for ſettling the crown upon that prince, and ordered the copy of it on record to be taken off the roll of parliament and burnt, the two houſes declaring by this method their utter deteſtation of that act, on account of its baſtardizing the children of Edward IV.

As ſoon as the parliament was diſſolved, Henry ſent into France Oliver King, archdeacon of Oxford, with money to repay king Charles what he had lent him, and his charges in fitting out the fleet which brought him to England; whereupon the marquis of Dorſet and ſir John Bourchier, left as hoſtages at Paris *, had leave to return home. At the ſame time Henry impowered his envoy to prolong the truce with France, if he found Charles and his council inclined to ſuch a meaſure.

In the beginning of the year 1486, Henry ſettled his privy-council, to which he called John Morton, biſhop of Ely, lately returned from Flanders, and Richard Fox †, of whoſe abilities and attachment he had long experience, particularly the former, whom he ſoon after advanced to the metropolitical dignity of Canterbury, and made him lord-chancellor of England; and the latter he made biſhop of Exeter, from whence he afterwards tranſlated him to the ſee of Wincheſter, the richeſt biſhopric in England. Theſe two prelates, with Urſwick the king's chaplain, were generally employed in the moſt important commiſſions, embaſſies, and negociations.

On the eighteenth of January Henry performed his engagement to the nation and to the houſe of York, by ſolemnly eſpouſing the princeſs Elizabeth, on which occaſion the people expreſſed the greateſt demonſtrations of joy.

Henry's firſt political meaſure this year, was to perfect what had been in part begun by his predeceſſor, the aboliſhing all liveries and retainers: for this purpoſe he appointed ſir Humphrey Starkey, ſir William Norris, and others, his commiſſioners for calling before them any man under the degree of a baron, and adminiſtering to them the following oath, which I ſhall inſert as it is to be found in the records, that the reader may form a ſuitable idea of the many abuſes which had ſo long diſturbed the inward peace of our country.

"Ye ſhall ſwear, that ye, from henceforth, ſhall not retain, aid, not comfort any excommunicate perſon, murderer, or felon, or perſon outlawed for felony, by you known ſo to be; nor any ſuch perſon lett [hinder] to be attached or taken therefore, by the order of the law; nor retain any man by indenture, or oath, or your livery, ſign, or token, contrary to the law; nor any maintenance, umbrance, riots, or unlawful aſſemblers make, or cauſe to be made, or aſſent thereto.

"Nor ſhall ye lett, nor cauſe to be letted, the execution of any of the king's writs or precepts, directed to ſuch lawful miniſters and officers as ought to have the execution of the ſame; nor let [admit] any man to bail or mainprize, knowing and deeming him to be a felon, upon your honour and worſhip. So God help you and all ſaints."

This was the firſt mortal blow which the feudal ſyſtem received, though it had been much abridged both of its ſtrength and ornaments.

As the northern counties were moſt of them warmly attached to the houſe of York, Henry, to conciliate the affections of the inhabitants to his government, ſet out, about Eaſter this year, on a progreſs into thoſe parts. During his ſtay at Lincoln he heard that the lord Lovel, the boſom-favourite of the deceaſed Richard, and his two brothers, Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, who had refuſed to accept of the general amneſty, had eſcaped out of Colcheſter abbey, where they had taken ſanctuary ever ſince the battle of Boſworth; that the two latter had gathered together a force, with which they propoſed to attack the city of Worceſter; and that the lord Lovel, at the head of three or four thouſand men, was advancing to ſurprize the city of York, in which place there was but too good reaſon to apprehend that he had correſpondents. Henry, upon receiving a confirmation of this news, wiſely judged that no time was to be loſt to cruſh this inſurrection in its infancy. Accordingly, having enliſted forces in the adjacent counties to the place of his reſidence, to the number of three thouſand, he gave the command of this haſtily raiſed and meanly armed corps to his uncle, the duke of Bedford, with a diſcretionary power to act as he ſhould ſee occaſion, either by proffers of mercy, or by force of arms: that nobleman executed his commiſſion ſo well, that in a very ſhort time the rebels under lord Lovel were reduced to obedience: their chief made his eſcape over ſea to the court of the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy; and the two Staffords hearing of this event, abandoned the ſiege of Worceſter, which they were warmly proſecuting, and, being forſaken by their followers, who accepted the offers of pardon made in the king's name for ſuch as would lay down their arms, took ſactuary in the church of Coldnham, near Abingdon; but the court of King's Bench declaring that the privilege of this place did not extend to traitors, they were dragged from thence; the elder brother, Humphrey, ſuffered at Tyburn; but the younger, as being ſuppoſed under the influence of his ſenior, had his life given him by Henry's moderation.

Nor was this the only inſtance Henry had of the great attachment of the Engliſh people to Edward IV. and his family; for on his return to London, about Midſummer, he found that the people murmured greatly at his poſtponing the coronation of Elizabeth his queen, the evident coldneſs and indifference with which he treated her, and his embracing every opportunity of humbling the friends of the houſe of York; nay, they went ſo far as ſecretly to whiſper about, that he had cauſed the earl of Warwick to be privately put to death in the Tower; and the emiſſaries of the houſe of York

* See p. 130, of this volume.

† The reſt of his privy-council were John de Vere, earl of Oxford; Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby; ſir William Stanley, lord chamberlain; Robert Willoughby, lord Brooke, ſteward of his houſhold; Giles, lord Daubeney; John, lord Dynham; ſir Reginald Bray, ſir John Cheney, ſir Richard Guilford, ſir Richard Tunſtall, ſir Richard Edgecombe, ſir Thomas Lovell, ſir Edward Poynynges, ſir John Riſley, &c. Hall, fol. 3.

induſtriouſly

induſtriouſly propagated a report that Richard, ſecond ſon to Edward IV. had made his eſcape from the cruelty of his uncle, and was ſtill alive on the continent. The avidity with which theſe reports were ſwallowed by the populace, from the diſguſt they had taken to their new maſter, whoſe perſonal manners were far from being fitted to acquire the affections or gain the hearts of his ſubjects, encouraged Richard Simon, a prieſt of Oxford, to deviſe a ſcheme equally extravagant and enterpriſing. He had a pupil called Lambert Simnel ‡, a youth of uncommon vivacity and extraordinary perſonal accompliſhments, and him he reſolved to paſs upon the world as Richard, duke of York, the ſecond ſon of Edward IV. While he was employed in training up this impoſtor, it was rumoured that Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, had eſcaped from the ruffians ſent to murder him in the Tower, and was concealed ſomewhere in England. Upon this report Simon immediately changed his plan, and determined that his pupil ſhould perſonate this young nobleman; a ſcheme much more extravagant than the other, if we conſider that the ſon of the duke of Clarence had been, after his father's death, honourably maintained in the court of his uncle Edward, until he was eight years of age, and that therefore his perſon was well known to a great number of people. Notwithſtanding this obſtacle, Simon continued to inſtruct his pupil in his new part; and this ſeems to have taken up the whole year, for we hear nothing of him before the beginning of 1487. We ſhall therefore leave him to his inſtructions, and now take a view of the ſituation of the neighbouring princes of Europe, with whom Henry had connections or concerns, this being abſolutely neceſſary to give us a clear inſight into the motives of Henry's conduct, who in his time owed the chief figure he made in Europe to his policy rather than to his arms. We ſhall begin with the affairs of Brittany.

It has been elſewhere obſerved, that Peter Landois, favourite of the duke of Brittany, entirely governed that prince, who was old and infirm, and very much impaired in his underſtanding: ſeveral lords of Brittany had made a league againſt that miniſter, and intended to ſeize him; but, having miſcarried in their deſign, were expoſed to the vengeance of the favourite, who had cauſed them all to be condemned to die. In the beginning of the year 1485*, Landois, in the name of the duke his maſter, levied an army to executed the ſentence; and the lords, on their part, took up arms in their defence. While Brittany was thus divided, and the two parties ready to come to a battle, the condemned lords cauſed it to be repreſented to thoſe who ſerved Landois, that, in the preſent affair, the intereſt of the miniſter only was concerned, and not that of their common maſter, the duke; that it was unjuſt to ſhed the blood of their fellow-ſubjects in the quarrel of a man who had notoriouſly abuſed his maſter's confidence; that therefore, to appeaſe at once the troubles of their country, the more natural and readier way than that of arms, would be to rid themſelves of the miniſter, after which not a man would refuſe to render due obedience to their ſovereign. The lords of the duke's party deeming this expedient very reaſonable, were of opinion that it was for the intereſt of their country and the duke himſelf, that Landois, the ſole cauſe of the troubles, ſhould be ſacrificed to the public good. Landois hearing that the lords of the two armies were contriving ſomething againſt him, cauſed a declaration to be drawn, wherein the duke ordered that all perſons of his army who held intelligence with the proſcribed lords, ſhould be deemed traitors and rebels. But this only ſerved to haſten his ruin; the chancellor, who was in the confederacy againſt him, refuſed to ſeal the declaration, and informed the lords of it, who thereupon determined to carry their ſcheme into immediate execution: accordingly, without giving him time to take other meaſures, they went in a body to the palace, and ſeized Landois in the duke's own apartment, who was forced to deliver him up, on condition they would ſpare his life: but that was not their intention; on the contrary, they brought him to a ſpeedy trial, and, convicting him of a thouſand crimes, made him attone for them on the gallows, before the duke was informed of the ſentence. How much ſoever the duke was troubled at the death of his favourite, he could nor refuſe granting the lords of the two armies letters of pardon. Thus Brittany would have been reſtored to her former tranquility, had not the duke imprudently concerned himſelf with the troubles of the French court, which brought on the ruin of himſelf and his dukedom. This is what muſt now be ſhewn, ſince it was the occaſion of the war which broke out between Charles VIII. and the duke of Brittany, and in which Henry VII. was concerned.

Lewis XI. king of France, dying in the year 1482, left the government of the perſon of his ſon and ſucceſſor, Charles VIII. to his daughter Anne, wife of Peter de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu. Charles was fourteen years old, and conſequently of age, according to the ordinance of Charles V. but as he had been ill educated, and was of a very infirm conſtitution, the king his father thought him incapable of governing. The moment Lewis XI. was in his grave, Lewis, duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood, refuſed to acknowlege Anne of Beaujeu for the king's governeſs, affirming that a woman had no right to meddle with the affairs of the kingdom. The ſtates being aſſembled at Tours, in January, 1484, ended the diſpute by their authority; they confirmed the late king's will, and appointed the duke of Orleans to be preſident of the council in the king's abſence.

Whilſt the ſtates of France were aſſembled, the lords of Brittany made their firſt attempt upon Landois before-mentioned, which proved unſucceſsful. The ſentence which was given againſt them creating a dread of the favourite's revenge, they applied to Anne of Beaujeu, to obtain the king her brother's protection. On the other hand, Landois, ſeeing his enemies had recourſe to the lady Anne, thought he could not do better than rely upon the aſſiſtance of the duke of Orleans: to that end he entreated him to come to the court of Brittany, putting him in hopes the duke would give him in marriage Anne, his eldeſt daughter and preſumptive heireſs. The duke of Orleans had eſpouſed, againſt his will, Joanna, daughter of Lewis XI. but had made againſt this forced marri-

‡ So called probably from his being the ſon of a baker of ſimnel-loaves, a kind of bread made of the fineſt flour. Guthrie.

* Mezerai, Rapin, Argentré.

age

age a ſecret proteſtation, which he meant to uſe in order to annul it at a more favourable juncture. So, pleaſed with the hopes Landois had inſpired him with, he came to Brittany, where he was extremely careſſed. But he could make no long ſtay there, being obliged to aſſiſt at the king's coronation, which was performed in June that year. Probably, whilſt he was in Brittany, he concerted meaſures with the duke and his favourite to diſturb the government of Anne of Beaujeu, who was become abſolute miſtreſs of the king her brother's perſon and affairs.

Shortly after, the duke of Orleans forming a league againſt the court, and retiring to Boiſgency, demanded that the ſtates of France might be aſſembled. He intended to annul the regulation with reſpect to the government of the king's perſon: but Anne of Beaujeu cauſed the king to march againſt him with ſuch expedition, that he was forced to accept ſuch terms as were preſcribed him, becauſe his friends were not yet ready to aſſiſt him. By the agreement, the count de Dunois and Longueville, who was conſidered as his chief adviſer, was baniſhed to Aſti, in Piedmont, a town belonging to the duke of Orleans, with a command not to ſtir from thence without the king's expreſs licence.

The duke of Orleans, being thus compelled to diſmiſs his troops, cauſed the greateſt part to liſt in the duke of Brittany's army againſt the condemned lords. On the other hand, Anne of Beaujeu ſent likewiſe to the barons part of the king's troops. The death of Landois, which happened ſoon after, was not capable of making the duke of Orleans deſiſt from his projects. He ſtood in need of the duke of Brittany to ſupport him againſt the court, and even hoped one day to marry his daughter. On the other ſide the duke of Brittany, having been greatly oppreſſed by Lewis XI. and knowing Anne of Beaujeu was of the ſame character, and followed the ſame maxims, believed he could not do better than reſt upon the aſſiſtance of the duke of Orleans; therefore, after ſome negociations, theſe two princes formed a league together, into which came John de Châlons, prince of Orange, nephew to the duke of Brittany, the duke of Bourbon, the count de Dunois, the duke of Lorraine, and ſeveral other princes and lords. Some time after, the count de Dunois returned into France without leave, and withdrew to his ſeat at Partenay, in Poictou. The king was yet ignorant of the duke of Orleans's deſigns; but the count de Dunois's return convincing him ſome plot was contriving in favour of that prince who was gone to Blois, he ſent him a poſitive order to repair to court. The duke obeyed upon the ſecond ſummons; but the next day, being informed ſome ill was intended him, feigned to go a hunting, and retired into Brittany, whither he was quickly followed by the prince of Orange and the count de Dunois. This was in the beginning of the year 1486. We muſt now ſee what paſſed in the Netherlands.

Since the death of Mary of Burgundy, Maximilian of Auſtria, her huſband, had been involved in troubles on account of the guardianſhip of her ſon Philip, who became ſovereign of the Low Countries upon the demiſe of the ducheſs his mother: Brabant, Holland, and Zealand had willingly received him for guardian; but Flanders and Hainault refuſed to obey him as ſuch.

The obſtinacy of the Flemings obliged Maximilian to make peace with Lewis upon the following terms: that the dauphin Charles, ſon of Lewis, ſhould marry Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, as ſoon as they attained a certain age: that Margaret ſhould have for dower Artois, Franche Compté, Maçon, and Auxerre, and be educated at the court of France. Purſuant to this treaty, Lewis kept thoſe provinces which he had already ſeized, and took Margaret home, till the marriage ſhould be conſummated.

In 1483, Maximilian ſucceſsfully made war upon the Liegeois. That ſame year Hainault owned him for guardian of his ſon Philip.

In the year 1484, the Flemings ſtill perſiſting in their refuſal to acknowlege Maximilian for guardian, appointed governors for Philip, of whom Adolphus de Cleves, lord of Ravenſtein, was the chief. This obſtinacy occaſioned a war between them and Maximilian, in which Charles VIII. took part by aſſiſting the Flemings.

This war ended in January, 1485, in a treaty, importing that the Flemings ſhould acknowlege Maximilian for guardian of his ſon, upon the expreſs condition that he ſhould not remove him from Flanders till of age. The treaty being ſigned, Maximilian made his entry into Ghent; where, a few days after, a ſedition was raiſed, but which was happily appeaſed. During the reſt of the year the Low Countries enjoyed a tranquility which afforded Maximilian time to take a journey into Germany, to be elected king of the Romans.

I ſhall cloſe this digreſſion with the affairs of Scotland. James III. king of Scotland, had been extremely complaiſant to Richard III. A truce had been agreed upon to laſt between the two kingdoms till the twenty-ninth of September, 1487; and a marriage, as we have already ſeen, was concluded between the duke of Rotheſay, prince of Scotland, and the duke of Suffolk's daughter *, which project fell with Richard's death. Upon the revolution in favour of Henry, the Scots took the opportunity of the unſettled ſtate of his affairs to beſiege and take the caſtle of Dunbar, which had been put into the hands of the Engliſh by the duke of Albany †. Henry's ſituation, and the important affairs which engaged his attention in the beginning of his reign, not permitting him to reſent this breach of the truce in a proper manner, by declaring war againſt the Scots, he thought proper to try the milder methods of negociating, and appointed ambaſſadors to treat with the biſhop of Aberdeen and other commiſſioners named by king James. As Henry was then under high obligations to the French court, the negociation met with no difficulty, and, on the third of July this year (1486), a ceſſation of arms was agreed upon, to laſt between the two kingdoms till the third of July, 1489.

Henry, during all theſe incidents abroad, took no other concern than that of keeping well with every power, without declaring openly for any: but the king's favourite plan ſeems to have been to take advantage of the jarring intereſts which prevailed on the continent, for improving the trade and commerce of England, as will be more particularly ſhewn when we come to conſider the ſtate of Commerce under this reign.

The lord Bacon, in his Life of Henry VII. has fixed the time of the birth of Henry's ſon Arthur

* See p. 129, of this volume.

† See p. 119.

to the twentieth of September this year; which, if true, ſuppoſes him to be born in the eighth month. As Henry affected to be the fountain of Britiſh as well as Engliſh royal blood, he gave the name of Arthur to the young prince in memory of the renowned Arthur, the Britiſh hero.

Cardinal Bourchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury, dying about this time, Henry promoted his favourite and chief miniſter, Morton, biſhop of Ely, to that ſee. In the courſe of this year alſo, Stanley, earl of Derby, was created lord high-conſtable of England, with a ſalary of one hundred pounds per annum; and the lord d'Aubeney was made governor of the town and caſtle of Guiſnes and the Marches thereof: and pope Innocent VIII. who was a great friend to Henry, ſent the cardinal Imola as his legate a latere into England, with a bull confirming the act of ſucceſſion, and declaring "the throne of England to belong to him both by right of war, by ſucceſſion, by the election of prelates, nobles, and people, by the decrees, ſtatutes, and ordinances of parliament;" and alſo granting a diſpenſation for his marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, to whom Henry was related in the fourth degree of conſanguinity *, which, according to the rules of the canon law in thoſe days, was an impediment not to be removed without a papal diſpenſation: "ſentence of excommunication was alſo denounced againſt all rebels and diſturbers of the king or his peace, or any who ſhould preſume to raiſe any diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion to the throne."

It ſhould ſeem that Henry had ſolicited the interpoſition of the court of Rome in this caſe, a ſtep which is not only inexcuſable in him, on account of the meanneſs, but as it was a direct breach of the ſtatute of Præmunire, of which the Engliſh were ſo jealous; though Henry, apprehenſive of the reſentment of the people, had taken care to have it ſaid in the bull, that the pope granted it of his own pure motion, and without any previous requeſt; a clauſe evidently falſe: but we ſhall ſoon ſee that this bull was not capable of preventing the king's being frequently moleſted. The Engliſh were no longer, as formerly, ſuch bigots as to imagine the pope's authority could give Henry a title which he really had not, and which they conſidered as truly exiſting in the princeſs Elizabeth alone, and tranſmitted to him by his marriage with her.

In a word, all Henry's precautions could neither over awe nor ſooth the ſpirit of diſaffection to his government. The year 1487 was uſhered in with many commotions in different parts of the kingdom, which gave occaſion to the erection of the court of Star-chamber, of whoſe authority and powers the reader will find a ſuccinct account in the article of Laws, following this reign. But Henry's peace received a mortal wound by the tidings of the ſucceſs which Simon and his pupil Lambert had met with in the proſecution of their impoſture, which we ſhall now follow through its ſeveral ſteps. Simon, the inſtructor and preceptor of this young adventurer, knowing that Ireland had been long attached to the houſe of York through all its branches, determined (moſt probably too by the advice of the queen-mother, or thoſe who were in the ſecret of Simnel's impoſture) that he ſhould make his firſt appearance in that iſland, as earl of Warwick. Accordingly he carried him over thither, in the ſpring of this year, where he found the people diſpoſed to give him ſuch a reception as he could wiſh, the memory of Clarence, who had been their lord-lieutenant, being ſtill adored by them: the archbiſhops of Armagh and Dublin, and in ſhort almoſt the whole body of the Iriſh nobility, owned Lambert for the earl of Warwick, and he was with unanimous conſent brought to the caſtle of Dublin. We cannot pretend, at this diſtance, to account for the cauſe, but it is certain that Henry's title and perſon were ſo much diſreliſhed in Ireland, that all this was effected without the ſmalleſt oppoſition, the city of Waterford excepted. Henry, indeed, had not taken ſufficient precaution in the choice of his officers and adminiſtration in Ireland: he had appointed his uncle Jaſper, duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant; but that nobleman had been prevented by ſome accident from paſſing over to take poſſeſſion of his charge, which was executed by Gerald Fitz Gerald, earl of Kildare, as his deputy, who, as well as his brother, the lord Thomas Fitz Gerald, then chancellor of Ireland, were avowed partizans of the houſe of York; and the earl not only ſuffered our young adventurer to be formally preſented to him, but even affected to believe his whole ſtory.

Nothing could give greater diſguſt to Henry than the news of this ſucceſsful impoſture: he ſent to the earl of Kildare, requiring him to come to England; but the earl excuſed himſelf. This confirmed Henry in the ſuſpicions he entertained of that nobleman: and, to add to his perplexity, he was aſſured from good authority, that Margaret, ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, ſiſter to Edward IV. ſupplied the pretender both with money and inſtructions; that the queen dowager herſelf was deeply in the plot; and that John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, who had been declared preſumptive heir to the crown by Richard III. was gone over to Flanders, where he had for ſome time kept a correſpondence with the lord Lovel, then at the ducheſs of Burgundy's court; and in fine, that the confederacy was ſpreading every where in England, by means of theſe perſons and their agents.

In this dilemma, Henry called a cabinet-council at Shene, to deliberate on the meaſures that were to be purſued. The reſult of this deliberation was the ſhutting up of the queen-mother in Bermondſey monaſtery, in Southwark, in order to hinder her from purſuing her intrigues; and the bringing the real earl of Warwick from the Tower, to expoſe him through all the principal ſtreets of London, as well to invalidate the malicious reports of his having been murdered there, as to convince the many, who perſonally knew him, of the falſhood of the pretender's aſſertions. This ſtep, my lord Bacon obſerves, had the deſired effect in England; but the Iriſh, infatuated with their idol, maintained that Henry had ſubſtituted a counterfeit, and that the true earl of Warwick was abſolutely with them. Another reſolution of Henry's council, and which, indeed, proved the moſt ſalutary of all, was to iſſue a general pardon to all offenders, even thoſe guilty of treaſon not excepted. At the ſame time orders were given for ſtrictly guarding the ſea-coaſts towards Flanders and Ireland.

In the mean time the abettors of Simnel's impoſture were not idle: the earl of Lincoln and the du-

* They were both ſprung from the ſame ſtock, namely Edward III.

cheſs

chess of Burgundy having concerted measures with the disaffected nobles of Ireland, it was resolved that Margaret should send over a body of two thousand Germans, all veteran troops, under the command of Martin Schwartz, a brave and experienced officer; and that the earl of Lincoln in person should assist in the expedition: they accordingly took shipping in the month of May, and, after a safe and quick passage, arrived at Dublin. The Irish now imagined themselves so sure of success, that the great officers of state came to a resolution of solemnly crowning Lambert: accordingly a crown was taken from a statue of the Virgin Mary, and placed with great ceremony on the head of the impostor, in the cathedral church of Dublin, who was then proclaimed king, by the name of Edward VI. and it was resolved immediately to carry the war into England, where they imagined they should be assisted by all the friends of the house of York, so as to be able to dethrone the usurper without the least difficulty.

As soon as Henry certainly knew the intention of the rebels, he assembled two armies, the command of which he gave to the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford, in order to secure both sides of the island against a descent; and during the winter he made a tour through the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, where he had most reason to fear an invasion, on account of their neighbourhood to the Low Countries. While he was making some stay at St. Edmundsbury, he heard that the marquis of Dorset was on his way to visit him, in order to clear himself of some aspersions that had been cast upon his character; but Henry, not chusing to have any personal interview with him, which was likely to produce only disagreeable reflections on his late conduct towards the queen-mother, sent the earl of Oxford to meet and convey him to the Tower, there to remain till the present danger was over.

Henry had no sooner returned from his northern progress, than he learned, that, notwithstanding all his precautions, the rebels, with their auxiliaries, had found means to land in Lancashire, and that they were commanded by the earls of Lincoln and Kildare, the lord Lovel, and Martin Schwartz. Upon this intelligence he ordered a general rendezvous of his forces at Coventry, which lies in the centre of the kingdom. Thither Henry repaired in person, accompanied by the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford, determined to be ready to encounter any attempts of the enemy. The rebels, on their part, with their mock prince, directed their march towards York, in hopes of being joined in their progress by all the enemies of the present government; but, notwithstanding their sanguine hopes, not an Englishman was added to their standard, except a few under sir Thomas Broughton: this was owing as well to the many wise precautions Henry had taken to strengthen himself against the impending storm, as to the people's conviction of Lambert's being an impostor, and their indignation at beholding their vassals the Irish presuming to place a king on the throne of England. The earl of Lincoln, alarmed at this coldness, and apprehending that his army, amounting to eight thousand men, would rather diminish than increase, determined to venture a battle with the first opportunity.

The same reasons that determined the earl, determined Henry also; and, leaving Coventry, he proceeded as far as Nottingham, where being reinforced by six thousand men, under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury and the lord Strange, he advanced, on the sixteenth of June, to Stoke, a village near Newark, where the earl of Lincoln lay encamped on a rising ground, and offered the enemy battle. The earl, in his present situation, could not decline, and therefore readily accepted the challenge; and marching down the hill with great resolution, began a furious conflict, which was maintained with equal valour on both sides for three hours, though the ranks of the Irish were thinned continually by the shot of the English archers, against which they had no defence, being entirely unprovided with any armour of defence: the English under the earl of Lincoln and the lord Lovel, and the Germans under Schwartz, made so noble a resistance, that the greatest part of Henry's vanguard were cut in pieces; but at last the valour of Henry's troops bore down all before it. The Germans, with their brave leader Schwartz, were all slain fighting on the very spot they occupied; a frightful slaughter was made of the Irish, of whom four thousand, with their commander Fitz Gerald, a brother to the earl of Kildare, were killed; the earl of Kildare, with most of Broughton's English likewise fell in the field, as did the earl of Lincoln: the lord Lovel was never more heard of*; but sir Thomas Broughton escaped to his own estate of Witherslack, in Westmoreland, where he afterwards lived and died in obscurity.

Lambert Simnel and his tutor were taken prisoners; and the latter being committed close prisoner to the Tower, was never heard of more. The former, either as being too young to be arraigned and executed, or because Henry was willing to leave him a living testimony of an imposture, in case he might have occasion to deal with any future claimant of the crown, was employed in the servile office of scullion in the king's kitchen, carrying wood, and doing other menial duties; in which it seems he acquitted himself so well, that he was afterwards raised to be one of the king's falconers: an instance of Henry's deep policy, who by this means deprived his rival even of the smallest degree of consequence in the opinion of any thinking person.

Immediately after the battle, the king marched to Lincoln, from whence he proceeded to York; and in this progress severely punished all who had assisted the rebels, or were convicted of having in any wise favoured them. The delinquents were tried partly by commissioners and partly by martial law; but the punishment fell upon their estates only, the king being satisfied with filling his coffers by fines and confiscations. When he had, as he thought, sufficiently fleeced his enemies, he

* The lord Lovel is by some supposed to have been drowned, in attempting to ford the Trent, after the action; others allege that he lost his life in the battle; and a third set pretend that he passed the remainder of his days in a vault or cavern. This last opinion is strengthened by a discovery made, about sixty years ago, at this nobleman's seat at Minster Lovel, near Witney, in Oxfordshire. The workmen, in repairing the house, found, in a subterraneous room, the figure of a venerable old man, sitting in a great chair, resting one of his elbows on a table, and leaning his head on the palm of his hand; but when touched, the body fell into dust. Carte, vol. ii. p. 829.

procured

procured a bull from the pope, Innocent VIII. impowering the archbiſhop of Canterbury to abſolve them of the excommunication they had incurred by violating the former bull of ſettlement; as if he had been tenderly ſolicitous about the ſalvation of even thoſe who had ſought his downfal.

While Henry reſided at York, deputies arrived from Scotland, to terminate ſome differences concerning the fiſhery of the river Eſk; and the king took this occaſion to begin a negociation with James III. the Scottiſh monarch, to whoſe court he ſent Fox, biſhop of Exeter, and ſir Richard Edgcombe, to treat of a tripple alliance. The treaty was projected and agreed to by the Scots, on the following terms:

"I. That the high and mighty prince, James Stuart, marquis of Ormond, earl of Roſs, and lord Brechin, ſecond ſon to king James, ſhould marry the right noble lady Catherine, third daughter of Edward IV. late king of England, and ſiſter to the princeſs Elizabeth, now queen of England.

"II. That the ſaid James, king of Scotland, ſhould marry Elizabeth, late wife to the ſaid king Edward IV.

"III. That James, prince of Scotland, duke of Rotheſay, earl of Carrick, &c. ſhould marry another of the daughters of Edward IV.

"IV. That the king of England ſhould cede, for ever, the town and caſtle of Berwick to the Scots.

"V. That, in order to ſettle the articles and conditions of the three marriages, a congreſs ſhould be held at Edinburgh on the twenty-fourth of January enſuing, another in May, and an interview between the two kings ſome time in July.

"VI. and laſtly, That the truce ſubſiſting between the two crowns ſhould be prolonged for thirteen months."

This indenture and convention was ſo ill reliſhed by the Scottiſh nobility, that in the enſuing year they formed a conſpiracy againſt their ſovereign, and at laſt fought, defeated, and murdered him in the field.

The king, in his progreſs through the North, had frequent opportunities to find that his viſible partiality againſt the houſe of York was the chief root of diſaffection to his government, and that the ſtrongeſt ſymptom of his partiality was held to be his refuſing to admit the queen to be crowned; therefore he determined to remove this ſubject of complaint, and, on his return to London, cauſed all the neceſſary preparations to be made for that purpoſe: he conſtituted the duke of Bedford high-ſteward for the coronation of the queen, which was performed, with the uſual ſolemnity, on the twenty-fifth of November, being then in the twenty-firſt year of her age, and about two years after her marriage. The marquis of Dorſet was at the ſame time releaſed, without examination or trial; and, towards the end of the year ſent, on a ſolemn embaſſy to the pope, with advice of the king's marriage, the coronation of the queen, and offers of ſervice and ſpiritual obedience. Thus Henry endeavoured to make a coalition of all parties, for ſupporting his government; and it was this conduct that chiefly contributed to give him the great figure he now made in the eyes of foreign princes, whoſe affairs it is proper we ſhould once more review.

The war ſtill continued in the Low Countries, where the troops of Charles VIII. ſurprized St. Omer's and Terouenne; and the inhabitants of Ghent were incited by a nobleman, called Ruffingham, to revolt againſt Maximilian. By this time Francis II. duke of Brittany, now very old and infirm, having no ſons, with the conſent of his eſtates ſettled the ſucceſſion upon his two daughters, Anne and Iſabel, the laſt of which dying before her father, Anne became ſole heireſs of Brittany. Charles VIII. propoſed to unite that duchy with France, by marrying this princeſs; but his ſcheme was traverſed by Lewis, duke of Orleans, to whom, as we have already obſerved, the duke of Brittany had given an aſylum at his court, together with the count de Dunois, and others of that party; and the lords of Brittany, on their ſides, entered into a negociation with Charles, though their motives were very different from thoſe by which the French king was actuated. When he concluded the alliance, he thought the treaty would furniſh him with an opportuninity to make a complete conqueſt of Brittany, while they hoped his protection would ſcreen them from the reſentment and arbitrary deſigns of their own ſovereign. In purſuance of this treaty, Charles, about May, 1487, marched ſeveral numerous bodies of forces towards the frontiers of Brittany, and, after reducing Ploermel, Vannes, and Dinant, laid ſiege to Nantes; but, after the French had lain before it for the ſpace of ſix weeks, they were compelled to abandon their enterprize by the count de Dunois, who found means to throw into the city a ſtrong body of troops, which had been ſent to the aſſiſtance of Francis by Maximilian, king of the Romans, who had views of eſpouſing his daughter.

The gaining of the battle of Stoke had given Henry of England ſo conſiderable a figure, that the court of France ſent a formal embaſſy to congratulate him on his ſucceſs, and beſpeak his friendſhip or at leaſt neutrality between them and the court of Brittany. Henry for ſome time amuſed the French ambaſſadors with promiſes of mediating between them and the duke, alleging that, as he had been under ſtrong obligations both to the king their maſter and to Francis, gratitude would not permit him openly to ſide with either againſt the other. In the mean time, however, he laid the affair before his parliament, who, on taking the matter into deliberation, and perceiving that the true aim of the French court was to annex the duchy of Brittany to their crown, which could not fail of being very injurious to the Engliſh intereſt on the continent, it was reſolved that the duke of Brittany ſhould be aſſiſted, and a ſubſidy was voted for that purpoſe; but Henry, who had only aſked his parliament's advice on that ſubject in order to get money from them, and having effected his deſign, never troubled himſelf about the affairs of Brittany any otherwiſe than by multiplying embaſſies, which he well knew would come to nothing.

However, in the ſpring of the enſuing year, 1488, at the earneſt requeſt of the lord Woodville, the queen's uncle, governor of the Iſle of Wight, he gave him a tacit permiſſion of tranſporting a body of four hundred men to the duke's aſſiſtance; and he had even the meanneſs to diſavow his knowlege of this tranſaction, when Charles ſent deputies to make complaint of it.

Lewis de la Tremouille, one of the French generals, had at that time invaded Brittany with an army of twelve thouſand French, and taken Cha-

teau

teau Briant and Ancennis; he afterwards reduced Fougeres, one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes on the frontiers of that country, and inveſted St. Aubin du Cormier. The Bretons advancing to the relief of that place, the two armies came to a general engagement, on the twenty-eighth of July, and the French gained the day by the advantage of their cavalry, in which they were much ſuperior: Woodville, with all his Engliſh, and about five thouſand Bretons, were killed on the ſpot; the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange were taken priſoners. This victory was followed by the ſurrender of St. Aubin; Dinant ſubmitted without reſiſtance, and St. Malo's capitulated after a ſlight defence.

The duke, being now left without any army to oppoſe the enemy, was obliged to accept ſuch terms as Charles thought fit to impoſe: theſe were, that he ſhould diſmiſs all his foreign auxiliaries, and ſolemnly promiſe never to admit any into his country for the future; that the French ſhould retain all the places they had in their poſſeſſion; and that the duke ſhould not diſpoſe of his daughter in marriage without the conſent of the French monarch. This treaty was concluded at Sablé, on the twenty-eighth of Auguſt, 1488; and about ten days afterwards the duke of Brittany himſelf died, leaving his daughter Anne heireſs of his dominions. She had, it is true, an excellent council appointed her by her father; but being without troops or money, ſhe was in no condition to reſiſt the French; for Charles, to make good his pretenſions, either by force or marriage, upon that duchy, immediately entered it with a ſtronger army than ever, and, towards the end of this year, made himſelf maſter of almoſt all the Lower Brittany.

As for Maximilian, inſtead of being in a condition to ſuccour his future father-in-law, he was himſelf impriſoned at Bruges, and remained in confinement until his father, Frederic the emperor, marched into the Low Countries, at the head of a numerous army, to his relief. He was ſo intent upon fortifying himſelf againſt the mutinous ſpirit of the Flemings, that, forgetting all his engagements with the duke of Brittany, he ſent an envoy to Spain, to demand of Ferdinand and his queen Iſabella, their daughter Iſabella for himſelf, and the younger infanta, Jane, for his ſon Philip. Mean while Philip de Cleves, lord of Ravenſtein, being choſen general of the inhabitants of Ghent, ſurprized the city of Bruſſels, and Maximilian retired to Germany, leaving Albert, duke of Saxony, to command for his ſon Philip in the Low Countries: and thus was the duke of Brittany totally abandoned by this ally, on whom he had placed ſo great confidence, and left to ſue for peace in the humble manner we have already deſcribed. It is now time to attend the domeſtic affairs of our own country.

In the latter end of the year 1487, Henry ſummoned a parliament at Weſtminſter, which continued ſitting far into the year 1488, and ſeveral excellent regulations were enacted therein, all which will be found under their proper heads, and will give the reader an idea of the firſt ſteps taken towards eſtabliſhing the preſent excellent form of government now exiſting, which we hope will be as permanent as is natural order or moral obligation. It was in this parliament that the king had a grant of a ſubſidy towards enabling him to aſſiſt the duke of Brittany effectually: it conſiſted of two fifteenths, beſides a poll-tax upon aliens, and an act of reſumption; but the rigorous manner in which theſe aids were levied, occaſioned great murmuring, particularly among the inhabitants of Yorkſhire and the biſhopric of Durham, who, as old partizans of the houſe of York, hated Henry, and refuſed to comply with the conditions of the tax, which, they ſaid, was a grievous oppreſſion, eſpecially the tenth penny laid upon every man's lands and goods.

At length theſe diſcontents were blown into open rebellion, by the inſtigation of one John a Chambre, of Yorkſhire, a fellow who delighted in ſedition and turbulency, and who ſoon got together a number of diſſolute people, ready for any enterprize into which their factious leader choſe to carry them. The moſt immediate object of their rage was the earl of Northumberland, who was lord-lieutenant in thoſe parts, and to whom they had ineffectually applied for a mitigation of the impoſt, and who had, indeed, made himſelf particularly odious to the Yorkiſts by his behaviour at the battle of Boſworth: in ſhort, the inſurgents got to ſuch an height, that they broke into the earl's houſe at Cockſedge, near Thirſk, about eighteen miles from York, and, after rifling the dwelling, dragged the earl out into the open fields, where, after making him go through a thouſand barbarous indignities, they completed their revenge by knocking out his brains. Then, putting one ſir John Egremont, a factious knight, at their head, they formed a kind of an army, and openly declared that they would march to London, and give battle to Henry.

The king was no ſooner informed of this diſturbance, than he ſent a body of troops againſt the rebels, under the command of the earl of Surry, whom he had lately releaſed out of the Tower and taken into his favour. That nobleman attacking the inſurgents, defeated them at the firſt onſet, and took John a Chambre priſoner, but ſir John Egremont made his eſcape, and fled for refuge to the court of the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, the aſſured aſylum to all who declared themſelves enemies to Henry Tudor. As a reward for his ſervices, Henry made the earl of Surry his lieutenant in thoſe parts, in the room of the late earl of Northumberland, and ſir Richard Tunſtal to be firſt commiſſioner for collecting the ſubſidy, which was done without the abatement of one penny.

We will now purſue Henry's great concern on the continent. The guardians of the young ducheſs of Brittany dreading leſt their ſovereign and her dominions ſhould fall a prey to the ambitious views of the French monarch, ſolicited without ceaſing the court of England to interpoſe its ſuccour. At length Henry began to perceive that he had continued his pacific plan too long. The uniting of the duchy of Brittany to the crown of France was an event which the Engliſh had great reaſon to dread; it would deprive them of an ancient and uſeful ally; it would increaſe the power of their moſt formidable enemy; it would raiſe the maritime power of France to ſuch an height, as in the ſequel might prove extremely dangerous; and it would add to the French dominions a country of large extent, abounding with brave ſoldiers and hardy ſeamen, and very conveniently ſituated either for diſtreſſing their trade, or keeping them in continual fear of an invaſion.

Influenced by theſe and the like conſiderations, Henry determined in good earneſt to oppoſe the deſigns of the French monarch, and ſupport the

ducheſs of Brittany in the poſſeſſion of her lawful rights. With this view he appointed ſir Richard Edgcombe, comptroller of his houſhold, and Dr. Ainſworth, ſecondary of the privy-ſeal, his ambaſſadors to the ducheſs of Brittany; and they were ſo aſſiduous in executing their commiſſion, that, on the tenth of February, 1489, they concluded a treaty offenſive and defenſive between Henry and that princeſs, the principal articles of which were as follow.

I. If the king of England, or his ſucceſſors, ſhould attempt the recovery of Normandy, Guienne, or any other territory, parcel of the kingdom of France, that then the ducheſs was to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of her power. This article was recited on the part of the ducheſs, in caſe that ſhe, for the like reaſons, ſhould carry the war into France.

II. That Henry ſhall, at his own expence, ſend ſix thouſand armed men to the defence of the ducheſs, of whom not more than five hundred were to be employed by him in garriſoning the cautionary towns to be yielded by this treaty, and thoſe troops to ſerve till the firſt of November enſuing.

III. That the ducheſs ſhall find ſhips and victualling for tranſporting the ſaid troops into England; and that ſhe ſhall repay, in England, the money expended by Henry upon the ſaid ſix thouſand auxiliaries, which were to be embarked at Portſmouth towards the middle of February next enſuing.

IV. That, as ſoon as the ſaid auxiliaries are landed, the ſaid ducheſs ſhall deliver to Henry, or his deputies, two of the following places, and all their revenues, as cautionary for the repayment of the ſaid ſum, till it is repaid, viz. Tonclurom near Hennebon, Auray, Vannes, Guerrande: in like manner it is provided, that whatever ſuccours the ſaid ducheſs ſhould afford to Henry, in his proſecution of a war with France, they ſhould be by him paid, or their expences deducted from thoſe of the auxiliaries furniſhed by him to her. This condition is reciprocal.

V. That the ducheſs ſhall ſwear, and the marſhal of Brittany with three others of the principal noblemen to be bound in the ſame oath, that ſhe will not reclaim any of the ſaid cautionary towns, before the repayment of her whole debt contracted to Henry, which is to be liquidated by commiſſioners appointed on both ſides.

VI. That the ducheſs ſhall give to Henry ſixteen hoſtages, to remain on board the Engliſh ſhips until ſuch time two of the fore-mentioned places, well provided in victuals and artillery, are delivered, according to the king of England's option.

VII. That the ducheſs, the marſhal of Brittany, and three or four of her principal noblemen, ſhall ſwear that ſhe will contract no marriage with any perſon, without the conſent and approbation of the ſaid king of England, the ſaid noblemen engaging themſelves to make good this article.

VIII. That the ſaid ducheſs ſhall not agree to any peace, or other alliance or intelligence, with any prince, the kings of the Romans and of Spain excepted, nor with them unleſs that he (Henry) is included in any treaty made with them by her; and likewiſe, that ſhe ſhall agree upon no truce or armiſtice for more than two months, but as above; nor for that neither without comprehending the king of England in the ſame. The latter part of this article is likewiſe reciprocal.

Such were the principal articles of the treaty of Rhedon, ſo called from the name of the place where it was concluded. It is eaſy to perceive, that in making this treaty Henry had three different views; firſt, to prevent Charles VIII. from becoming maſter of Brittany; ſecondly, to frighten that monarch into a compliance, by the ſending over to Brittany a ſtrong body of forces; his third and chief aim, was to ſecure the reimburſement of ſuch ſums as he might advance for the maintenance of ſix thouſand men for eight months; in all which Henry, agreeable to his eſtabliſhed maxim, made his own intereſt take place of every other conſideration: at the ſame time, in order to ſtrengthen himſelf more effectually, he concluded a treaty of alliance and commerce with young Philip, duke of Burgundy, ſon of Maximilian, king of the Romans; another for reviving the ancient alliances with Portugal, and for making that king (John II.) a knight of the Garter; a third, for removing all differences with the king of the Romans; and a fourth, for treating of a marriage between his ſon Arthur, prince of Wales, and Catherine of Arragon, daughter to Ferdinand, king of Caſtile, and for reviving the alliances with that court. To give the greater weight to theſe negociations, an army was raiſed by the advice of the parliament, which met again in the beginning of this year, for the ſupport of Brittany, and it was to be commanded by the lord Brooke and ſir John Halwell.

The French regency, alarmed at theſe reſolutions of the court of England, ſent over the archbiſhop of Sens, to expoſtulate with Henry on the part he was about to act; but the latter, with his uſual caution and policy, pretended that he was only an inſtrument in the hands of his parliament, in taking part with the ducheſs of Brittany, as it was far from being his own intention or deſire to act againſt a court, to which he owed ſo many obligations as he did to that of France. The archbiſhop, however, was not to be ſo eaſily impoſed upon; he ſaw into, and gave his court advice of, the true deſigns of Henry, which they found confirmed by the arrival of the Engliſh auxiliaries in March, who landed, to the number of eight thouſand, at Guerande, under the command of the lord Willoughby, ſir John Cheney, ſir John Middleton, Haletown, Corbet, Lighton, Cornwall, and others: they were readily received into Guerande, but refuſed admittance into Hennebon.

The French, however, by their prudent caution, preſerved all the footing they had gained in Brittany; diſtributed in garriſons through almoſt all the great towns, they over-ran the neighbourhood without oppoſition; the ducheſs had neither forces to check their excurſions, nor money to levy and maintain an army, nor even intereſt enough to procure her new allies, the Engliſh, the poſſeſſion of the places ſtipulated in the treaty of Rhedon; and theſe latter were too weak to undertake the ſiege of large and populous cities; the noblemen of Brittany were reſolute in refuſing them admittance into any of their caſtles. On the other hand, the French, fully ſenſible of what Engliſh courage was able to effect, if dared to exertion, prudently declined hazarding a general engagement, and kept themſelves within their ſtrong holds, waiting for every opportunity of making ſucceſsful ſallies,

ſallies, and ſurprize the detached parties of the enemy.

In theſe ſlight and trivial ſkirmiſhes the ſummer was ſpent without any action of importance; and the Engliſh, ſeeing nothing but diſcord and diſſention in the court of Brittany, returned to their own country, in the month of November, the term of their ſervice being then fully expired. But, in order to have a clear view of Henry's ſituation at this juncture, we muſt take a cloſer view of the hiſtory of the Breton court, and that of France, ſince the death of the duke of Brittany *.

Francis had left the guardianſhip of his daughter to the marſhal de Rieux and the counts de Comminges and Dunois, and committed the principal care of her perſon to Philip de Montauban, chancellor of the duchy, who, with the prince of Orange, couſin to the young ducheſs, compoſed the ruling part of the council, and engroſſed the direction of public affairs. Theſe noblemen were greatly divided in their ſentiments about the diſpoſal of their young ward in marriage.

The duke of Brittany had, in purſuance of the common practices of that time, amuſed ſeveral ſuitors with the hopes of marrying his daughter; he had even given a poſitive promiſe to Allain, lord d'Albret, who was upwards of forty years of age, while that of the princeſs was not above eleven. The marſhal de Rieux was bent upon giving her to this nobleman: the chancellor Montauban and the count de Comminges obſerved a neutrality, contented with having the perſon of the princeſs in their hands: while the young duke of Orleans made warm pretenſions to the lady, which was favoured by the ſolicitations of the count de Dunois, ſtill at the Breton court.

Whilſt cabals were carrying on at the court of Brittany, for the intereſts of theſe rivals, a treaty was made at Francfort, on the twenty-ſecond of July, between Maximilian and the king of France, in which a ſtipulation was made for the latter's putting St. Malo's, and other places he poſſeſſed in that province, into the hands of the duke of Bourbon and the prince of Orange (as ſequeſtrators, to preſerve them in a neutrality till the right of the duchy was judicially determined), as ſoon as the Engliſh were ſent out of Brittany. This treaty was ratified by both parties, and now Maximilian puſhing his addreſſes with more vigour than ever, and having gained the chancellor Montauban and the count de Comminges over to his intereſt, he, towards the end of this year, was married to the young ducheſs, by the count de Naſſau, his proxy, who, by way of conſummation, put his naked leg under the eſpouſal ſheets, while the ducheſs was in bed, a ceremony firſt invented on this occaſion.

The treaty between Charles and Maximilian was executed with great punctuality in ſuch articles as particularly concerned themſelves; but in thoſe relating to Brittany, the French ſtarted difficulties, and refuſed to reſign the places they poſſeſſed, on pretence that the province was not entirely cleared of Engliſh forces. In this ſituation were the affairs of the continent during the year 1489, while Henry was at home purſuing his great plan of aboliſhing the feodal law, and thereby making room for the ſafety of government, the exerciſe of induſtry, and the influx of commerce †.

The parliament of England, which had been prorogued laſt year from the twenty-third of February to the fourteenth of October, and, after having ſat till the fourth of December, been again prorogued to Monday the twenty-fifth of January, 1490, met on this laſt-mentioned day, for the uſual buſineſs of granting ſupplies, and for the more extraordinary one of attainting ſome perſons on account of a conſpiracy, about a month before, for delivering an innocent youth out of priſon.

Theſe perſons were John, abbot of Abingdon, John Maine and Chriſtopher Swanne, of the ſame place, Edward Frank and Thomas Rothwell, prieſt, of London; and they were charged, the three firſt with deſigning to go abroad the New Year's day 1487, to the earl of Lincoln, then in Flanders, and to have concerted a ſcheme for getting Edward, earl of Warwick, out of the king's ward, in order, as was ſurmiſed, to excite an inſurrection. The four laſt had conſulted once about it, at the houſe of one Henry Davy, in London, and another time at Abingdon; the abbot had been at neither of theſe meetings, nor ſpoken to any of the conſpirators except Maine; but, approving the ſcheme, had furniſhed them with money to aſſiſt in the execution of it. The young earl was kept ſo cloſe a priſoner, that no one knew for certain where he was, and the deſign miſcarried from the conſpirators miſtaking the place of his concealment or impriſonment; and the affair being diſcovered, all their lands and goods were declared forfeited, except ſuch as belonged to the monaſtery: but this ſentence was not to bar the king's prerogative from inflicting ſuch farther puniſhment on the abbot as he ſhould ſee fit; however, Henry contented himſelf with having ſwept all the wealth of the parties into his own coffers; and, not caring to revive the murmurs of the people by too frequent exertions of revenge on the Yorkiſts, dropped any farther proſecution. The parliament having granted a conſiderable ſubſidy on the twenty-ſeventh of February, was then diſſolved.

The diſpute with the court of France and that of Brittany, about the evacuation of places agreeable to the late treaty of Francfort, occaſioned a renewal of hoſtilities; and the lord d'Albret, chagrined at the marriage of the ducheſs with Maximilian, ſurprized Nantes, and delivered it into the hands of the French. In this dilemma, Anne, whoſe marriage with Maximilian had been kept a profound ſecret, as well from Charles of France as Henry of England, ſent the chancellor Montauban, and other envoys, to demand ſuccours of Henry, and even engaged never to marry without his knowlege and conſent, and to deliver the town and caſtle of Morlaix, as a ſecurity into Henry's hands for the money he had lent her. The ambaſſadors arrived in the month of February, but it was September before Henry could be brought to take any definitive meaſures in her favour: about that time he gave orders to ſir Thomas Lovel and Dr. Ainſworth, to meet with the ambaſſadors of Maximilian, and to enter into concert with them for making war upon the king of France, for the recovery of the towns "which the ſaid king (to uſe the words of the record, Rymer, vol. xii. p. 397), againſt all equity of law, villainouſly uſurped, and unjuſtly detained by force and fraud, from the ſaid Maximilian, or his ſon Philip,

* Argentré, Mezerai.

† See the articles Laws and Commerce, at the end of this reign.

duke

duke of Burgundy, or the ducheſs of Brittany." The emperor of Germany, the king and queen of Spain, the kings of Denmark and Portugal, were invited to accede to this treaty, together with the electors and princes of the empire. The king and queen of Spain immediately acceded to the ſame, and their acceſſion was notified by public proclamation throughout all England. But beſides this, Henry made a ſeparate treaty with the court of Spain for attacking France, unleſs ſhe would deliver up the county of Rouſſillon to the Spaniards, and likewiſe for renewing the treaty of marriage between prince Arthur and the princeſs Catherine of Spain; it was even agreed upon, that the marriage ſhould be celebrated as ſoon as the prince attained the age of fourteen and the princeſs that of twelve; and that ſhe ſhould have for her portion two hundred thouſand crowns, each crown to be valued at four ſhillings and two pence ſterling. This treaty was concluded on the part of Henry by Dr. Savage and ſir Richard Naufan.

Great effects might probably have ariſen from this formidable alliance againſt France, could Henry have been perſuaded to part with his money; but his fondneſs for that made him ſlight every other conſideration, and, inſtead of acting vigorouſly, he agreed to open conferences, at the ſolicitation of Charles, who dreaded his junction with the ducheſs, and ſent ambaſſadors to France, to endeavour to mediate between that court and the ducheſs and Maximilian. Charles, in the mean time, amuſed the Engliſh ambaſſadors with evaſive profeſſions, in order to gain time, that he might be able to terminate the war to his own advantage, without referring the diſpute to Henry, whoſe arbitration he had no mind to adopt.

During theſe negociations the duke of Saxony, who commanded in the Low Countries, in the name of Maximilian, publiſhed an edict touching the coin, to which the inhabitants of Bruges refuſed to ſubmit, and thoſe of Ghent joined in their revolt. The king of France, whoſe conſtant aim was to foment domeſtic troubles in the dominions of his neighbours, ſent ſuccours to the rebels, under the command of marſhal Deſguardes, governor of Picardy; and on the other hand Maximilian ſent ambaſſadors to Henry, to crave his aſſiſtance. The king of England, piqued at the manner in which Charles had ſhuffled with his ambaſſadors, and unwilling to ſee the archduke oppreſſed by his own ſubjects, ſent the lords d'Aubeney, Willoughby, and Morley to his aſſiſtance, with a body of three thouſand men; theſe, joining with a body of Maximilian's German troops, threw themſelves, unperceived by the enemy into Dixmude, which the Flemings, with the aſſiſtance of the French, had inveſted, after having taken Ypres and Sluys. D'Aubeney, who had the chief command of the Engliſh and Germans, ſallying forth the next morning by daybreak, came unawares upon the enemy, who were lying in full ſecurity in their camp, and falling upon them ſword in hand, routed them entirely, no leſs than eight thouſand French and Flemings being that day cut in pieces; and of the Engliſh, beſides the lord Morley, who fell in the beginning of the action, not above one hundred. The ſmall force d'Aubeney had with him not permitting the proſecution of even ſo conſiderable a victory, he contented himſelf with burning to the ground the town of Oſtend, which was then in poſſeſſion of the French, and immediately after marched the Engliſh troops into Nieuport, with all the cannon they had taken from the enemy, and ſo rich a booty that moſt of the common ſoldiers were now poſſeſſed of fine horſes and rich cloathing.

Theſe advantages which Maximilian got on the ſide of Picardy, and the reſolution Henry ſeemed now to have taken, of ſupporting his new allies, made Charles reſolve to ſend an embaſſy into England, to learn what he had to hope or fear from the Engliſh monarch, and, if poſſible, to detach him from the intereſt of the ducheſs of Brittany. For this purpoſe he choſe Francis de Luxembourg viſcount of Martigues, Valeran de Sannes, and Robert de Gaguin, general of the order of the Trinity. Henry, by an unaccountable ſpirit of dallying and prolonging the evil hour of parting with his money, agreed to open the conferences, and appointed Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter; the earl of Ormond; Gunthorpe, dean of Wells; the prior of Chriſt church, in Canterbury; ſir John Bourne; ſir Robert Tuberville, treaſurer of Calais; and Robert Roſs, purveyor of the ſame, to treat with the French concerning a final determination of all differences between the two crowns. Nothing material was tranſacted at theſe conferences, which paſſed chiefly in idle claims and uſeleſs altercations on both ſides. Morton, Henry's chancellor, indeed affected to talk in a very loſty ſtyle, and even told the French ambaſſadors, that the king his maſter expected the continuance or renewal of the payment of the appointment or tribute ſtipulated to Edward IV. by the treaty of Amiens; and when the French ambaſſadors declared they had no inſtructions on that head, he peremptorily told them "that the king their maſter muſt not be ſurprized, if, in caſe of a refuſal, king Henry ſhould aſſert his right, not only to the duchies of Normandy, Guienne, and Anjou, but even to the crown of France itſelf, as his lawful inheritance *."

The French ambaſſadors were ſurprized at this declaration; they behaved, however, with great ſpirit, and replied, that they made no doubt but the king their ſovereign's ſword would be able to maintain his ſceptre, adding, "that though they had no inſtructions upon the point ſtarted by the court of England; yet they could venture to ſay, that their maſter would never conſent to diſmember from his crown any part of its rights and poſſeſſions." This appearance of reſolution made Henry fear he had gone too far; he ordered Morton to ſound the ambaſſadors upon the following queſtion, "Whether Charles would accept the diſpoſal of the ducheſs of Brittany in marriage, with the excluſive condition that he ſhould not marry her himſelf?" To this queſtion the ambaſſadors replied, that their king was ſo far from entertaining any thought of eſpouſing the ducheſs, that he had given them no inſtructions on the ſubject: ſoon after they took their leave. Henry, upon this occaſion, ſpun his politics too fine; his intention was to intimidate Charles, and for that purpoſe he made uſe of a rhodomontade, which produced a contrary effect. The French king knew he was too wiſe to embark in ſuch a chimerical project as the conqueſt of France; and therefore interpreted his menaces

* Bacon.

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into an artifice for deterring him from the conqueſt of Brittany, which he reſolved to proſecute without farther heſitation: he was ſtrengthened in this reſolution when his ambaſſadors, on their return home, told him that Henry had notified to them, before their departure, that he was to ſend an embaſſy immediately to France, to treat of all differences.

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duke of Burgundy, or the ducheſs of Brittany." The emperor of Germany, the king and queen of Spain, the kings of Denmark and Portugal, were invited to accede to this treaty, together with the electors and princes of the empire. The king and queen of Spain immediately acceded to the ſame, and their acceſſion was notified by public proclamation throughout all England. But beſides this, Henry made a ſeparate treaty with the court of Spain for attacking France, unleſs ſhe would deliver up the county of Rouſſillon to the Spaniards, and likewiſe for renewing the treaty of marriage between prince Arthur and the princeſs Catherine of Spain; it was even agreed upon, that the marriage ſhould be celebrated as ſoon as the prince attained the age of fourteen and the princeſs that of twelve; and that ſhe ſhould have for her portion two hundred thouſand crowns, each crown to be valued at four ſhillings and two pence ſterling. This treaty was concluded on the part of Henry by Dr. Savage and ſir Richard Naufan.

Great effects might probably have ariſen from this formidable alliance againſt France, could Henry have been perſuaded to part with his money; but his fondneſs for that made him ſlight every other conſideration, and, inſtead of acting vigorouſly, he agreed to open conferences, at the ſolicitation of Charles, who dreaded his junction with the ducheſs, and ſent ambaſſadors to France, to endeavour to mediate between that court and the ducheſs and Maximilian. Charles, in the mean time, amuſed the Engliſh ambaſſadors with evaſive profeſſions, in order to gain time, that he might be able to terminate the war to his own advantage, without referring the diſpute to Henry, whoſe arbitration he had no mind to adopt.

During theſe negociations the duke of Saxony, who commanded in the Low Countries, in the name of Maximilian, publiſhed an edict touching the coin, to which the inhabitants of Bruges refuſed to ſubmit, and thoſe of Ghent joined in their revolt. The king of France, whoſe conſtant aim was to foment domeſtic troubles in the dominions of his neighbours, ſent ſuccours to the rebels, under the command of marſhal Deſguardes, governor of Picardy; and on the other hand Maximilian ſent ambaſſadors to Henry, to crave his aſſiſtance. The king of England, piqued at the manner in which Charles had ſhuffled with his ambaſſadors, and unwilling to ſee the archduke oppreſſed by his own ſubjects, ſent the lords d'Aubeney, Willoughby, and Morley to his aſſiſtance, with a body of three thouſand men; theſe, joining with a body of Maximilian's German troops, threw themſelves, unperceived by the enemy into Dixmude, which the Flemings, with the aſſiſtance of the French, had inveſted, after having taken Ypres and Sluys. D'Aubeney, who had the chief command of the Engliſh and Germans, ſallying forth the next morning by day-break, came unawares upon the enemy, who were lying in full ſecurity in their camp, and falling upon them ſword in hand, routed them entirely, no leſs than eight thouſand French and Flemings being that day cut in pieces; and of the Engliſh, beſides the lord Morley, who fell in the beginning of the action, not above one hundred. The ſmall force d'Aubeney had with him not permitting the proſecution of even ſo conſiderable a victory, he contented himſelf with burning to the ground the town of Oſtend, which was then in poſſeſſion of the French, and immediately after marched the Engliſh troops into Nieuport, with all the cannon they had taken from the enemy, and ſo rich a booty that moſt of the common ſoldiers were now poſſeſſed of fine horſes and rich cloathing.

Theſe advantages which Maximilian got on the ſide of Picardy, and the reſolution Henry ſeemed now to have taken, of ſupporting his new allies, made Charles reſolve to ſend an embaſſy into England, to learn what he had to hope or fear from the Engliſh monarch, and, if poſſible, to detach him from the intereſt of the ducheſs of Brittany. For this purpoſe he choſe Francis de Luxembourg viſcount of Martigues, Valeran de Sannes, and Robert de Gaguin, general of the order of the Trinity. Henry, by an unaccountable ſpirit of dallying and prolonging the evil hour of parting with his money, agreed to open the conferences, and appointed Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter; the earl of Ormond; Gunthorpe, dean of Wells; the prior of Chriſt church, in Canterbury; ſir John Bourne; ſir Robert Tuberville, treaſurer of Calais; and Robert Roſs, purveyor of the ſame, to treat with the French concerning a final determination of all differences between the two crowns. Nothing material was tranſacted at theſe conferences, which paſſed chiefly in idle claims and uſeleſs altercations on both ſides. Morton, Henry's chancellor, indeed affected to talk in a very loſty ſtyle, and even told the French ambaſſadors, that the king his maſter expected the continuance or renewal of the payment of the appointment or tribute ſtipulated to Edward IV. by the treaty of Amiens; and when the French ambaſſadors declared they had no inſtructions on that head, he peremptorily told them "that the king their maſter muſt not be ſurprized, if, in caſe of a refuſal, king Henry ſhould aſſert his right, not only to the duchies of Normandy, Guienne, and Anjou, but even to the crown of France itſelf, as his lawful inheritance *."

The French ambaſſadors were ſurprized at this declaration; they behaved, however, with great ſpirit, and replied, that they made no doubt but the king their ſovereign's ſword would be able to maintain his ſceptre, adding, "that though they had no inſtructions upon the point ſtarted by the court of England; yet they could venture to ſay, that their maſter would never conſent to diſmember from his crown any part of its rights and poſſeſſions." This appearance of reſolution made Henry fear he had gone too far; he ordered Morton to ſound the ambaſſadors upon the following queſtion, "Whether Charles would accept the diſpoſal of the ducheſs of Brittany in marriage, with the excluſive condition that he ſhould not marry her himſelf?" To this queſtion the ambaſſadors replied, that their king was ſo far from entertaining any thought of eſpouſing the ducheſs, that he had given them no inſtructions on the ſubject: ſoon after they took their leave. Henry, upon this occaſion, ſpun his politics too fine; his intention was to intimidate Charles, and for that purpoſe he made uſe of a rhodomontade, which produced a contrary effect. The French king knew he was too wiſe to embark in ſuch a chimerical project as the conqueſt of France; and therefore interpreted his menaces

* Bacon.

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marched a great army into Brittany, and encamped within a league of Rennes, where the ducheſs then reſided. This ſudden irruption, and the danger ſhe was in ſeemed at firſt to have no effect on the ducheſs; ſhe declared herſelf ready to fall beneath the ruins of her ſtate, rather than give her hand to the baſe invader of them: but Charles at length laying ſiege to her capital, and having nobody about her but a council ſhe could not truſt, all her nobility being profeſſedly in the intereſt of the French king, and no proſpect of relief being at hand, ſhe found herſelf at length conſtrained to yield to what the exigency of her circumſtances and the importunities of her faithleſs miniſters, taking advantage of that exigence, demanded of her: ſhe waved her objections, and her compliance was ſignified to Charles; hoſtilities ceaſed, the contract of marriage was drawn up, and the princeſs, being carried to Lagny, in Touraine, was, on the ſixteenth day of December, 1491, married to Charles, and ſoon after crowned at St. Denis.

As to the king of the Romans, this proceeding of Charles and the French court exaſperated him beyond all meaſure; he breathed nothing but revenge when he heard that he was robbed of his wife in ſuch a cruel and outrageous manner, and peremptorily inſiſted that his daughter Margaret, who had been affianced to Charles, and, as we have have already obſerved, had reſided ſo long in France, ſhould be ſent back to his own court: in a word, he filled all Europe with complaints and remonſtrances, but without any hope of being either redreſſed or revenged. He had, moreover, the mortification of reflecting, that his own negligence had not a little contributed to the diſgrace and diſappointment with which he now ſmarted; for had he been ſo prudent to conſummate his marriage with the ducheſs in perſon, inſtead of doing it by proxy only, it would have been impoſſible for Charles to have diſſolved the ſacred union; but as he had neglected to take this neceſſary precaution, the other politicly availed himſelf of ſuch an impolitic omiſſion.

Nothing could be more unexpected or unacceptable to Henry, than was the marriage of the French king with the ducheſs of Brittany: he ſaw, not without confuſion, that he had been the dupe of his own avaricious policy, of which he had now loſt all the fruits, not only as Brittany was entirely gone, but as the reimburſement of the ſums he had advanced for its defence was more precarious than ever. In the firſt emotions of his reſentment and vexation, he publicly declared a reſolution of heading his army in perſon againſt France; he iſſued out orders to levy forces, and prepare tranſports, and put on a determined air of acting with vigour.

His next ſtep was to aſſemble a parliament, which met on Thurſday the ſixth of January, 1492, when, in a ſet ſpeech, he acquainted the two houſes with the king of France's ſeizing the duchy of Brittany, while he amuſed him with a ſham treaty, and declared his reſolution to recover the kingdom of France, as the inheritance of his anceſtors: he reminded the members of the victories of Creſſy, Poictiers, and Agincourt; mentioned the different powers that were ready to co-operate with his meaſures in attacking that kingdom; demanded a ſupply ſuitable to the greatneſs of the occaſion, exhorting the commons to ſpare the purſes of the poor, and let the burthen of the tax fall upon the wealthy. Though the commons had very little reaſon to grant a ſupply, conſidering how the laſt had been imbezzled: the conqueſt of France was ſuch a temptation as they could not reſiſt; they not only adviſed him to engage in the enterprize, which in truth he had no mind to undertake, but they ſupplied him with uncommon alacrity, and, according to his deſire, impowered him to renew the unpopular Benevolences, which his predeceſſor Richard, bad as he was, no leſs prudently than juſtly aboliſhed.

Henry now appeared extremely intent upon his French expedition; and judging it proper to be ſecure from any diverſions the Scots might make in his abſence, ſent ambaſſadors to Coldſtream, upon the river Tweed, to confer with others ſent by James IV. who had ſucceeded to the throne of Scotland upon the murder of his father James III. by his own nobility, who had taken up arms againſt him. The conferences were not long, both kings being equally deſirous of each other's friendſhip, ſo that a five years truce was concluded, viz. from the twenty-firſt of December, 1491, to the ſame day, 1496. By this treaty the town of Berwick, with its territory, was to be declared a neutral town; and the lordſhip of Lorn, in Scotland, and the little iſland of Lundy belonging to England, were excepted out of the truce. Henry ratified the treaty on the ninth of January, 1492; but the king of Scotland, whether bribed by France, or from ſome other motive, refuſed to confirm it; he agreed, however, to a much ſhorter truce, on the twentieth of February following, which was to laſt only eleven months.

His next ſtep was to ſend ambaſſadors to ſummon Maximilian and Ferdinand of Spain to aſſiſt him in invading France, according to treaty; but, notwithſtanding the high and lofty ſtrain in which Henry affected to talk to his parliament, it is pretty evident he had no intention to puſh the war with vigour; for, at the very time we are now ſpeaking of, viz. the months of February and March, when the flame of his reſentment ſeemed to blaze higheſt, we find him opening a negociation with two agents from his couſin of France*.

On the third of May, however, the ſtaff-officers and purveyors of the army were appointed; ſir Reginald Bray, knight of the Garter, being made pay-maſter of the troops. On the ninth of the ſame month, Henry entered into an indenture with his principal officers for their quotas of men, which were to ſerve in the enſuing campaign, at the rate of eighteen pence for every man at arms, with a ſervant and page; and ſixpence for every archer on foot or horſeback †. As we have but imperfect accounts of the art of war in thoſe days, it is not eaſy to ſay in what manner theſe troops were formed and diſciplined; it is not unlikely that every contractor acted as colonel of the men whom he had indentured to raiſe; and that the whole, being divided into van-guard, centre, and rearward, flanked by the horſe in two bodies, as wings, were commanded by the general officers, who, upon this occaſion, were the king himſelf, the duke of Bedford, and the earl of Oxford. Mention is alſo made of the marquis of Dorſet, the earls of Kent,

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 470.

† Ibid. p. 477—489.

Devonſhire,

Devonſhire, Surry, Arundel, Derby, Shrewſbury, Suffolk, Eſſex, and Ormond; the lords Latimer, Powis, Barnes, Grey, Scroope of Bolton, Scroope of Upſal, Audley, and Strange; the viſcount Wells; ſir Reginald Bray, ſir Charles Somerſet, ſir Roger Cotton, ſir Richard Holt, ſir William Courtney, ſir Richard Corbet, ſir William Stanley, ſir John St. John, ſir Walter Hungerford, with ſeveral other gentlemen, all of them contractors for furniſhing men and arms, and alſo a brave body of Welſh troops under the command of Richard Thomas *.

The rendezvous of the whole army was appointed to be held near London, and upon a review it appeared to amount to the number of twenty-five thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe, or men at arms, which, allowing two ſervants to each man at arms, make in the whole an army of about twenty-nine thouſand eight hundred fighting men †. But before this army could be got together, and through Henry's affected delays, the ſeaſon for fighting was over. It was the twentieth of September before Henry got to Canterbury, where he made ſir Robert Nanfan judge-advocate of the navy, with a power of puniſhing capitally all offences committed in the ſame; and ſir Robert Willoughby de Brooke (as he is called in his commiſſion) marſhal of the army, with the like powers ‡.

On the ſecond of October, Henry, being ready to embark at Dover, appointed his ſon Arthur, prince of Wales, guardian of the realm. On the ſixth of the ſame month he embarked with his army, and next day landed at Calais.

Henry had ſcarcely landed on the continent when the ambaſſadors he had ſent to the king of the Romans arrived, and told him that Maximilian was wholly unprepared to enter France, as he had promiſed; this news was immediately made known to the whole army. Some days after, he received from his ambaſſadors in Spain, letters, which were likewiſe made public, importing that Ferdinand had concluded a peace with the king of France, upon that monarch's promiſing to reſtore to the crown of Caſtile the province of Rouſſillon, without receiving the three hundred thouſand crowns, which Lewis XI. had lent upon that county. We ſhall not venture to affirm with ſome hiſtorians, that Henry knew all this before, but had ſo ordered, that theſe advices might come together after his arrival in France, that he might appear forced to make a peace, which he had before privately concerted with the court of France, and that all his vigorous preparations were only made to ſave appearances with his ſubjects. Setting aſide all bold and ill-grounded conjecture, we ſhall ſtick to facts, and leave our readers to judge for themſelves.

It is, however, certain, that the public began to entertain ſome ſuſpicions not greatly to his advantage, when Deſguardes, who had juſt received from Charles VIII. a marſhal's baton, appeared openly at the head of an embaſſy, and produced his powers for making up all differences between the two kings, and that Henry ordered the biſhop of Bath and Wells and William, lord d'Aubeney, governor of Calais, to hold conferences with the marſhal at Eſtaples, a few leagues diſtant from that garriſon. Henry was no ſtranger to the murmurs of his ſoldiers on this occaſion; and, to make a ſhew of doing ſomething, he, on the nineteenth of October, advanced to inveſt Boulogne, after demoliſhing the ſmall towns of Ardres and Moulery: but the army were but too well acquainted that a peace was upon the carpet, which was no ſmall mortification to the gentlemen who had ſold or mortgaged their eſtates that they might come with the greater number of followers to reconquer that kingdom which their anceſtors had more than once ſubdued before.

But Henry VII. was a very different prince from either Henry V. or Edward III. glory was their paſſion, money was his: he had promiſed his parliament that he would make the war pay itſelf, and he took care it ſhould. His commiſſioners and thoſe of France ſeem to have underſtood one another ſo perfectly, that little remained to be diſcuſſed, and with ſuch celerity were the negociations carried on at Eſtaples, that on the thirtieth of October, Henry produced in public a paper, which had been drawn up by the plenipotentiaries on both ſides, as preliminaries for a peace: the articles were as follow.

"That Henry ſhould be reimburſed the expences he had been at in aſſiſting the ducheſs of Brittany, which, according to the Engliſh ambaſſador's account, amounted to an hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds; and alſo twenty-five thouſand pounds as arrears for the tribute due to the crown of England in conſequence of the treaty of Pequigny between Edward IV. and Lewis XI. The ſaid ſums to be paid to Henry at the rate of fifty thouſand franks a year, and Charles giving him for the ſaid payments the like ſecurity as king Lewis had given king Edward upon the concluſion of the ſaid treaty.

"II. The particulars of the ſaid expences were, within a reaſonable time, to be verified by the Engliſh before commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe by the king of France: and the allies of both kings were to have four months after the concluſion of the treaty, for determining whether they ſhould be included in the ſame.

"III. If, after Maximilian and his ſon Philip ſhould declare themſelves as included in the ſaid treaty, the king of France ſhould act hoſtilely againſt them, or their poſſeſſions, the king of England ſhall be at liberty in that and no other caſe to give them aſſiſtance. Proper hoſtages to be given for the performance of the whole ‖."

Such were the conditions of this ſcandalous treaty; ſuch were Henry's exploits in an expedition, from which, out of a ridiculous vanity, or to flatter theirs, he had encouraged his ſubjects to expect no leſs than the conqueſt of France. Conſcious of the diſcontent this bargain (as lord Bacon ſtyles it) rather than treaty, would give the whole Engliſh nation, and foreſeeing the ſtorm to which he might be afterwards expoſed from the reſentment of a people whom he had plucked to feather himſelf, by trepanning the commons into a grant of exorbitant taxes on falſe pretences, he thought proper to get the marquis of Dorſet and twenty-three others, either noblemen, privy-counſellors, or chief officers of his army, who were all of them his creatures, and entirely guided by him, to petition him to accept of the propoſed preliminaries. Accordingly they preſented him with a long memorial, under all their hands, ſetting forth their

* Bacon, p. 604. † Speed, p. 736. ‡ Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 484. ‖ Ibid. p. 490, 499.

reaſons

reaſons for deſiring him to conclude a peace, the principal of which were,

"The late ſeaſon of the year and the approach of winter, which would expoſe their king's and the ſoldiers lives to danger, and render the paſſage of proviſions by ſea from Calais uncertain: the ſtrength of the fortifications and garriſon of Boulogne: the ſecurity Calais would receive from Sluys being lately reduced by the duke of Saxony to Maximilian's obedience: the ſaving the Engliſh nation from the expence of a war: Henry's diſappointment in not being reinforced by his allies: and the different ſituation in affairs now, from what there was in the time of Edward IV. who, having the duke of Burgundy and all Picardy on his ſide, might have ſafely advanced with his army into the very neighbourhood of Paris: but what they imagined rendered it a peace truly honourable, was that France was to pay a greater ſum of money than ſhe ever paid or granted before *."

But the moſt remarkable part of this addreſs is towards its concluſion, where the petitioners bound themſelves to ſtand and fall by Henry's perſon and government, ſhould any diſcontent or murmurs ariſe upon the ſaid peace being accepted: they farther declare that they were willing to have it believed that the peace was concluded upon their requeſt †.

Henry, feigning to be determined by theſe reaſons to accept of a peace, the treaty was drawn up in form, and ſigned at Eſtaples on the third of November; Charles, who was then at Tours, ratified it on the eighth of the ſame month: after the ratification there was another article added, on the thirteenth of December, by which the contracting parties obliged themſelves not to ſhew favour, nor give advice nor aſſiſtance to any of each other's rebellious ſubjects that ſhould take refuge in their territories; and it was provided, that the whole treaty ſhould, within three years, be ratified by the eſtates of both kingdoms. Henry then raiſed the ſiege of Boulogne, and retired to Calais, from whence he took ſhipping for England, and arrived at London on the ſeventeenth of December, undiſturbed at the murmurs of an abuſed people, which he was enabled to diſregard by the payment of ſeven hundred and forty-five thouſand ducats for the expence of his armament, and the promiſe of twenty-five thouſand crowns yearly, which were punctually remitted in the ſequel, and was called a continuance of the tribute paid to England by his father Lewis XI.

Such were the tranſactions of this buſy year, 1492; others of a more private nature we ſhall now throw together. On the twenty-ſecond of June, Henry had a ſecond ſon, afterwards the famous Henry VIII. born to him at Greenwich. Juſts and tournaments were particularly encouraged by Henry, as the moſt effectual means to introduce that degeneracy and luxury which he wanted to eſtabliſh amongſt his nobility: in one of theſe ſir James Parker was killed by one Vaughan, a domeſtic belonging to the court. But what diſtinguiſhed this year above all tranſactions was the attempt made by Chriſtopher Columbus to diſcover a new world. This fortunate adventurer was the ſon of a mechanic in Genoa, a wool-comber it is ſaid: he firſt offered his ſervices to our Henry, but this monarch's frugal caution, and the multiplicity of affairs he had at this time on his hands, prevented his entering into any engagements with Columbus, who, deſpairing of ſucceſs in England, repaired to the court of Spain: but for a more particular account of this great man and his brother Bartholomew, with the ſeveral diſcoveries they made, we ſhall refer our readers to the article of Commerce, at the end of this reign.

We are now to enter upon an event of a moſt intricate nature, which has puzzled all our hiſtorians properly to account for, and which has been repreſented in as many different lights as paſſion, prejudice, or vague conjecture in the ſeveral writers led them to furniſh; as to ourſelves, we ſhall, without blindly adopting the ſentiments partiality might inſpire on either ſide, relate in a ſimple order the facts as hiſtory has furniſhed them to us.

Towards the beginning of the year 1492, a young man, whom all his enemies allow to have poſſeſſed a very elegant figure and a bewitching addreſs, appeared in Ireland, a country devoted to the houſe of York, and wrote letters to the earls of Kildare and Deſmond, requiring them to acknowlege him as the rightful heir to the crown of England, he being Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, the ſecond ſurviving ſon of Edward IV. Theſe two noblemen either not giving credit to his allegations, or ſtill ſmarting from their unſucceſsful attempt in favour of the impoſtor Simnel, diſregarded his application, and he was forced to throw himſelf for protection upon John Waters, an eminent merchant, and then mayor of Corke, who warmly eſpouſed his cauſe: and his appearance and claim being bruited about, the common people flocked to him from all parts, offering hearty but unavailing vows for his ſucceſs. At this time the court of France was under expectation of a viſit from Henry of England, and, according to its conſtant practice of taking pretenders to the crown of England by the hand as often as it has any difference with Engliſh kings, one Frion (who had been ſecretary to Henry VII. but had left his ſervice for that of Charles) was ſent into Ireland, to enquire about the matter, and, if there appeared any feaſibility in his ſtory, to invite the young claimant (whom we muſt hereafter call by the name of Perkin Warbeck, which all writers have fixed upon him) over to France. Frion, who, we are told, was a penetrating, ſenſible, and active man, either convinced, or pretending to be convinced, that this was the real duke of York, carried him over to Paris, where Charles acted as if he certainly believed the ſame, and continued ſo to do, even after a good underſtanding was reſtored between him and Henry.

No ſooner was Perkin arrived at the court of France than ſir George Neville, ſir John Taylor, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, to the number of one hundred, came to ſee him, and, after ſeveral long converſations with him, declared themſelves entirely convinced that he was Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, eſcaped, as he himſelf ſaid, from the Tower, where he had been confined, and by every one thought to have been murdered by order of the uſurper Richard. Charles, upon theſe teſtimonies in his favour, ordered him an appointment ſuitable to the character he aſſumed, with a guard to attend his perſon. In this manner he lived at Charles's court till the concluſion of the peace of Eſtaples, when that monarch and his mi-

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 490. † Ibid. p. 494.

niſtry

niſtry could no longer with decency entertain him; which Perkin wiſely perceived, and, without waiting to be told to retire, withdrew from Paris privately, and going into Burgundy about the beginning of the year 1493, applied to the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, ſiſter of Edward IV. and the declared enemy of the Lancaſter family.

This princeſs, though ſhe had ſeen him received by Charles of France, and owned by all the Engliſh at that court as the duke of York, not only received him as a mere ſtranger, but even affected to treat him as an impoſtor: ſhe quoted the recent caſe of Lambert Simnel, as an inſtance how far eaſy credulity might be impoſed upon, and even went ſo far as to threaten Perkin with impriſonment. To this rebuff he oppoſed only a graceful modeſty, accompanied with that decent aſſurance which is uſually ſeen to wait on truth. This firſt ſtartled the ducheſs: ſhe now put a thouſand queſtions to him in public, to try whether he was the real duke of York or not; but all his anſwers were ſo appoſite and ready, and his behaviour had in it ſo much dignity and ſweetneſs, that he was generally believed, as well by the principal perſonages of the Burgundian court as thoſe of inferior rank, to be the true duke Richard; the ducheſs herſelf at length ſeemed to be ſo convinced of his being no impoſtor, that ſhe aſſigned him a guard of thirty halberdiers, and diſtinguiſhed him by the name of the White Roſe of England *; and all the court, Flemings, Dutch, and ſtrangers, ſhewed him the ſame reſpect as to one of the blood royal.

The news flew like lightning into England, that the duke of York was certainly alive (the name of Perkin Warbeck not being yet come to light); that he had been entertained in Ireland, countenanced in France, and was now publicly avowed and greatly honoured in Flanders. It muſt be admitted, that, whether Perkin was a counterfeit or not, he appeared at a time when Henry's conduct had added many to the enemies he had before. Thus much was in favour of Perkin; but, at the ſame time, the minds of the people were ſtill poſſeſſed with the impudent attempt and ridiculous fall of Lambert Simnel, and therefore moſt people were very cautious and backward in giving credit to the like tales or appearances. As to Henry, he affected to treat the whole affair as a ſcheme of that reſtleſs woman, the ducheſs of Burgundy; and, whatever he might really think, appeared wholly unconcerned, leſt his fears ſhould encourage his enemies; or, perhaps, becauſe he thought it would make Perkin too conſiderable, ſhould he take any public meaſures to deſtroy him.

In the beginning of March, Henry ſent the order of the Garter to Alphonſo duke of Calabria, eldeſt ſon of Ferdinand king of Naples. Alphonſo had been extremely deſirous of this honour, to inſinuate to the princes of Italy, that he had in the king of England a protector who would not ſuffer him to be oppreſſed. He would have thereby induced them to league with the king his father, againſt Charles VIII. who was going to undertake the conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples.

A few days after, Henry concluded at London a treaty of perpetual peace and amity wtih Ferdinand and Iſabella, king and queen of Caſtile and Arragon. This alliance, which was a reciprocal engagement of mutual aſſiſtance upon all occaſions, was particular in that it extended not to all the kings of England and Spain without diſtinction, but only to all their ſucceſſors deſcended from them. In the treaty, the marriage-articles between prince Arthur and Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, were confirmed and renewed.

In the mean time, however, the people of England began to ſhew more and more their diſguſt againſt the king, who was now become extremely unpopular: they ſcrupled not to tax him with avarice and extortion, in fleecing his ſubjects for the ſupport of a war undertaken merely with a view to fill his own coffers, and terminated by a diſhonourable and diſadvantageous peace; with behaving to his queen rather with the rigour of a tyrant, than the tenderneſs of a huſband; and with embracing every opportunity of oppreſſing the friends and adherents to the houſe of York, to a princeſs of which he was alone indebted for his title to the crown he wore: and as a perſon of that houſe now appeared, who had a prior right to that of Henry's wife, they looked upon their relation and allegiance to him as virtually diſſolved.

In this ſituation of ſentiments, encouraged by the many concurrent circumſtances in favour of the youth who aſſumed the character of duke of York, and increaſed by Henry's avaricious temper, which had alienated ſeveral of the firmeſt friends to his perſon and the houſe of Lancaſter, it is no wonder that many in England began to reflect and reaſon within themſelves, and next to debate and cabal with others. Sir William Stanley, to whom, and his brother, Henry owed his ſucceſs at Boſworth, and conſequently in part his crown; John Radcliffe, lord Fitz Walter; ſir Robert Clifford, ſir Thomas Thwaites, and others, entered into a ſecret confederacy to eſpouſe the cauſe of the young adventurer, and deputed ſir Robert Clifford, ſon of the lord Clifford, and William Borley, a gentleman of fortune of Aldeburgh, in Hertfordſhire, to go to the court of the ducheſs of Burgundy, to enquire minutely into the merits of the youth's identity, and, on receiving ſatisfaction therein, to concert with that princeſs the means of reſtoring him to his lawful inheritance.

After ſir Robert Clifford had been ſome time at Margaret's court, and after having ſeveral converſations with Perkin, he wrote over to the conſpirators in England, that he knew the youth's perſon as well as that of his own ſon, and that he was ſure he was no impoſtor, but the real duke of York. This report worked the conſpirators almoſt into certainty; and Henry, who by this time was no ſtranger to the diſcontents of the people, and plainly foreſaw the ſtorm that was ready to fall upon his head, thought the matter too ſerious to be neglected any longer. He had already received a confuſed account of the conſpiracy being hatching, and that emiſſaries were paſſing between the court of Burgundy and ſome of his own ſubjects; he therefore ſent certain officers, with a band of ſoldiers, into every port, to keep the ſhores and ſea-coaſts, that no one might come in or go out of the kingdom without being ſearched and examined. His next, and indeed principal buſineſs was to undeceive the people, by proving the murder of the two young princes.

* The badge by which, in the courſe of the civil wars, the houſe of York was diſtinguiſhed; as the family of Lancaſter was by that of the red.

This could only be done by diſcoveries made by the murderers, of whom two were ſtill alive, ſir James Tyrrel, ordered by Richard III. to put the princes to death, and John Dighton, one of thoſe employed by Tyrrel to commit the fact; Miles Forreſt, the third, being dead ſome time before. Sir James Tyrrel was then a man in very high reputation; he had been employed by Henry in moſt of his important tranſactions with the courts of France and Burgundy, and was then governor of Guiſnes: we ſhall forbear to remark the infamy which attended Henry's countenancing ſuch a perſon, or indeed ſuffering him to live, and proceed in our narrative.

Tyrrel and Dighton were apprehended by the king's order, and ſent to priſon, where they underwent a private examination; after which it was given out, that they agreed in their depoſitions; namely, "That Dighton and Forreſt ſmothered the two princes in their bed, and ſhewed their dead bodies to Tyrrel, and that a prieſt afterwards buried them under a ſtair-caſe; that ſoon after king Richard ordered them to be removed elſewhere, by the ſame prieſt, who was ſince dead, without diſcovering where he had laid them." It is probable, however, that Tyrrel's depoſition was not ſo favourable to Henry's purpoſe as Dighton's, ſince he was detained in priſon, whereas Dighton was releaſed, to ſpread abroad his own evidence; but we find no diſcovery that he made reduced into any form of a record; and, indeed, the whole of this tranſaction, relating to the evidence of the murder of the young princes, leaves a ſtrong ſuſpicion that the vulgar ſtory of that fact muſt be falſe; though this may not perhaps be a ſufficient proof of the truth of Perkin's pretenſions.

Lord Bacon, who has dreſſed the whole ſtory of Perkin in the beſt form it will admit, as writing his adventure under a government who was deeply concerned to repreſent him as an impoſtor, informs us that Henry was ſo extremely ſolicitous in coming at the bottom of this whole impoſture, that he filled all the continent of Europe with his ſpies and emiſſaries, well furniſhed with money, to trace Perkin from his original. The effect of this was, that they publiſhed the following account, which we ſhall tranſcribe, in the very words of the noble author.

"That there was at Tournay one John (or, as ſome ſay, Peter) Oſbecke, a converted Jew, who had borne an office in that town, and married Catherine de Faro, whoſe buſineſs drew him to live for a time, with his wife, at London, in king Edward IV's days, during which time he had a ſon by her; and being known at court, the king, either out of a religious nobleneſs becauſe he was a convert, or upon ſome private acquaintance, did him the honour of being god father to his child, and named him Peter; but afterwards, proving a dainty and effeminate youth, he was commonly called by the diminutive of his name, Peterkin or Perkin: as for the name of Warbeck, when it was given him they did but gueſs at, before examinations had been taken; but he had been ſo much talked of by that name, that it ſtuck by him after his true name of Oſbecke was known. While he was a young child, his parents returned with him to Tournay: then he was placed in the houſe of a kinſman of his, called John Stenbeck, at Antwerp; and ſo roved up and down between Antwerp and Tournay and other towns of Flanders, for a good time, living much in Engliſh company, and having the Engliſh tongue perfect: in which time being grown a comely youth, he was brought by ſome of Margaret's ſpies to her preſence, who, viewing him well, and ſeeing he had a comely face and perſonage that would bear a noble fortune, and finding him otherwiſe of a fine ſpirit and winning behaviour, thought ſhe had now found a curious piece of marble to carve out an image of a duke of York; ſhe kept him with her a great while, but with extreme ſecrecy, inſtructing him the while by many cabinet conferences."

We muſt not forget to obſerve, from the above author, that Henry, in order to procure the better credit to his ſpies with the contrary ſide, uſed to have them excommunicated (as they paſſed one after another over to the continent) every Sunday at St. Paul's, in virtue of the bull of Innocent VIII. enforcing the act of ſucceſſion.

Henry having now received what he called a perfect information of every thing relating to Perkin Warbeck, diſpatched ſir Edward Poynings and Dr. Warham, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, to the court of young Philip, archduke of Auſtria, ſon to Maximilian, and ſovereign of the eſtates of the ducheſs of Burgundy, to remonſtrate againſt the conduct of Margaret, who was the author of this impoſture, and to inſiſt that the archduke would deliver Perkin into his hands: "pirates and impoſtors of this ſort (ſaith Dr. Warham, in the cloſe of his ſpeech) being fit to be accounted the enemies of mankind, and no way to be protected by the law of nations*."

The Flemiſh miniſters, however, ſeem to have looked upon the affair in a very different light to that in which Henry's ambaſſadors repreſented it; for, after ſome deliberations on the king's demand, they returned for anſwer, in their maſter's name (the archduke being then a minor), "That, for the love of king Henry, the ſaid archduke would in no ſort aid or aſſiſt the pretended duke (of York), but in all things conſerve the amity he had with the king: but for the ducheſs dowager, ſhe was abſolute in the lands of her dowry, and that he could not lett (prevent or refuſe) her to diſpoſe of her own, nor controul her conduct in what ſhe ſhould ſee fit to act towards any perſon †." This anſwer, being founded on an aſſertion falſe in fact, viz. that the ducheſs was abſolute in the lands of her dowry, nettled Henry ſo much, that, to humble the Flemings, he publiſhed a proclamation, ordering all of that country to depart out of England, forbade all commerce with Flanders, recalled all the Engliſh merchants from thence, and removed the mart of cloth from Antwerp to Calais: the archduke's council in return ordered all the Engliſh to quit his dominions. We muſt now attend Henry's other tranſactions with reſpect to connections foreign and domeſtic.

The truce with Scotland had, it ſeems, been ſo ill obſerved, that there was a neceſſity for renewing it: accordingly, on the ſeventeenth of June this year, conferences were held at Edinburgh, between the commiſſioners of both kings, and, on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month, a truce was concluded, to hold till the laſt day of April, 1501,

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 544.

† Bacon.

and

and Henry paid the king of Scotland a thouſand marks by way of compenſation for the injuries that nation had received from the other, before the concluſion of the truce†.

On the firſt of November, Henry wrote to the king of France, deſiring to be included in the peace of Senlis, made between Philip, archduke of Auſtria, and Charles VIII. on the third of May this year, according to the tenor of the treaty. On the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, he notified to him the ſame thing from Ferdinand, king of Naples, and Alphonſo, duke of Calabria, his ſon, who were expreſly included in the treaty of Senlis, on the part of the emperor and the archduke; but nevertheleſs king Charles ſtill perſiſted in his project of conquering Naples.

About the beginning of the year 1494, Henry's emiſſaries in Flanders made a great acquiſition for their maſter's intereſt, by gaining over ſir Robert Clifford, who was intruſted with all the ſecrets of Perkin and his protectreſs the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, and who now diſcovered all he knew of Perkin's party, though nothing of his perſon. The firſt effect of theſe diſcoveries was the apprehending and ſeizing of John Radcliff, lord Fitz Walter, ſir Simon Montfort, ſir Thomas Thwaites, William d'Aubeney, Robert Radcliff, Thomas Creſſener, and Thomas Aſhwood, who were all taken on the ſame day, tried, convicted of holding treaſonable correſpondence with Perkin, and condemned to die the death of traiors. The lord Fitz Walter was conveyed to Calais, with hopes in time he might obtain his pardon; but his impatience of confinement prompting him to attempt an eſcape, on being diſcovered he loſt his head. Montfort, Radcliff, and d'Aubeney ſuffered the rigour of the law; but all the reſt were pardoned; and many others, of the clergy as well as of the laity, arreſted on the ſame ſuſpicion, were diſcharged without trial.

As Clifford had informed the king of the application which Perkin had made to the earls of Kildare and Deſmond, and they not having diſcovered the ſame to him, Henry juſtly thought that they only waited for an opportunity to declare themſelves enemies to his government; he therefore reſolved to take care of that iſland, which had been hitherto much neglected. With this view he, on the eleventh of September this year, iſſued letters patent, creating his ſecond ſon Henry, then but two years of age, lieutenant or governor of Ireland, appointing for his deputy ſir Edward Poynings, a man well verſed in affairs, and whom he had ſucceſsfully employed in ſeveral important embaſſies. He gave him a very extenſive power, as well over the military as the civil government, that he might be the better able to put the iſland upon a good footing: he aſſociated with him Henry Deane, lately made biſhop of Bangor, and now appointed chancellor of Ireland; and gave him a body of a thouſand veteran troops to enforce his authority.

The firſt ſtep Poynings took after his arrival in Ireland was to ſecure the perſons of Maurice and Gerald Fitz Gerald, the former earl of Deſmond, the other of Kildare: Deſmond, however, found means to elude his vigilance and eſcape; but Kildare was ſeized, and ſent priſoner to England; from whence, Henry ſent him back again, loaded with favours, on his promiſe to exert all his great intereſt to Henry's advantage.

Poynings next called a parliament, which rendered itſelf famous for the ſtatutes it enacted to the advantage of the crown and of the Engliſh ſettled in that iſland. He had found, on his beginning to exerciſe his authority, great difficulty, without hazarding a general rebellion, to bring any of the rebels againſt the Engliſh government who reſided in Ireland, to juſtice by the courſe of law. This was owing to the management of Richard, duke of York, father to Edward IV. who, when he was lord-lieutenant there, had rendered it a ſanctuary to all rebels, by an act which he paſſed, "That Ireland ſhould be a ſanctuary for refugees; and that it ſhould be treaſon to diſturb any body there by any writ, privy-ſeal, or other matter from England." An act therefore was now made under Poynings, "annulling all preſcriptions which traitors and rebels claimed in Ireland, and all receivers and maintainers of traitors were made guilty of treaſon; and obedience was commanded to be paid to the great-ſeal and privy-ſeal of England, and to letters miſſive under the king's ſignet‡." The famous ſtatute called Poynings's Act was alſo now enacted, the ſubſtance of which was, "that the parliament of Ireland ſhould not be aſſembled before the lord-lieutenant and council had acquainted the king with the reaſons, and obtained the royal licence under the great ſeal." It was alſo enacted, "that all the ſtatutes of England concerning the public ſhould be obſerved in Ireland." Theſe two ſtatutes are ſtill in force to this day*.

While theſe things were tranſacting, in Ireland, ſir Robert Clifford arrived in England, and repaired privately to Henry, who was then keeping his court in the Tower, and, according to ſecret inſtructions he had received, appeared before the council, and, falling on his knees, implored the king's mercy, which he ſaid he would merit by diſcovering all he knew of the plot. Pardon being promiſed him on that condition, he made his great diſcovery, which was that ſir William Stanley, who was lord-chamberlain, was one of the abettors of Perkin. Henry affected to be almoſt petrified with aſtoniſhment at this declaration; he ſat for ſome time buried in a thoughtful ſilence; at length, in a ſevere tone of voice, he charged Clifford to be ſure of what he advanced, vowing that if he failed in the leaſt tittle of his charge, his life ſhould pay the forfeit of the injury done to the character of the man he held foremoſt in the rank of his friends. Clifford, with a well acted reſolution, ſtaked his head upon the truth of his allegation, upon which the lord-chamberlain was ordered not to ſtir from his lodgings in the Tower; and ſhortly after he was arraigned of high-treaſon, when Clifford ſwearing that he had declared to him, in private converſation, "that if he thought the young man (Perkin) was really the ſon of Edward IV. he would never bear arms againſt him;" and Stanley confeſſing that he had ſpoken thoſe words, or others to the like purport, the judges, who knew no will but Henry's, and whoſe venality was equal to their abilities, thought this a ſufficient ground for his

† Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 547.
‡ Sir James Ware and judge Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland.
* My lord Bacon calls that Poynings's law whereby all the ſtatutes of England (to the tenth of Henry VII.) were made to be of force in Ireland; which before that time were not, nor are any ſince that time, but by a ſpecial clauſe.

condemnation,

condemnation, and he was accordingly beheaded on Tower-hill, the ſixteenth of February, 1495.

Thus, by an infamous judgment, for no one overt-act appeared in the courſe of the trial that could convict him of treaſon, Stanley fell a victim to Henry's jealouſy, ambition, and avarice. His poſt of chamberlain was beſtowed on Giles, lord d'Aubeney, a nobleman of great valour and capacity. Beſides an eſtate of three thouſand pounds a year, which fell to Henry by the forfeiture of his eſtates, there were likewiſe found in Stanley's caſtle of Holt forty thouſand marks in money and plate, together with jewels, furniture, and effects to an immenſe value; with theſe Henry conſoled himſelf for the ſecret curſes and imprecations of the people, who not only deteſted his avarice and ingratitude, but likewiſe trembled for their own ſafety, as the chamberlain had ſuffered for a crime from which very few Engliſhmen were free, namely, the preferring the title of the houſe of York to that of the family of Lancaſter.

This execution, and ſeveral ſubſequent acts of infamous rapacity, in which Henry neither conſidered honour nor juſtice ſo he could fill his coffers, ſo much increaſed his unpopularity, as to give new life to Warbeck's faction, which was rather checked than ſuppreſſed. His party in the North began to be in motion; and it appears that in the beginning of this year 1495, ſome foreigner had landed there, and had endeavoured to ſtir up the Scottiſh borderers; for there is, in the Collection of Public Acts, a commiſſion iſſued out to the earl of Surry, warden of the Scottiſh Marches, and biſhop Fox, whom he had lately tranſlated to the ſee of Durham, on the twenty-ſecond of March, to array all within their juriſdiction capable of bearing arms, to oppoſe any invaſion from the northward: at the ſame time the neceſſary meaſures were taken to guard the ſea-coaſts againſt a foreign invaſion.

In the ſummer Henry, in order to convince the world that the proceedings againſt ſir William Stanley had not at all diminiſhed his regard for his brother, the earl of Derby, who had married his mother, the counteſs of Richmond, made an excurſion to the earl's houſe at Latham, near Lancaſter, where he ſtaid three days, and ſeemed very well pleaſed with his entertainment. Much about the ſame time the king created his ſecond ſon, Henry, duke of York ‡, and appointed him warden of the Scottiſh Marches, in the room of the earl of Surry, who, on account of ſome impolitic ſeverities, was now entirely removed from that government: Henry alſo entered into a new negociation with James IV. king of Scotland. On his return to London, he graced a call of ſerjeants, at Ely-houſe, with his preſence and that of his queen; a diſtinction which he was ready to pay, becauſe, as lord Bacon juſtly obſerves, "as he governed his ſubjects by his laws, ſo he governed his laws by his lawyers."

Hitherto Perkin Warbeck had not ventured to make any attempt in England, knowing that the king was informed of all his correſpondence; but as the ducheſs of Burgundy could not think of relinquiſhing her hopes of gaining ſome advantage over Henry by means of this young adventurer, ſhe reſolved at length to ſend him into England, and in the beginnning of July Perkin ſailed from Flanders, and arrived off Sandwich, on the coaſt of Kent; which gives ſome reaſon to believe that it had been concerted between the party in the North and in the South to make an inſurrection in both places at the ſame time: however that might be, the Kentiſhmen, who were to a man in Henry's intereſt, were ſo well prepared to receive the invaders, that it ſeemed as if Henry had made a progreſs into the North with no other view than to tempt his rival to land in a county which he had taken a particular care to ſecure by a ſtronger force than any other. Perkin, miſtruſting ſomething of this kind, landed a ſmall party only, to ſound the diſpoſition of the Kentiſhmen, and prepare the way for his landing in perſon with the reſt of his forces, which were indeed only a crew of undiſciplined foreigners, and their chiefs either unknown, or of little conſideration.

The Kentiſhmen gave this party, conſiſting of about one hundred and ſeventy perſons, the moſt friendly reception, in hopes through their means to decoy the whole armament into their power; but finding that Perkin and his friends on board ſtill heſitated, and were not to be inveigled aſhore, they took all the party priſoners, and ſent them up to London, chained two and two, by ſir John Peachy, ſheriff of Kent; and no leſs than one hundred and fifty of them were, by Henry's orders, executed at Tyburn, and their bodies hung upon gibbets along the ſea-coaſts of Kent, Eſſex, Suffolk, and Norfolk. Perkin, upon this miſcarriage of his attempt, ſailed for Corke in Ireland, where he expected a different reception, but found affairs were altered in that country, by the prudent manner in which Poynings had ſettled the government there; but the moſt eſſential ſervice he did, was the fixing Maurice Fitz Gerald, earl of Deſmond, and Gerald Fitz Gerald, earl of Kildare, in Henry's intereſt, inſomuch that Perkin, diſcouraged by the evident coolneſs he ſaw in the behaviour of his former friends, quitted Ireland and ſailed for Scotland.

Henry, ſucceſsful over this effort of his rival and of the ducheſs of Burgundy, the ever plotting enemy of his family, called a parliament on the thirteenth of October, who ſecured to him the forfeitures of ſuch as had been put to death, or had taken refuge in ſanctuaries and been outlawed upon non-appearance, all of which were now attainted, together with ſir George Neville, and ſome other gentlemen of Perkin's party, taken by the Kentiſhmen. Henry found his revenues greatly encreaſed by theſe forfeitures; but, ever thirſting after money, he now procured all the offices in Wales to be voided; he got the wardſhip of the eſtate of the lord viſcount Beaumont, who was lately become a lunatic; and alſo made a reſumption of the grants which had been made by Edward III. and Richard II. to Edmund of Langley, duke of York: he likewiſe got the parliament to countenance his illegal exaction of the late benevolence, by ordering

‡ On the firſt of November The knights of the Bath made upon this occaſion were theſe; the lords Harrington, Clifton, Dacre of the South, and the lord Waren; ſir Thomas Stanley, ſir John Arundel, ſir Walter Griffith, ſir Gervaſe Clifton, ſir Robert Harcourt, ſir Edward Traford, ſir Henry Marney, ſir Robert Newbrough, ſir Ralph Ryder, ſir John Sparke, ſir Humphrey Fulford, ſir Robert Litton, ſir Price Edgecombe, ſir Robert Clere, ſir Thomas Fairfax, ſir Richard Knightley, ſir John Cheke. Stowe, p. 554.

the arrears of what people had compounded for, to be levied, which brought immenſe ſums into the king's coffers, as great part of the tax remained unpaid, on account of the ſhort duration of the French war. This ſeſſion, however, paſſed ſeveral laws, which tended greatly to the eaſe and advantage of the ſubject †.

In the courſe of this year pope Alexander VI. ſent into Ireland a bull, impowering all the archbiſhops and biſhops of that kingdom, whom the king ſhould require, and none other, to abſolve all rebels in Ireland; a prudent precaution of Henry, to prevent his rival being joined by perſons out of deſpair of living under the preſent government, on account of their paſt offences.

On the thirty-firſt of May this year died, in a very advanced age, Cicely, relict of Richard, duke of York, and daughter of Ralph, earl of Weſtmoreland, at the caſtle of Berkhamſtead, in Hertfordſhire, and was buried at Fotheringham caſtle, in Northamptonſhire. By her huſband ſhe was mother of Edward IV. and Richard III. through the long courſe of her life ſhe had ſeen her huſband murdered in the field, three princes of her body crowned, and four murdered.

This year likewiſe is famous for the conqueſt of Naples by Charles VIII. king of France. As this tranſaction has a connection with the hiſtory of the reign we have now under conſideration, it will be neceſſary to give a brief account of its riſe and principal events.

The poſterity of Charles of Anjou, firſt king of Sicily of the houſe of France, were divided into two branches, whereof one reigned in Naples, and the other in Hungary. After ſundry revolutions, the crown of Naples fell at length to Joan, the firſt of that name; but, in 1380, Charles de Durazzo, of the branch of Hungary, pretending to the ſame crown, and repairing into Italy, attacked queen Joan, who finding herſelf preſſed, adopted Lewis I. duke of Anjou, uncle to Charles VI. king of France. From that time there was a continual war between the two houſes of Anjou. At laſt, Charles de Durazzo remained in poſſeſſion of Naples, and was ſucceeded by Ladiſlaus his ſon, who dying in 1414, left the crown of Naples to Joan II. his ſiſter. Mean time Lewis I. duke of Anjou, and Lewis II. his ſon, always ſtyled themſelves kings of Sicily, and preſerved their pretenſions to Sicily on this ſide the Pharo, or the kingdom of Naples. Lewis II. who died in 1417, left three ſons, namely, Lewis III. Renè, and Charles.

The latter dying in 1481, left Lewis XI. king of France his ſole heir. By virtue of which will Charles VIII. ſon of Lewis XI. pretended the kingdom of Naples was fallen to him.

In purſuance of this claim, in which he was ſupported by the papal chair, Charles had, with an unprecedented career of ſucceſs, entered into Italy the year before; but growing ſo formidable, even the pope himſelf, who was Alexander VI. and the family of Medicis declared againſt him. Notwithſtanding all thoſe diſcouragements, he ſurmounted infinite difficulties; he entered the ſtate of Florence, and obliged Peter de Medicis, its duke, to ſubmit, and the ſtate of Sienna to receive a garriſon. Afterwards he approached and entered Rome with his army, while the pope ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of St. Angelo. At laſt Charles inveſted the kingdom of Naples, of which, with its capital, he made himſelf maſter; while Alphonſo of Arragon, putting the crown of Naples upon the head of his ſon, the duke of Calabria, went on board his galleys, and took refuge in Sicily. But Charles had entered upon this expedition like a young man: he had no money to pay his troops, but that which he took up at extravagant intereſt; the continual ſucceſs of his arms rendered his ſoldiers and generals exceſſively haughty and odious to the Italians; he had not men to ſpare for garriſoning and keeping the places that had ſubmitted; he could not truſt the natives; and, when maſter of his ambition, he neither knew how to retain or how to diſpoſe of his conqueſts: to crown his miſconduct, he fell at variance with Ludovic Sforza, duke of Milan, who had brought him into Italy to ſupport himſelf againſt the league formed by the pope, the king of Naples, and Peter de Medicis, to keep him out of his duchy of Milan.

At laſt Charles, after taking the uſual oaths as king of Naples, thought of returning to France, and that too without uſing any precautions for maintaining his conqueſts, farther than the oaths and aſſurances the natives afforded. In the mean while all the ſtates and princes of Italy were alarmed at his progreſs, and a league was forming at Venice to ſtrip him of his conqueſts, and cut off his retreat to France. The parties in this league were the pope, the emperor Maximilian, who had already ſucceeded his father Ferdinand in the empire, the kings of Spain and Naples, the archduke of Auſtria, Maximilian's ſon, the duke of Milan, and the republic of Venice. This formidable league, according to our Engliſh hiſtorians, Henry had no ſmall hand in forming (though in what reſpect does not appear, nor is it probable he had any hand it), from which he rather eſcaped than retreated; but before he returned to France, he fought the battle of Fornova, and won it againſt the forces of the allies, which were treble the number of his army, through the treachery chiefly of the Italian generals *.

The emperor Maximilian now reſigned the government of the Low Countries to his ſon Philip, archduke of Auſtria, though he was ſtill a minor; and ſoon after this young prince diſpatched an embaſſy to Henry, in order to renew the treaty of commerce between his dominions and England. Henry was too wiſe a politician ever to retain a reſentment, where it was his intereſt to forget an affront, and therefore ſeeming to have forgot the rebuff his ambaſſadors had met with at the prince's court, he readily embraced a propoſal that promiſed no leſs advantage to the Engliſh than the Flemings, and, on the twenty-fourth of February, 1496 (as I always ſuppoſe the year to commence on the firſt of January), a treaty of peace and perpetual amity was concluded between the two ſovereigns, and the laws of commerce were ſettled to the entire ſatisfaction of both nations ‡. The archduke alſo

† See our account of Laws, at the end of this reign.

* It appears from cardinal Bembo, and other Italian authors, that the king of France retired, after this battle, in the utmoſt hurry; and that Ludovico Sforza, and Franciſco Gonzaga, the Italian generals, favoured his eſcape. As their forces were much ſuperior to thoſe of the French king, they might eaſily have cut off his retreat, if they had not acted treacherouſly, as it is undeniably plain they did. See card. Bemb. Hiſt. Venet. p. 65. edit. 1718. and Paul Jovius, &c.

‡ See the article Commerce, at the end of this reign.

by one of the articles of the treaty, engaged to hinder the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy from harbouring or aſſiſting the enemies of the king, and "that if ſhe does, he ſhall ſtrip her of all the places which ſhe holds by dowry, or otherwiſe."

We have already obſerved, that the claimant Perkin, on meeting with a very cold reception in Ireland, had gone over to the court of James IV. king of Scotland. That monarch treated him with great kindneſs and hoſpitality, owned him as the ſon of Edward IV. and appeared ſo perfectly convinced of his being the true duke of York, that he rejected the proffered alliance of Henry, who this very year ſent the biſhop of Carliſle, the earl of Surry, the lords Neville and Dacres, and ſir William Tyler, to ſettle the fortune which James was to have with the princeſs Margaret, Henry's eldeſt daughter, and alſo gave the young adventurer in marriage his own kinſwoman, the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntly, one of the moſt beautiful and accompliſhed young ladies of the age, and publicly declared that he would aſſiſt him with all his might in recovering the inheritance of his anceſtors; and it was agreed by the Scottiſh council to put this reſolution of their monarch into immediate execution. A numerous army being aſſembled, James, about the middle of this ſummer, led it in perſon into Northumberland, attended by the young adventurer, who there publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he inveighed againſt Henry as an uſurper, tyrant, and murderer, and promiſed great honours and rewards to thoſe who ſhould join him, their lawful prince, and help to deſtroy the robber who had uſurped his throne *.

This proclamation, though drawn up with great ſpirit and preciſion, produced little or no effect; the truth is, that this claimant of the crown could not come in worſe company than he did; the Scots were odious to the Engliſh nation; the animoſity againſt them ran higher in the North, the uſual ſcene of their depredations, than in any other part of England: James therefore, ſeeing no proſpect of receiving any aſſiſtance from the Engliſh in that part of the country, and not chuſing that his ſoldiers ſhould loſe their labour, ravaged the whole county of Northumberland in a miſerable manner: Richard in vain complained in a moving manner of ſo ruinous a method of making war, proteſting he would rather renounce the crown, than purchaſe it by the deſolation of his country; the Scots were too fond of plunder to refrain: but hearing that Henry was ſending a ſuperior force againſt them, they retreated to their own kingdom. We muſt now attend to the other tranſactions of this year.

Henry, it ſeems, had ſome intimation that the court of France underhand aſſiſted Perkin; for we find that, on the twenty-third of September, he approved and ratified the Venetian league, but excuſed himſelf from furniſhing any quota of men, becauſe of the great diſtance between England and Italy †.

On the fifth of March this year, we find in our records ‡, that the king granted a patent to John Cabot, a Venetian, and his three ſons, for diſcovering new lands under the Engliſh flag, on condition that, after all the expences ſhould be deducted, he ſhould receive one fifth of the profit.

The Scottiſh invaſion furniſhed Henry with an opportunity to make money out of the misfortunes of his people ‖, that he reſolved not to let ſlip; accordingly, having convoked a parliament on the ſixteenth of January, 1497, he opened it by a ſevere ſpeech againſt the perfidy of the Scots, whoſe barbarities, he ſaid, went even beyond their moſt barbarous proceedings in former times; and concluded with telling them, his honour and the protection he owed his people, would not ſuffer him to let theſe wrongs paſs unrevenged. The parliament, who perfectly well underſtood his meaning, granted him a ſupply of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, beſides two fifteenths; and as ſoon as he had obtained this ſupply, he diſſolved the aſſembly. As he did not like delays where money was to come in, he ſet his aſſeſſors and collectors to work immediately, who proceeded in their buſineſs with ſuch inhuman rigour, that he was obliged to recal the lord d'Aubeney, then on his march towards Scotland, to ſuppreſs an inſurrection of a very ſerious nature at home.

Of all the inhabitants of England, the Corniſhmen were at this time the moſt ſturdy in their inclinations, and the ſtouteſt in their perſons: their manner of living and their language were different from thoſe of the reſt of England; and in ſhort the crown itſelf treated them, both at this time and ſome time after, as an independent people. They had particular reaſons for being diſaffected at this juncture; for Brittany being now annexed to the crown of France, they were abridged of their commerce and intercourſe with that coaſt and people, who uſed the ſame language with themſelves.

It was no wonder if ſo many circumſtances concurring, and backed by the demand of a heavy taxation, exaſperated the Corniſhmen to a high degree: they complained loudly, that what they earned by the ſweat of their brows and hard labour in the tin mines, ſhould be exacted from them by exorbitant taxes. Theſe murmurs were encouraged by one Michael Joſeph, a popular and factious blackſmith, of Bodmyn, and Thomas Flammock, a lawyer of like turbulent diſpoſition. Theſe two incendiaries, who ſeem to have been underhand encouraged by perſons of greater conſequence, friends to young Perkin and his claim, beſtirred themſelves ſo effectually among the ignorant populace, that they worked them up to a belief that all ſubſidies of any kind were illegal and oppreſſive, and that the nation never could be happy till archbiſhop Morton and ſir Reginald Bray, whom they accuſed of being the principal adviſers of the late heavy impoſts, were removed from the king's councils; and the flame of diſcontent was ſoon blown to ſuch an height, that, each taking the arms that fury adminiſtered, they formed a conſiderable body, headed by the two demagogues, and marched, to the number of ſixteen thouſand, from Cornwall, through Devonſhire, to Taunton, in Somerſetſhire, where they killed one of the king's collectors of the ſubſidy; from whence they proceeded to Wells, where James Touchet, lord Audley, who

* This manifeſto, which was afterwards found in the Cottonian Library, is inſerted at length by Mr. Guthrie in his Hiſtory of England; but it is too long for a place in ours.

† Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 639.

‡ Ibid. p. 595.

‖ Lord Bacon obſerves, that his wars were to him always a mine of treaſure of a ſtrange ore; iron at the top, and gold and ſilver at the bottom.

had

had a principal ſhare in ſetting Flammock and the blackſmith to work, put himſelf at their head.

This nobleman, by his authority, kept the male-contents from committing the leaſt violences or diſorders during their march, which they now proſecuted till they came to Wincheſter, in Hampſhire, when, inſtead of marching directly to London, as common prudence would have directed, and agreeable to their original deſign declared in their progreſs, they took it into their heads to turn ſhort and march into Kent, from a ridiculous prepoſſeſſion, that the people of that county, who had on all occaſions ſhewn themſelves zealous for the liberties of the ſubject, would join them in great numbers; but ſo far were they from finding their expectation anſwered, that their numbers, inſtead of increaſing, daily diminiſhed, ſcarcely one Kentiſhman declaring in their favour. Proceeding however in their march, they advanced as far as Blackheath, where they encamped between Greenwich and Eltham, to the no ſmall terror of the citizens of London, who dreaded that their wealth might tempt the inſurgents to plunder the city.

Fortunately, however, for them and for Henry, the army, which he had provided and ſent againſt the Scots, returned by his orders on the firſt news of this inſurrection, and were now ready to act: Henry accordingly ordered it to the field, and divided it into three bodies, one commanded by the earl of Oxford, another by himſelf, and the third by the lord d'Aubeney, a general in whom the troops had great confidence.

The earl of Oxford, who had with him Henry Bourchier, earl of Eſſex, Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, ſir Rice ap Thomas, and ſir Humphrey Stanley ‡, was ordered to take poſt with the left wing of his diviſion near Lewiſham, and to extend his right ſouth-eaſt towards Foot's Cray, ſo as to ſecure all the defiles and roads by which the rebels could eſcape that way.

The lord d'Aubeney was ordered to front the rebels, ſo that his right wing ſhould form as it were an angle with the earl of Oxford's left.

Henry himſelf encamped in St. George's Fields, with a ſtrong body in the nature of a reſerve.

By this excellent diſpoſition it was impoſſible for any of the rebels to eſcape; as they had no ſhipping, the river Thames hemmed them in towards the north; the earl of Oxford's diviſion cut off their retreat either by the ſouth or the eaſt; and in their front, towards the weſt, they had two armies.

Henry, by giving out that he intended to attack them on the Monday following, whereas he really intended to give them battle on the Saturday, which of all days in the week he fancied to be moſt fortunate to him, drew the rebels into a capital miſtake; for while their main body lay encamped almoſt within the heath on Woolwich Common, between Woolwich and Shooter's Hill, their advanced guard lay at Deptford Bridge, without any intermediate line upon the brow of the hill between them and the main body.

On the afternoon of Saturday the twenty ſecond of June, the lord d'Aubeney made a ſudden motion, and attacked the rebels advanced body at Deptford Bridge, whom, after a ſtout reſiſtance, he drove from their poſt, and followed them up the hill in cloſe purſuit. The alarm by this time had reached the main body of the rebels, and they were preparing to put themſelves in order, when the lord d'Aubeney and all his diviſion appeared upon the top of the hill, from whence advancing to the middle of the heath, they fell upon the Corniſhmen with great fury, who received the attack with as great intrepidity: the lord d'Aubeney, charging at the head of his men, was taken priſoner, and the fate of the day might have been favourable to the Corniſhmen, had they not been attacked at the ſame time in the rear by the earl of Oxford with his diviſion; but being charged on all ſides, ill-armed, ill-conducted, without either horſe or artillery, and much inferior in number, they were ſoon broken by the king's cavalry, and fifteen hundred or two thouſand of them cut in pieces, moſt of the reſt being taken priſoners, with their leaders. As to the royal army, it loſt about three hundred men, moſt of them ſhot dead with arrows of the length of a taylor's yard, proofs of the amazing ſtrength of the old Corniſh! but we read of no perſon of note killed.

Among the priſoners were the lord Audley, with the two incendiaries Flammock and Joſeph; the former was beheaded on Tower-hill *, and the two latter executed at Tyburn †; the reſt, being ordinary labourers, were diſarmed and ſent home, Henry hoping to obliterate the remembrance of former ſeverities by this inſtance of unuſual lenity.

The king of Scotland took advantage of this commotion in England, to make a ſecond inroad upon the northern counties, where he laid ſiege to Norham caſtle. The earl of Surry had been ordered by Henry to take the command of the few forces in thoſe counties; and, after the ſuppreſſion of the Corniſh rebellion, the king ſent the beſt of his troops to join that nobleman in Yorkſhire, who, being thus reinforced, advanced againſt the Scots, and obliged them to raiſe the ſiege; but they retired with ſuch precipitation, that the earl could not overtake them: he however continued his purſuit, and took the ſtrong caſtle of Ayton, ſituated between Berwick and Edinburgh. And thus the campaign was finiſhed with very little loſs or gain on either ſide.

Henry however, willing at all events to keep this troubleſome neighbour quiet, and, if poſſible, draw off James from his connection with his competitor, propoſed a freſh negociation with the Scots, by means of Peter d'Ayala, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at Henry's court, who, upon ſounding James, found him ſo well inclined towards a pacification, that in a ſhort time it was agreed that both kings ſhould ſend plenipotentiaries to Ayton, to treat of a peace, d'Ayala performing the office of mediator by the joint conſent of both parties, who obliged themſelves to ſtand by his award. A truce was propoſed to be made for ſeven years, the allies of both crowns were included in the ſame, and it was to be prolonged during the life-time of both kings, and a full year after the deceaſe of the longeſt liver ‖. The greateſt difficulty in the negociation was concerning Perkin Warbeck, the Engliſh ambaſſadors

‡ Hollingſhed, p. 782. Guthrie, vol. ii. p. 823, 824.

* He was led from Newgate to Tower-hill in a paper-coat torn and painted with his own arms reverſed, where he was beheaded, June 28. Hall, fol. 43.

† The blackſmith is ſaid to have pleaſed himſelf with the notion that "He ſhould be famous in after ages." Ibid.

‖ Rymer, vol. xii. p. 668—673.

inſiſting warmly that the perſon of that pretender ſhould be delivered into their maſter's hands; but James was firm in his refuſal, and all that either d'Ayala or the Engliſh miniſters could obtain of him, was to ſend Perkin, in an honourable manner, out of Scotland. Accordingly James, furniſhing him with every thing that befitted royal rank, and, putting him and his family and retinue on board three ſhips, he arrived at Corke in Ireland, on the twenty-firſt of July; and no farther obſtacles remaining, the truce was ſigned on all ſides, at Ayton, on the thirtieth of September.

Before we conclude the tranſactions of this year, it will not be impertinent to take a curſory view of Henry's ſituation with regard to the princes of Europe, among whom he had connections.

Philip, archduke of Auſtria, governor of the Low Countries, not only confirmed the treaty of commerce made with England, but deſiſted from his demand of one florin for every-piece of broadcloth ſold within his dominions by Engliſh merchants.

After the treaty of Eſtaples, there was neither war nor difference between France and England during the reſt of Henry VII's reign. Charles and Henry ſtood in awe of each other. Charles, who at firſt had formed vaſt projects, perceived the king of England was the only prince that could lay obſtacles in his way. Afterwards, when he had deſiſted from the war of Italy, and indulged his pleaſures, he always feared that a war with Henry would diſturb his tranquility. Henry on his part dreaded all foreign wars, and particularly with France, by reaſon of his domeſtic enemies. Thus the two monarchs having the ſame intereſt, lived in peace till Charles's death, on the ſixth of April 1498. The duke of Orleans, who ſucceeded him by the name of Lewis XII. was no leſs careful to preſerve a good underſtanding with England. As he turned his thoughts to Italy, it highly concerned him to keep fair with Henry, who would have it in his power to overthrow all his projects by a diverſion in Picardy. As ſoon as Lewis was on the throne, he cauſed his marriage with Jane, daughter of Lewis XI. to be annulled, in order to eſpouſe Anne of Brittany, his predeceſſor's widow. Otherwiſe he would have run the riſk of ſeeing that duchy once more ſevered from France, and in the hands of a foreign houſe.

As to the king and queen of Spain, who now made a great figure in Europe, they continued to cultivate a ſtrict friendſhip with Henry, which was greatly cemented by the contract of marriage between the princeſs Catherine and the prince of Wales.

Maximilian, emperor of Germany, continued in the ſame jealouſy of France, and had now the ſame good diſpoſition with regard to England as before: while the northern crowns had all concluded treaties with Henry. And, towards the cloſe of this year,

Pope Alexander VI. ſent him a preſent of an hallowed ſword and a cap of maintenance, which were delivered to him by his holineſs's nuncio, with great ſolemnity, in St. Paul's cathedral.

But though Henry was thus happy in his ſituation abroad, he ſtill found great uneaſineſſes in the untoward diſpoſition of his own ſubjects; for the Corniſh rebels, rather hardened than gained over by Henry's late clemency to them, boaſted, on their return home, that he had pardoned them only becauſe he was afraid that their deaths or puniſhment would have rouzed the whole nation, who were in general of the ſame way of thinking, to take up arms againſt the government. Theſe diſcourſes making their friends and neighbours believe the whole kingdom was ready to riſe, they began to flock together, and ſhew they were not diſcouraged by the battle of Blackheath: at length, ſome of the moſt fiery of them hearing that Perkin was in Ireland, propoſed to ſend for him, and ſet him at their head.

Perkin had found a very cool reception in Ireland, and in a ſhort time ſaw himſelf deſtitute of friends, money, and ſupport; the principal of his abettors now remaining about his perſon was one Hern a broken mercer, Skelton a taylor, and Aſtley a ſcrivener; for Henry had found means to take Frion off. When the propoſal of the Corniſhmen therefore came to be laid before Perkin and his council, they readily and joyfully embraced it; and, picking up as many followers as he could, amounting, according to lord Bacon, to about one hundred and twenty, embarked on board four ſmall veſſels, and landed, on the ſeventh of September this year 1498, in Whitſand Bay, on the coaſt of Cornwall. As ſoon as he had landed his little troop, he repaired to Bodmyn, the blackſmith's town who was hanged after the battle of Blackheath. There he quickly got together three thouſand men, and iſſued out a proclamation, in which he aſſumed the title of king of England, by the name of Richard IV.

Elated with the hopes of victory, where there was no force to oppoſe them, the hot-headed undiſciplined rabble that compoſed the young claimant's army, reſolved to march and lay ſiege to the city of Exeter, of which they promiſed themſelves an eaſy conqueſt. This wild project they put in execution; but being deſtitute of artillery, and almoſt every other requiſite to form a regular ſiege, and the inhabitants of Exeter acting like men of ſpirit, the aſſailants were, after a vain attempt to ſcale the walls, repulſed on all ſides. In the mean time, ſeveral lords and gentlemen of Devonſhire and the neighbouring parts, aſſociated in defence of Henry's government, and, drawing forces together, put themſelves under arms. The king alſo, on receiving the news of Perkin's invaſion and the ſteps he was taking, diſpatched the lord d'Aubeney, with four thouſand men, to the relief of Exeter, ſpreading a report that he himſelf was following with a more numerous army.

All this being made known for certain to Perkin, he raiſed the ſiege, and drew his men off to Taunton. His army, when at the ſtrongeſt, was about ſeven thouſand men; but many of thoſe having joined him through hopes of plunder, left him upon breaking up the ſiege: and here Perkin ſeems for the firſt time to have given the lye to his pretenſions; the blood of York had never ran in the veins of a coward, which, if we are to credit our hiſtorians, Perkin proved himſelf to be on this occaſion; for, after he had rendezvouſed his army, and made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions to fight, when the lord d'Aubeney advanced to attack him, he fled, with threeſcore horſe to the monaſtery of Beaulieu, in the New Foreſt, where he and his retinue regiſtered themſelves as perſons entitled to the benefit of ſanctuary.

The lord d'Aubeney hearing of his retreat, detached a party of three hundred horſe in purſuit of him;

him; but finding him already in the ſanctuary, they ſurrounded the houſe until they ſhould receive farther inſtructions. Mean while the rebels, finding themſelves deſerted by their chief, laid down their arms, and ſubmitted to the mercy of the king, who, with a politic moderation, pardoned them all, except a very few of the moſt irreclaimable and deſperate, whom he captially puniſhed in terror to others.

The king, who, before Perkin's flight, was lying between Taunton and Exeter with a body of reſerve, in caſe of a battle, now entered Exeter in triumph, and preſented the ſword which he wore by his ſide, to the mayor, to whom and his ſucceſſors he gave the liberty to have it carried before them on all public occaſions: he likewiſe gave them a right to uſe a cap of maintenance, and beſtowed the greateſt commendations on the citizens for their courage and loyalty.

But Henry could not think himſelf in ſafety till he was maſter of the pretender's perſon; he thought if he could once compaſs this point, that he might be able to ſatisfy the world, by the methods he ſhould then be in a condition of taking, about an impoſture of which it was impoſſible to convince them otherwiſe. With this view promiſes of life and pardon, with other fair means, were uſed to perſuade Perkin to quit his ſanctuary, and being deſtitute of all hopes, knowing no country where he could be received, and apprehending that force would be employed if he did not yield with a good grace, he came out, and was ſent under a ſtrong guard to London, whither Henry had gone ſome days before, and where the unhappy youth was expoſed to the inſults of an hireling mob as he was carried through the ſtreets to the Tower. Henry, who ſaw Lambert Simnel every day, could not, it ſeems, bear the preſence of Perkin; but, to gratify his curioſity, it was contrived that he ſhould ſee him out of a window.

Though Perkin had obtained a pardon, he was ſtill retained in cuſtody, till, weary of confinement and deſirous of liberty, he broke looſe from his guard, and eſcaping to the monaſtery of Shene, which had the privilege of a ſanctuary, he implored the prior's interceſſion for Henry's pardon. The good prior undertook the office, and Henry was prevailed upon to promiſe the pretender his life; but, in order to render him truly contemptible, he obliged him to ſit whole days before Weſtminſter Hall gate, and the moſt public parts of the city, in the ſtocks, and to read a paper which he owned to be his confeſſion, and was as follows †.

"It is firſt to be known, that I was born in the town of Tournay, in Flanders, and my father's name is John Oſbeck; which ſaid John Oſbeck was comptroller of the ſaid town of Tournay; and my mother's name is Catherine de Farro; and one of my grand-ſires, upon my father's ſide, was named Dorich Oſbeck, who died; after whoſe death my grand-mother was married unto Peter Flamin, who was receiver of the fore-named town of Tournay and dean of the boatmen that row upon the water or river named le Scheld: and my grand-ſire on my mother's ſide was Peter de Farro, who had in his keeping the keys of the gate of St. John's, within the ſame town of Tournay: alſo I had an uncle, called John Stalin, dwelling in the pariſh of St. Pias, within the ſame town, who had married my father's ſiſter, whoſe name was Joan, or Jeane, with whom I lived a certain ſeaſon; and after was led by my mother to Antwerp, to learn Flemiſh in the houſe of a couſin of mine, an officer of the ſaid town, called John Steinbeck, with whom I was the ſpace of half a year. After I returned again to Tournay, by reaſon of the wars that were in Flanders, and within a year following, I was ſent, with a merchant of the ſaid town of Tournay, named Barlow, to the mart of Antwerp, where I fell ſick, which ſickneſs continued upon me five months: and the ſaid Barlow ſet me to board in a ſkinner's houſe, that dwelt beſide the houſe of the Engliſh nation; and by him I was from thence carried to Barrow market, and I lodged at the ſign of the Old Man, where I abode for the ſpace of two months. After this, the ſaid Barlow ſet me with a merchant of Middleburgh to ſervice, to learn the language, whoſe name was John Strow, with whom I dwelt from Chriſtmas to Eaſter; and then I went into Portugal, in company with ſir Edward Brampton's wife, in a ſhip which was called the Queen's Ship. And when I was come thither, then was I put in ſervice to a knight that dwelt in Liſbon, who was called Peter Vaiz de Cogna, with whom I dwelt a whole year; which ſaid knight had but one eye. And becauſe I had a mind to ſee other countries, I took licence of him, and then put myſelf in ſervice of a Breton, Pregent Meno, who brought me with him into Ireland. Now when we were arrived in the town of Corke, they of the town (becauſe I was arrayed with ſome cloaths of ſilk of my ſaid maſter's) came unto me, and threatened upon me, that I ſhould be the duke of Clarence's ſon, that was before time at Dublin.

"But inſomuch as I denied, there were brought unto me the holy Evangeliſts and the croſs, by the mayor of the town, who was called John Llewellyn, and there, in the preſence of him and others, I took mine oath (as the truth was), that I was not the aforeſaid duke's ſon, nor none of his blood. After this came unto me an Engliſhman, whoſe name was Stephen Poiton, and one John Water, and laid to me, in ſwearing great oaths, that they knew I was king Richard's baſtard ſon; to whom I anſwered, with like oaths, I was not. They then adviſed me not to be afraid, but that I ſhould take it upon me boldly; and if I would ſo do, they would aid and aſſiſt me with all their power againſt the king of England; and not only they, but they were well aſſured that the earls of Deſmond and Kildare would do the ſame; for they cared not what part they took, ſo that they might be revenged upon the king of England: and ſo, againſt my will, made me learn Engliſh, and taught me what I ſhould do and ſay; and after this they called me duke of York, ſecond ſon to king Edward IV. becauſe king Richard's baſtard ſon was in the hands of the king of England. Upon this the ſaid Water, Stephen Poiton, John Tyler, Hubert Burgh, with many others, did aſſemble themſelves, and the French king ſent an ambaſſador to Ireland, whoſe name was Loit Lucus, and Mr. Stephen Frion, to advertiſe me to come into France; thence I went into France, thence into Flanders, from Flanders into Ireland, and from Ireland into Scotland, and ſo into England."

Lord Bacon obſerves of this confeſſion (which ſome writers will have to be extorted from the young man by the rack *), "That the king, in

† Hall, p. 124. Hollingſhed, p. 786.

* Buck, p. 555.

what he did now, did himſelf no right*; for (proceeds this noble author) as there was a laboured tale of particulars of Perkin's father and mother, grand-ſire and grand-mother, uncles and couſins, by names and ſurnames, and from what places he travelled up and down, ſo there was little or nothing to purpoſe of any thing concerning his deſigns, or any practices that had been held with him, nor was the ducheſs of Burgundy herſelf (whom all the world knew to be the perſon that had put life and being into the whole buſineſs) ſo much as named or pointed at; ſo that men miſſing what they looked for, looked for they knew not what, and were in more doubt than before." Some, however, believed the king was thus ſilent out of complaiſance to the king of France, the emperor, the archduke, his aunt the ducheſs of Burgundy, and the king of Scotland, all of whom had abetted the impoſture, if it was one; and that there were even ſome Engliſh lords engaged in the plot, againſt whom, on account of their great credit and popularity, Henry did not think proper to proceed. But now, leaving Perkin to his ſufferings, and Henry to his triumph, we will notice the other principal tranſactions of this year.

I have already obſerved, that in the years 1495 and 1496, Henry empowered his ambaſſadors to treat of a marriage between Margaret, his daughter, and the king of Scotland: this affair was again brought on the carpet this year, in an interview which James had with Fox, biſhop of Durham, at Melroſs, to ſettle ſome diſpute which had ariſen between the two nations, on account of mutual depredations committed by the borderers on both ſides; and here it was that the articles were propoſed of that marriage, which afterwards effected the union of both kingdoms under one head. This affair, however, was not finiſhed till January, 1502, owing to a ſtrong oppoſition in Henry's council at this time, who would by no means hearken to an alliance, which, in caſe of the extinction of Henry's male iſſue, might bring the kingdom of England under the government of a king of Scotland.

Great part of this year was ſpent in negociations between Henry and Lewis XII of France, which latter not only renewed all the family and national treaties between them, but alſo engaged to continue the payment of the yearly ſum of fifty thouſand livres. Henry likewiſe concluded a new marine treaty, for preventing all piracies and depredations between the ſubjects of the two kingdoms by ſea; and a ſeparate article paſſed between the two kings, that the one ſhould give no ſhelter or ſupport to the rebels of the other†.

The year 1498 ended with an accident which gave the king no ſmall concern. Whilſt he was at his palace of Shene, in Surry, a fire broke out, on the twenty-ninth of December, with that violence that in a few hours the building was entirely conſumed, with all the rich furniture. As Henry was very fond of that palace, he cauſed it to be rebuilt from the ground in a more magnificent manner, and gave it the name of Richmond, from his title whilſt earl, which name it retains to this day.

In the beginning of the year 1499, one Patrick, an Auguſtine friar, finding a diſciple, the ſon of a ſhoe-maker, by name Edward Wilford, fit for his purpoſe, tutored him into an earl of Warwick, who, he gave out, had eſcaped from the Tower. The friar had the impudence to preach publicly, about the county of Kent, that this was the true earl of Warwick, and to exhort the people to take up arms in his favour. Notwithſtanding the impudence of this impoſture, the actors would not have been without their followers, had not the government uſed great diligence in apprehending both the pupil and the preceptor, the former of whom was hanged, and the other condemned to perpetual impriſonment.

This attempt ſerved as a ſufficient excuſe for Henry to free himſelf at once from all his uneaſineſſes occaſioned by Perkin and the earl of Warwick; he was alſo furniſhed with a ſtill more plauſible pretext by the inconſiderate behaviour of Perkin himſelf, whoſe intriguing ſpirit led him into a plot which deprived him of his life. He had tampered ſo effectually with four ſervants belonging to ſir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower, that they had actually engaged to aſſiſt him in making his eſcape; and, by their contrivance, he entered into a cloſe correſpondence with the earl of Warwick, who was confined in the ſame priſon of the Tower. That unhappy prince, who, from his earlieſt youth had been cut off from all ſocial intercourſe‡, had fallen into a ſimplicity that rendered him ſuſceptible of any impreſſion, and he agreed with Perkin to take the firſt opportunity of eſcaping, which they perceived could not be done without killing ſir John Digby. Perkin, however, undertook to conduct the whole enterprize.

This conſpiracy could not long eſcape the quick and penetrating eye of Henry; it has even been affirmed by ſome hiſtorians, that the ſcheme was contrived by himſelf, in order to draw Perkin and Warwick into the ſnare: however this might be, Henry ordered both the earl and Perkin to take their trials for their lives. Perkin, on the ſixteenth of November, was brought up to Weſtminſter Hall, before a commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, and tried as a foreigner, condemned, and ſentenced to be hanged, which ſentence he ſuffered at Tyburn, on the twenty-third of the ſame month, together with Waters, the mayor of Corke, who had been his conſtant companion in all his adventures. Such was the end of Perkin Warbeck, who had been acknowleged for lawful king, in Ireland, France, Flanders, England, and Scotland, and been the moth that for a long time had preyed on Henry's quiet. Perhaps he might have ſucceeded in his deſigns, had he been to deal with a leſs political prince: however, it is certain the public was never thoroughly ſatisfied of Perkin's being an impoſtor. As to his confeſſion which, if we may believe our hiſtorians, he read, declaring it to be true, it is upon the whole a looſe, unconnected, improbable narrative; whereas one might have expected, had he been ſincere, a very inſtructive and particular detail of a deep-laid and well-conducted conſpiracy. On the other hand, may we not, without ſinning againſt probability, ſuppoſe him to have been influenced by hopes given him of pardon even to the laſt moments of his life?

* Compl. Hiſt. p. 623.

† Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 681—696.

‡ Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, was four-and-twenty years old, and had been a priſoner fifteen years, and kept ſo from the company of men and beaſts, that he is ſaid not to have known a gooſe from a capon.

As

As to that unhappy prince the earl of Warwick, he was brought down to take his trial before the earl of Oxford, created lord high-ſteward of England for that purpoſe. He was accuſed, not of attempting his eſcape (for as he was not committed for any crime, an attempt of that nature was not arraignable), but of forming a deſign to diſturb the government, and raiſe an inſurrection in favour of Perkin, and to deſtroy the king. The poor earl, void of all knowlege of man's deceit, was perſuaded to confeſs his indictment, and thereupon received ſentence, which the unrelenting Henry ſuffered to be executed on him, on Tower Hill, on the twenty-eighth of November, 1499, and in him periſhed the laſt heir male of the houſe of York. The ſhedding of this innocent blood cried aloud for vengeance; in vain did Henry endeavour to leſſen the odium of the crime, by dividing it with his ally Ferdinand, king of Spain, who, he ſaid, refuſed to give his daughter in marriage to Arthur, while one prince of the family of York remained alive; the people held the Spaniſh cruelty and inflexibility as no excuſe: the prince of Wales and the princeſs Catherine had been actually married the May before by proxy †, Dr. de Puebla, a Spaniſh lawyer, repreſenting the princeſs.

Lewis XII. had ſolemnly ratified and ſworn to the peace of Eſtaples a little after his acceſſion to the crown; but being deſirous to ſhew Henry he really intended to keep it, he cauſed it to be approved and ratified by the ſtates general, aſſembled at Nantes in the beginning of the year: then he ſent ambaſſadors to the pope, to pray him to confirm it by his authority. The pope, ſeeing no farther obſtacle from France, iſſued out a bull of excommunication againſt whoever of the two kings ſhould not obſerve the treaty.

Having thus ſecured the friendſhip of Henry, Lewis put himſelf at the head of his army, entered Italy, and, after taking ſeveral places, forced the duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza, to fly to Inſpruck, after loſing all his duchy except the caſtle of Milan.

The year 1500 was uſhered in with a dreadful plague, which ſwept off upwards of thirty thouſand people within the city of London only, among whom was cardinal Morton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, a prelate of great experience in buſineſs, a ſupple tool to Henry's will, and a man of whom we find not the leaſt veſtige upon record that he poſſeſſed any one virtue of humanity; accordingly his death furniſhed a ſubject of the higheſt exultation to all the kingdom, eſpecially the poor and middling families, whoſe faces he had long ground by his diabolical knack at inventing the moſt oppreſſive taxes, and inforcing the payment of them by the moſt cruel methods. He was ſucceeded in the ſee of Canterbury by Henry Deane, biſhop of Saliſbury.

As this year was the beginning of a new century, the ſee of Rome, ever watchful of opportunities to fleece or to delude the people, now publiſhed a jubilee; thoſe who lived at a great diſtance from Rome were allowed to purchaſe, for a certain ſum, the privileges of the jubilee without being obliged to repair to Rome, according to the received cuſtom. In order to levy the money ariſing from this indulgence, Alexander diſpatched commiſſioners into all the ſtates of Chriſtendom, and appointed a Spaniard, by name Gaſpar Pons, as his agent in England, who collected large ſums for the uſe of the papal ſee: but when he applied to Henry, in his holineſs's name, to make one in a cruſade which had been planned againſt the Turks, and in which each prince of Europe had his particular department allotted him, Henry, who, from the known character of pope Alexander, concluded that his only aim was to amaſs money by contributions for this enterprize, and having ſeveral things depending at the pope's court at this time, did not think fit to diſoblige his holineſs, returned an anſwer very vague, but very reſpectful; he excuſed himſelf from attending on the expedition in perſon, but offered to contribute a large ſum of money; but then this promiſe was made on condition that ſome good towns on the coaſt of Italy might be put into his hands, as a ſecurity for the ſums he might advance.

Though it is evident from the whole of this anſwer (which is to be found in lord Bacon's Life of Henry VII.) that Henry at that time both declined and deſpiſed the propoſal, yet his pompous profeſſions of zeal for the intereſt of religion wrought ſo much in his favour abroad, that the knights of Rhodes choſe him protector of their order. Alexander having pretty well ſtored his coffers, the affair of the cruſade vaniſhed into air.

The plague continuing to rage in England, Henry, about the middle of May this year, thought fit to remove with his court to Calais, in the neighbourhood of which place he had a conference with Philip, archduke of Auſtria, in which they diſcuſſed the means of improving the good underſtanding between their two people. It is ſaid they had likewiſe ſome converſation about a cloſer alliance, by the intermarriage of the king of England's ſecond ſon, Henry, with the archduke's ſiſter; and between the princeſs Mary, Henry's ſecond daughter, and the archduke's ſon Charles; but the parties being all too young, the matter went no farther than a propoſal, and the marriage never took effect*.

Soon after the king's return to London, two bulls arrived from the pope, the one ſubjecting the perſon of Lewis XII. of France to an excommunication, and his kingdom to an interdict, if he ſhould ever fail in paying Henry the fifty thouſand crowns agreed upon by the treaty of Eſtaples; and another of diſpenſation for the marriage between James IV. king of Scotland, and Margaret, the eldeſt daughter of Henry, which had, by ſeveral negociations in the courſe of this and the preceding year, been brought pretty nearly to a concluſion; the young lady, who was but ten years and ſix months old, was within the fourth degree of conſanguinity to king James.

Henry's thoughts, however, were not ſo taken up by theſe alliances as to make him forget any means of filling his coffers: he was already poſſeſſed of more perſonal riches than any ſovereign in Europe; but his avarice ſeemed to increaſe in proportion as it was gratified. He now iſſued out commiſſions for impoſing fines and redemptions upon all perſons in the counties of Wilts, Dorſet, Somerſet,

† It is reported that Catherine, upon Henry VIII's divorcing her, ſhould ſay, "That ſhe had not offended; but it was a judgment of God, for that her former marriage was made in blood;" meaning the earl of Warwick's. Bacon, p. 616.

* Heiſs's Hiſtory of the Empire.

ſet, and Devon, that ſhould be found to have favoured in any reſpect the Corniſhmen, when they roſe, three years before, under Perkin Warbeck or the lord Audley. With the like view of fleecing the ſubject, he, about the ſame time, iſſued orders to all the ſheriffs throughout England to ſummon all gentlemen having forty pounds a year in land, to come before the next Candlemas, and receive knighthood. Never was king of England more hated by his ſubjects, though this hatred was mingled with fear, produced by his uninterrupted ſucceſs, and the opinion of his great abilities, both as a monarch and politician. All the powers upon the continent courted his alliance, and all the malecoutents of England, were over-awed into a peaceful acquieſcence.

Notwithſtanding this felicity, the buſy, reſtleſs, furious paſſion of jealouſy ſtill encroached upon his repoſe. Henry was of a diſpoſition never to be eaſy under the ſmalleſt ground of apprehenſion, and an accident happened towards the cloſe of this year, which not a little diſturbed him. Edmund de la Pole, ſecond ſon of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and Elizabeth, eldeſt ſiſter of Edward IV. was, on the death of his elder brother, John earl of Lincoln, who was ſlain in the battle of Stokefield, deemed the next lineal heir to the crown, whenever the lines of Edward or of George, duke of Clarence, ſhould become extinct: the proſpect was remote, but Henry's hatred and fears of the houſe of York made him look with a jealous eye even upon the remoteſt branches of that family. Upon the death of John, duke of Suffolk, in 1491, Edmund claimed inheritance of his title and eſtates; but Henry had obliged him to compromiſe, by giving up the title of duke, a dignity he, by his extravagance, was in no condition to ſupport, and, in conſideration of this ceſſion, he was allowed to retain the lands of the earldom, with the dignity of earl of Suffolk.

The earl was a nobleman of tried courage, but immoderately paſſionate: he had, about this time, the misfortune to kill a man in one of his furious ſallies; and, though he was a branch of the houſe of York, the king did conſent to indulge him with a pardon, but, in order to leave a ſtigma upon his character, he obliged him to appear at the bar of the King's Bench court, and plead the royal pardon like a common felon. This touched the earl's pride ſo ſenſibly, that he fled over to Flanders, and reſided at the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy's court. Henry was not a little alarmed at his retreat; he thought he ſaw a new pretender ready to diſpute with him his throne; and, in order to anticipate any deſigns he might hatch to his prejudice, he ſent over emiſſaries, who, by dint of promiſes and profeſſions, perſuaded him to return and be reconciled to the government. The earl accepted of the invitation, and came back to England, where he plunged into all his former exceſſes, to the ruin of his character and fortune. Before we cloſe this year, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention what paſſed in Italy.

After Lewis XII. was become maſter of the duchy of Milan, he turned his thoughts to the conqueſt of Naples. Though probably he might alone have conquered that kingdom, he made however an alliance with the king of Arragon, whereby they agreed to join their forces, and ſhare the conqueſt between them: Ferdinand was to have Apulia and Calabria; and Lewis the city of Naples, Abruzzo, and Terra di Lavaro. The treaty being ſigned, Ferdinand ſent an army into Italy, under the command of the famous Gonzalvo, commonly called the Great Captain. Lewis gave the conduct of his army to d'Aubigni, the earl of Galazzo, and Cæſar Borgia, the pope's baſtard, who, having quitted the cardinalate, was become duke of Valentinois. The French fleet was commanded by Philip of Cleves, lord of Ravenſtein. In a very ſhort ſpace, each of the two kings became maſter of the portion aſſigned him by the treaty; and the unfortunate Frederick, king of Naples, was forced to caſt himſelf upon the mercy of Lewis XII. who ſent him to live in France, with a penſion of thirty thouſand crowns.

The year 1501 produces nothing remarkable for hiſtory to tranſmit, ſave the marriage of Arthur, prince of Wales, with the princeſs Catherine of Spain. According to Stowe, that princeſs arrived at Plymouth on the ſecond day of October, and the nuptials were celebrated at London, with great pomp and ſolemnity on the fourteenth of November, the prince being then turned of fifteen, and the lady about the age of eighteen. Her dower amounted to two hundred thouſand ducats, in money, jewels, and plate; and the third part of the principality of Wales, dukedom of Cornwall, and earldom of Cheſter, was aſſigned to her as a jointure, provided her huſband ſhould die before his acceſſion to the throne †.

This year we find the firſt mention upon our records of the famous Thomas, afterwards cardinal Woolſey, who was then rector of the pariſh-church of Limington, in Hampſhire, and maſter of arts, and had now a bull from the pope for enjoying of two livings *.

The marriage of prince Arthur was ſucceeded by the contract of another match between the king of Scotland and Henry's daughter Margaret, her father having over-ruled all oppoſition of his council, by convincing them that even if the crown of England ſhould devolve to the king of Scotland, in default of his (Henry's) male iſſue, that in ſuch caſe Scotland would become an acceſſion to England, as the ſmaller would always be ſwallowed up in the greater dominion; a political prediction which we have found fully verified.

All matters being adjuſted between the plenipotentiaries on both ſides on the twelfth of February, 1502, the marriage articles between the king of Scotland and the princeſs Margaret were engroſſed. As this was, perhaps, in its conſequences, the moſt remarkable tranſaction of Henry's reign, we ſhall here give an abſtract of the articles, which will ſhew the depth of Henry's policy, and the ſoundneſs of his judgment.

"I. That James, king of Scotland, ſhall, at Candlemas next, in perſon or by his proxy, marry the princeſs Margaret (who, on the laſt day of November by-paſt, had attained the full age of twelve years), and that no exceptions ſhall be made againſt their conſanguinity or affinity, both having been beforehand diſpenſed with by the ſovereign pontiff.

† The magnificence of Henry's court, and the profuſeneſs of this marriage ceremony, muſt be ſurpriſing even to a modern reader, who will have ſome idea of the manners and improved luxury of this age, by Stowe's account of this ceremony, p. 482, 483. of his Annals.

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 783.

"II. That

" II. That the ſaid princeſs ſhall be conveyed, at the charges of the ſaid king her father, and delivered to her ſaid huſband, or to any impowered by him to receive her, at Lamberton Kirk, about the beginning of September, 1503, and not till then.

" III. That, before the firſt day of July, 1503, the ſaid princeſs be legally infeoffed and ſeiſed in all the lands, caſtles, &c. which the queens dowager of Scotland uſually enjoy; and if all theſe lands, &c. be not found to yield the yearly revenue of two thouſand pounds Engliſh, or, which was then the ſame, ſix thouſand pounds Scots money, that her ſaid huſband ſhall aſſign her as many other lands as will make up the deficiency.

" IV. That the ſaid princeſs ſhall be allowed always by her at leaſt twenty-four ſervants of the Engliſh nation, men or women, as ſhe ſhall incline, over and above her Scottiſh domeſtics; and that all theſe ſhall be maintained at the charges of the king her huſband, who ſhall give her every year the ſum of one thouſand pounds Scots, or five hundred marks ſterling, by equal proportions, at the feaſts of Eaſter and Michaelmas, to be diſpoſed of at her pleaſure.

" V. That, in caſe of the death of the ſaid king her huſband, ſhe ſhall be allowed to reſide within or without the kingdom of Scotland, as ſhe ſhall think fit; and although ſhe ſhould think fit to reſide without the kingdom, yet her whole jointure, amounting to the aforeſaid ſum of two thouſand pounds ſterling, or ſix thouſand pounds Scots, ſhall be faithfully paid.

" VI. That the king her father ſhall pay for her portion, to the ſaid king James her huſband, thirty thouſand pieces of gold called angel-nobles, or the equivalent in the current coin of England; whereof ten thouſand to be paid at Edinburgh, eight days after the conſummation of the marriage; other ten thouſand on the ſame day of the enſuing year, 1504, at Coldingham; and the laſt ten thouſand towards the end of the year 1505.

" VII. That in caſe the ſaid princeſs ſhall chance to die without iſſue before the complete payment of her portion, the remainder unpaid ſhall be no more due; but if ſhe ſhould chance to leave iſſue behind, then the whole ſhall be faithfully paid, as if ſhe was alive *."

At the ſame time a peace was concluded between both kingdoms, upon the following terms:

" I. That, in all times to come, there ſhall be a ſincere, complete, and inviolable peace, friendſhip, and league between the moſt illuſtrious and excellent princes, James, king of Scotland, and Henry, king of England, their heirs and lawful hereditary ſucceſſors, their kingdoms, and ſubjects, whether eccleſiaſtic or laic, &c.

" II. That neither of the ſaid kings ſhall favour the rebellious ſubjects of the other, directly or indirectly, but ſhall, on the contrary, commit them to priſon as ſoon as they are known to be ſuch.

" III. That all ſafe-conducts granted, or promiſes made, to any of the Engliſh rebels by king James, ſhall be recalled, and never renewed; and vice verſa.

" IV. If either of the ſaid kings ſhall be attacked by another emperor, king, prince, &c. that the king who is not attacked ſhall aſſiſt him who is, and with as many forces as ſhall be required, provided that theſe forces be maintained at the charges of that king to whoſe aſſiſtance they ſhall be ſent.

" V. That the king of Scotland ſhall not moleſt or beſiege the town or caſtle of Berwick; nor ſhall the inhabitants thereof give any diſturbance to the ſubjects of the ſaid king of Scotland.

" VI. That the fiſh garth of Eſk ſhall be equally free to the ſubjects of both kingdoms, ſo that either the Scots or Engliſh may break or repair without being quarrelled by either of the kings.

" V. That the allies of both kings ſhall be comprehended in the treaty, namely, the king of the Romans; Lewis, king of the French; the kings of Spain, Portugal, and Denmark; the archduke of Auſtria; the dukes of Venice, Ferrara, and Savoy; and the Hanſe Towns of Germany, on the part of king Henry: and on that of king James; Lewis, king of France; John, king of Denmark; the king of Spain, the king of the Romans, the archduke of Auſtria, the dukes of Gueldres, Alſace, and Cleves, and the marquis of Brandenburgh: that all theſe ſhall be informed of the treaty, and be invited to come into it, within eight months; and if they do not accept of the offer, they are in that caſe to be conſidered as unconcerned: as alſo, that if the king of England ſhall chance to make war with any of the ſaid allies of the king of Scotland, the ſaid king of Scotland may aſſiſt his ſaid ally with auxiliary forces, to be ſent to his aſſiſtance and defence; but ſhall not offer to make a diverſion on his behalf by attempting any thing againſt England itſelf; & vice verſa: ſo that the peace between the two kingdoms ſhall remain inviolable, as before.

" VIII. In caſe, which God forbid, that the ſaid king James, or princeſs Margaret, ſhould die before the conſummation of their marriage, the peace ſhall nevertheleſs continue, unleſs either of the kings, their heirs or ſucceſſors, do make known to the other, within two months after the deceaſe of the ſaid king or princeſs, that he will not adhere to the treaty. And,

" IX. In that caſe, that is to ſay although the peace ſhould not take effect, by reaſon of the death of either of the parties, or non-delivery of the princeſs at the time appointed, yet the truce formerly concluded ſhall continue during the life of both the ſaid kings, and one year longer.

" X. That both kings ſhall obtain a ratification of the preſent treaty from the pope, before the firſt day of July, 1503; and that the party breaking ſhall ſubmit himſelf to the ſentence of excommunication, and be actually excommunicated †.

Henry had carried a great point in this treaty, by re-annexing Berwick for ever to the crown of England; but, not contented with that, he uſed every method of flattery and entreaty that he could deviſe, in order to detach James from any of his engagements with the court of France: James went ſo far in his complaiſance to his future father-in-law, as to promiſe him all that he deſired. Henry, on his part, ſhewed ſo great an earneſtneſs to preſerve a good underſtanding with his right dear and entirely beloved ſon, as he calls him, that he gave the biſhop of Murray, the Scottiſh ambaſſador at his court, a liſt of the names of thoſe who were to attend his daughter to Scotland; but the conſum-

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 776, 787, 789.

† Ibid. p. 793, 794.

mation of the marriage was, on account of the tender years of the princeſs, deferred till the enſuing year.

But the joy occaſioned by this union was too quickly damped by the death of Arthur, prince of Wales, who expired at Ludlow caſtle, where he reſided, on the ſecond day of April, about five months after his nuptials. His fate was deeply lamented by the people of England, who flattered themſelves with the proſpect of a happy reign under a prince of his accompliſhments; and in about ſix months after his deceaſe, his brother Henry was, in the twelfth year of his age, created prince of Wales and earl Cheſter.

About this period the king received an embaſſy from the emperor Maximilian, propoſing a league againſt the Turks, and deſiring the loan of ten thouſand pounds ſterling, to be employed in reducing the rebels; which Henry granted, and at the ſame time concluded a treaty of commerce, friendſhip, and alliance with him, to remain in force for one year after the death of the longeſt liver: he alſo ſent ſir Thomas Brandon and Dr. Weſt as his commiſſioners to inveſt Maximilian with the order of the Garter.

And now the ſpirit of faction being entirely quelled among the Engliſh, and Henry's throne and family eſtabliſhed by every ſucceſs and precaution that can give duration to empire, he had it in his power to have rendered himſelf the moſt amiable, as he was the moſt fortunate, of monarchs; but his avarice, which was inſatiable, encreaſed with his years, and was continually prompting him to try new methods to amaſs riches, which he ſeems to have coveted merely for the ſake of poſſeſſing them and not to uſe them, ſince few perſons were ever better œconomiſts than himſelf. Morton was dead, and he now choſe for the agents of his rapaciouſneſs ſir Richard Empſon and Edward Dudley. Empſon was the ſon of a ſieve-maker, and by the boldneſs of his meaſures endeavoured to conceal the meanneſs of his birth. Dudley was a man of fortune and family, as well as of great abilities, all which render his memory, if poſſible, more execrable than that of his fellow-labourer in iniquity. Empſon ſerved as the ſaw (ſays a modern hiſtorian), Dudley as the razor of oppreſſion in the hands of Henry: ſuch was the inſolence of theſe two infamous miniſters, that they did not even obſerve the common forms of juſtice, but proceeded with the moſt arbitrary licentiouſneſs to fleece the ſubject; and ſuch who would not tamely yield up their property were impriſoned, fined, and ſome even executed in conſequence of private trial, without fair examination or verdict of jury. Henry, who ſhared the fruits of this oppreſſion, covered the authors with the ægis of his authority: informers, promoters, queſt-mongers, and the like vermin, ſwarmed over the face of the land; while Henry was deaf and inſenſible to the groans of the oppreſſed and the reproaches of his people. The two following anecdotes, as handed down to us by the lord Bacon, will ſerve to ſhew us, that as Henry let ſlip no opportunity for amaſſing money, however baſe or ungrateful it might be, he was alſo meanly mechanical in the purſuit of oppreſſion, and even affected to obſerve a conſcientiouſneſs in the methods of injuſtice.

To the family of Vere the houſe of Lancaſter owed more than it did to any in the kingdom: the earl of Oxford, the head of that family, and one who had been the moſt ſtrenuous in the cauſe of Henry, having one day magnificently entertained his ſovereign at his caſtle of Henningham, upon the king's taking his leave the earl's ſervants, wearing their maſter's livery and badges, were ordered to form a long row on each ſide of the hall through which Henry paſſed, who, perceiving a greater number of domeſtics in livery than the law againſt retainers allowed the earl to maintain, ſaid to him, "My lord, I have heard much of your hoſpitality, but it exceeds all report: are all theſe gentlemen and yeomen your menial ſervants?" Oxford anſwering, that he had retained them only on that occaſion, to do his highneſs the more honour, Henry was mean enough to make him this reply, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for my good cheer; but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my ſight; my attorney muſt ſpeak to you." The earl was afterwards put to ſo much trouble for this unſeaſonable magnificence, that he was obliged to compound for his offence, by paying a fine of fifteen thouſand marks.

The noble author juſt quoted informs us likewiſe, that he had ſeen a book of accompts of Empſon's, that had the king's hand ſubſcribed in almoſt every leaf: among other articles he found the following, "Item, received of (ſuch a one) five marks for a pardon, which if it do not paſs, the money to be repaid, or the party otherwiſe ſatisfied:" oppoſite to this memorandum was another, in the king's own hand, in theſe words, "Otherwiſe ſatisfied."

Nothing extraordinary paſſed in England the reſt of this year, except the following events, which we ſhall curſorily note.

James and Henry were employed in confirming and ratifying their late treaties, and ſwearing to obſerve them. We find in the Collection of Public Acts*, that James obſerving that the title of king of France, given to Henry, had ſlipped into his oath, he ordered a public inſtrument to be drawn up, to diſclaim giving Henry that title, and to have the ſame eraſed; but James at the ſame time expreſſed his readineſs of renewing his oath as often as Henry ſhould think proper.

On the fifth of Auguſt, this year, died ſir Reginald Bray, knight of the Garter, often mentioned in theſe pages, of whom Hall† gives the following character, "He was the very father of his country, a ſage and grave perſon, and a fervent lover of juſtice, who would often admoniſh the king, when he did any thing contrary to juſtice or equity." About the ſame time likewiſe died Henry Deane, who had ſucceeded Morton as archbiſhop of Canterbury, and was himſelf ſucceeded by Dr. Warham, biſhop of Lincoln, a very great politician and an able negociator, who was often employed by Henry in treaties of the greateſt conſequence.

On the ninth of December, this year, Henry gave a patent to James Elliot and Thomas Aſhurſt, merchants of Briſtol, to John Gonzalez and Francis Fernandez, natives of Portugal, to go with Engliſh colours in queſt of unknown countries, upon certain terms expreſſed in the patent, which

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 43.

† Fol. 36.

is

is to be found at large in the Collection of Public Acts *.

About this time (according to Stowe the annaliſt †) were brought to court three men, taken in the new-found iſlands by Sebaſtian Cabot, the Venetian. They were cloathed in the ſkins of beaſts, and ſpoke a language unknown. Two of them were ſeen two years after at the king's court at Weſtminſter, dreſſed like Engliſhmen, neither could they be diſtinguiſhed from ſuch.

In the beginning of the year 1503 ‡, Henry, to complete the meaſure of his happineſs, loſt his wife Elizabeth, whom he had endured for the ſake of decency to remain the partner of his bed and ſtate: ſhe died in child-bed, within the Tower, and the child died ſoon after. Henry's hatred to the houſe of York was extended to this princeſs, nor could all her virtues, her beauty, or her merit, ever conquer that innate averſion to her family: the concern he gave her by confining the queen her mother in a convent, and confiſcating all her eſtate, is ſaid by ſome to have haſtened her death.

The conduct of the king and his miniſters had by this time rendered them extremely odious to the people, who murmured inceſſantly againſt the government, and ſo loudly that it came to Henry's ears, who was not a little alarmed thereat, and his apprehenſions were farther encreaſed by the following event.

The vaſt profuſion of money in dreſs and equipage on account of the wedding of the late prince Arthur and the princeſs Catherine of Spain, had run ſeveral noblemen in debt, and among the reſt Edmund, earl of Suffolk, of whom we have already ſpoken. He had borrowed large ſums for that purpoſe, and, either preſſed by his debts, or having reaſon to apprehend his life in danger from Henry, who had, ever ſince his return from Flanders, ſet ſpies about his perſon, and whoſe jealouſy he knew to be equally fatal and incurable, the earl fled again, in February, or the beginning of March, this year, over into Flanders, with his brother Richard, whoſe fine accompliſhments and great merit had recommended him to the poſt of firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber to prince Arthur.

The king, alarmed at the earl's going off, and ſuſpecting that he was engaged in practices againſt his crown and ſtate before his departure, and had his accomplices, was eager to know his ſcheme, and the names of thoſe who had favoured his flight or correſponded with him during his retreat; and, to ſatisfy himſelf in theſe points, repeated the expedient he had ſo ſucceſsfully uſed in the caſe of Perkin Warbeck, and privately employed a ſpy, one ſir Robert Curſon, governor of the caſtle of Hammes, near Calais, who, being properly inſtructed, abandoned his charge on pretence of diſaffection to the government, and retired to Flanders, where he offered his ſervice to the earl of Suffolk, then at the court of the old ducheſs dowager of Burgundy.

The earl, not ſuſpecting his deſign, admitted him into his intimacy, and, without reſerve, diſcloſed to him the names of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who were his correſpondents, and who, in their letters, which he ſhewed to this treacherous confident, had ſpoken pretty freely of their diſlike to the king's meaſures; all which the knight punctually communicated to Henry. The reſult of this was, that all the earl's correſpondents were immediately ſeized; and, among others, the lord Courtney, ſon and heir to the earl of Devonſhire, and huſband to the lady Catherine, daughter to Edward IV. ſir James Tyrrel, ſir John Wyndham, the lord Abergavenny, and ſir Thomas Green; but the two latter were diſcharged. Of the others, ſir John Wyndham and ſir James Tyrrel only were beheaded, while the reſt were hanged. As to ſir James Tyrrel, there is the ſtrongeſt reaſon for believing that he died without giving any account that was ſatisfactory to the government, concerning the death of Edward IV's two ſons, becauſe if he had, it would undoubtedly have been publiſhed.

Henry was not yet ſatisfied; he was deſirous to get at the bottom of that plot he ſuſpected was hatching againſt him: he therefore ordered Curſon to continue his correſpondence, and fell upon the following extraordinary method to give that informer a high degree of credit with the earl of Suffolk; he cauſed Innocent VIII's bull of excommunication to be publiſhed at St. Paul's Croſs againſt all perſons that ſhould diſturb him in poſſeſſion of the throne, and ordered the names of the earl of Suffolk and ſir Robert Curſon to be particularly mentioned therein: but as ſoon as the latter had, by the help of this trick, wormed every thing out of Suffolk that he thought neceſſary for the ſervice of his employer, he was ordered over to England, where Henry received him into particular favour. The earl, finding by this that he was betrayed, and receiving but ſmall encouragement from the ducheſs of Burgundy, who was probably tired of being the continual ſcreen to the diſaffected Engliſh, without any hopes of prejudicing the poſſeſſor of that throne, he led for ſome time a vagrant life in Germany, and at length threw himſelf upon the protection of Philip, archduke of Auſtria, who received him, notwithſtanding his treaties with Henry, who, knowing that the earl had not a party in England to ſupport him, ſhewed no farther uneaſineſs about him for the preſent.

On the ſixteenth of June, this year, all the neceſſary preparations, which were extremely magnificent, being accompliſhed, the princeſs Margaret was ſent to Scotland; the king her father conducting her from Richmond, in Surry, as far as Yorkſhire, where he took leave of her, after ordering the earls of Northumberland and Surry, with a very pompous retinue of noble perſonages, to attend her to Edinburgh, where the marriage was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence on the eighth of Auguſt.

Henry, prince of Wales, was now about thirteen years of age, of pregnant parts, and of a robuſt conſtitution. His father had deſigned him for the church, and therefore he had received a more liberal education than had been given to his elder brother. By the death of this latter, however, he was now become apparent heir to the crown; and the king ſaw, with infinite regret, that he ſhould be obliged to refund the fortune which he had received for his late ſon with the princeſs Catherine, unleſs he could fall on ſome means to elude the treaty on that head. As nothing carried with it the appearance of diſhoneſty that tended to the getting or ſaving of money, in the eye of this ava-

* Vol. xiii. p. 37. † P. 483. ‡ On the eleventh day of February. She was buried at Weſtminſter.

ricious

ricious monarch, he bethought himſelf of the expedient of bringing about a marriage between young Henry and the widow of his late brother, on pretence that the former marriage had never been conſummated by the parties; and accordingly he cauſed the propoſal to be made to the king and queen of Spain. Ferdinand and Iſabella, having as little delicacy in matters of intereſt as Henry himſelf, lent a ready ear to the overture, and quickly agreed to the match, provided the pope's diſpenſation could be obtained. This agreement we find in the Collection of Public Acts, dated June 23, 1503 *.

Alexander VI. dying in the ſummer of this year, was ſucceeded by Pius III. who himſelf not outliving the eighteenth of October, Julius II. was elected, on the firſt of November, into the papal chair, and it was to him that the two courts applied for the diſpenſation. This pontiff, who was a mortal enemy to the French king, was very fond of an opportunity to oblige Henry, and thereby bring him into his intereſt. Accordingly, on the twenty-ſixth of December, he granted a bull for diſpenſing with the marriage of Henry, prince of Wales with Catherine, the widow of his deceaſed brother. This bull, as we find it quoted in biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation †, was to the following effect:

"That he (the pope), in the fullneſs of his authority, having received a petition from prince Henry and the princeſs Catherine, bearing, that whereas the princeſs was lawfully married to prince Arthur, who was dead without iſſue, though the ſaid marriage was perhaps conſummated by carnal copulation, but they being deſirous to marry, for preſerving the peace between the crowns of England and Spain, did petition his holineſs for his diſpenſation; therefore the pope, out of his care to maintain peace among all catholic kings, did abſolve them from all cenſures under which they might lie, and diſpenſed with the impediment of their affinity, notwithſtanding any apoſtolical conſtitutions or ordinances to the contrary, and gave them leave to marry; or, if they were already married, he, confirming it, required their confeſſor to enjoin them ſome healthful penance for their having married before the diſpenſation was obtained."

It was neceſſary to give ſo much of this bull, on account of the important conſequences this affair produced in the following reign.

Towards the cloſe of this year, Henry beſtowed the office of lord high-ſteward of England on the earl of Surry, for trying the lord Dudley, who had been indicted for a felony committed in Staffordſhire.

As to foreign affairs, we have to obſerve, that Philip, archduke of Auſtria, having been on a viſit to the king and queen of Spain, returned this year into Flanders. As he paſſed through France, he endeavoured to adjuſt a difference between king Ferdinand, his father-in-law, and Lewis XII. concerning the kingdom of Naples; he even took upon him to conclude, in Ferdinand's name, a treaty which was afterwards diſclaimed. Had he been concerned with a prince of leſs goodneſs and equity than Lewis XII. that diſclaiming might have thrown him into great trouble; but Lewis was too generous to take the advantage. The occaſion, in ſhort, of the rupture between the two monarchs was this:

They had, as hath been obſerved divided the kingdom of Naples, after conquering it. It was hardly poſſible that theſe two princes ſhould long poſſeſs the portion fallen to each, without ſome occaſion of quarrel; accordingly a diſpute aroſe concerning the province of Capitanata, which each would have to be in his diviſion: whereupon the French and Spaniards came to blows. At firſt the French had the advantage, but afterwards loſt two battles, one near St. Severina, in Calabria, on the twenty-firſt of April, the other on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, at Cerignoles, where the duke de Nemours, their general, was ſlain. After theſe two victories, Gonzalvo, who commanded Ferdinand's troops, became maſter of the whole kingdom of Naples. Lewis, deſirous to repair his loſſes, ſent a powerful army into Italy, which was, by ſundry unforeſeen accidents, rendered unſerviceable.

Henry was not fond of parliaments, yet he held them when he found any tolerable proſpect of getting a ſupply; with this view he aſſembled the two houſes on Thurſday, January 25, 1504, in order to obtain an equivalent for two ancient aids due to the crown, on account of the knighthood of the king's eldeſt ſon and the marriage of his eldeſt daughter. Nothing can afford a ſtronger proof of the almoſt abſolute power of the king, than his getting the commons to chuſe Edward Dudley (one of his infamous miniſters, and the moſt odious man in the kingdom) their ſpeaker. Beſides the many emoluments that accrued to Henry from this ſeſſion (which, together with the ſeveral laws enacted therein, will be found under their proper heads), he got a conſiderable ſum by the confiſcation of the eſtates of a number of perſons, going as far back as the beginning of his reign to ſearch for ſuch as had offended, who were accordingly, upon his complaint, attainted of high-treaſon: yet, not content with this acquiſition of riches, he iſſued out commiſſions for a general benevolence, though he had no war upon his hands, nor any appearance of one. Among other inſtances of rapaciouſneſs and oppreſſion, he obliged the city of London to give him five thouſand marks for a confirmation of their liberties; and a vaſt ſum was alſo paid into the royal coffers by the nation upon a recoinage.

In order to make ſome ſort of atonement for theſe extortions, and do ſomething that might recommend him to the friends of the houſe of Lancaſter, he ordered the body of Henry VI. to be removed from Windſor to Weſtminſter, where it was interred with great pomp; and he applied to the pope for a bull to canonize that monarch; but the miracles attributed to the deceaſed after his death were ſo ill aſſerted, that his holineſs would not admit him to a place among the ſaints, without ſuch a pecuniary conſideration as Henry did not think proper to advance, and therefore the deſign was laid aſide. A foreign event now fell out, which gave Henry no little uneaſineſs.

On the twenty-ſixth of November, this year, Ferdinand, king of Spain, notified the death of his queen Iſabella, by a letter to Henry, and that ſhe had left him adminiſtrator of the kingdoms of Caſtile, Leon, and Grenada, for their daughter

* Vol. xiii. p. 76.

† Vol. i. p. 35.

Juana

Juanna, wife of Philip, archduke of Auſtria, who immediately aſſumed the title of king of Spain; but being then engaged in a war with the duke of Guelderland, he was not at leiſure to go and take poſſeſſion of his new inheritance, and therefore was obliged for the preſent to leave the adminiſtration in the hands of his father-in-law, but determined to deprive him of it the firſt favourable opportunity.

Ferdinand, however, claimed a right to the government during his life, on pretence that no particular time was fixed by Iſabella's laſt will. It was of the utmoſt conſequence for Henry to ſupport Ferdinand in this matter againſt the archduke; he was ſenſible that the greater part of his ſubjects conſidered his late conſort, the princeſs Elizabeth, as the rightful queen of England, and that her right had now of courſe deſcended to the prince of Wales, her heir and lawful ſucceſſor, who might one day be encouraged to ſupplant him in the throne; he therefore regarded the iſſue of the diſpute between Ferdinand and Philip as a precedent either for or againſt his own title, and he actually took part with ſuch of the Spaniards who adviſed Ferdinand to break through his wife's entail, and declare himſelf king of Caſtile, Leon, and Grenada in his own right. But Ferdinand, though far from wanting ambition, declined this point, as too difficult to attempt, and contented himſelf with fixing Henry in his intereſt by putting the finiſhing hand to the marriage between his daughter Catherine, princeſs dowager of Wales, and Henry, prince of Wales, which was celebrated in the ſpring of the enſuing year, 1505.

In the beginning of this ſame year Henry entered upon a treaty of marriage for himſelf: he had caſt his eyes upon the queen dowager of Naples for a wife, in order to enjoy the large dower aſſigned her in that kingdom. Perhaps he had alſo another view in this match, namely, the becoming umpire of the differences between Lewis XII. and Ferdinand, concerning the kingdom of Naples. However, Henry's ardour was quickly damped on receiving information that the queen's great jointure in land had, ever ſince Ferdinand came into poſſeſſion of that kingdom, been converted into an annuity for life.

His advices from Spain were likewiſe of a diſagreeable nature; his agents there having informed him, that Ferdinand ſtill continued in the poſt of adminiſtrator, which he hoped to preſerve for life, partly by his intereſt with the archduke Philip's counſellors, ſome of whom he had engaged in his intereſt; and partly by threatening, that in caſe the archduke ſhould attempt to deprive him of the government, he would marry again and beget an heir to the kingdom of Arragon: but, at the ſame time, that the nobles and people of Spain were more ſtrongly attached to Philip, in right of his wife, than to Ferdinand, who had oppreſſed them with intolerable taxes. Theſe agents likewiſe wrote over, that there was actually a treaty of marriage on foot between Ferdinand and madame Germaine de Foix, niece to Lewis XII. which would certainly take effect, ſhould Philip preſume to diſpoſſeſs his father-in-law of the adminiſtration. They farther informed him, that Lewis XII. had determined to give his daughter, madame Claude, in marriage to the count d'Angoulême, his own preſumptive heir as king of France. At the ſame time they gave Henry to underſtand, that if Philip and his queen ſhould continue to reſide quietly in the Low Countries during Ferdinand's adminiſtratorſhip, that prince would endeavour to effect a match between the young prince of Auſtria and Mary; ſecond daughter of the king of England.

In the mean time, however, Philip and Juanna were proclaimed king and queen of Caſtile at Bruſſels, which ſhewed they did not intend to reſign the adminiſtratorſhip of that kingdom to Ferdinand for life, as he had flattered himſelf; though they were hindered from going to take poſſeſſion themſelves by the war of Guelderland, and the pregnancy of the queen, who was in a little time brought to bed of a daughter, named Mary, afterwards queen of Hungary: and ſome days after, Margaret of Auſtria, Philip's ſiſter (the ſame who had been contracted to Charles VIII. of France), loſt her huſband, the duke of Savoy, who died on the tenth of September.

This year was very barren of remarkable events with regard to England. Beſides what has been related, we find only a treaty of alliance between Henry and George, duke of Saxony, hereditary governor of Frietland, which was concluded on the thirtieth of December*.

Philip of Auſtria, having received repeated invitations from the nobility of Caſtile to come over and ſuperſede the adminiſtration of Ferdinand, and having happily finiſhed the war of Guelderland, and his queen being in a condition to travel, ſet ſail from Middleburgh, in Zealand, about the middle of January, 1506, with a fleet of fourſcore ſhips; but a furious ſtorm ariſing from the ſouth weſt, which continued for a week together, prevented him from clearing the Channel, and diſperſed his numerous fleet in ſuch a manner, that there were only two ſmall barks with him when he was driven, in his own battered veſſel, into Falmouth. Spent with a long courſe of fatigues, and the ſeverity of a continued ſea-ſickneſs, he reſolved to go aſhore to get a little reſt and refreſhment for himſelf and his conſort, contrary to the advice of his council.

Henry being apprized of their landing, ſent the earl of Arundel to compliment them in his name; to aſſure them he would, with all poſſible diſpatch, have the pleaſure of embracing them; and that, in the mean time, they might command in his dominions. Philip would have excuſed himſelf from waiting for an interview by the preſſing call there was for his preſence in Spain; but he ſoon found that he was not at liberty to deny, and therefore accepted the invitation made him with a good grace; and, in order to ſave time, ſet out immediately for the court, which was then at Windſor, where he and his conſort were received with all the marks of the moſt cordial friendſhip by Henry. But this intereſted prince, who never did a favour without views of advantage to himſelf therein, propoſed to Philip, during his ſtay, that as he had changed his condition, in being become king of Caſtile, the treaty of commerce between England and the Low Countries ſhould be renewed. That prince, comprehending perfectly well the delicate nature of his preſent ſituation, did not think proper to make any objections to this propoſal, and the treaty was renewed, with ſome alterations in favour of the Engliſh: among other things they ſuppreſſed that ar-

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 114.

ticle of the former treaty, by which Philip's ſubjects were permitted to fiſh on the coaſt of England. Philip was, no doubt, ſenſible of the infinite difference which this made to his ſubjects, but found it neceſſary to temporize: on this account the Dutch and Flemings termed this treaty Intercurſus Malus, or the Bad Treaty, to diſtinguiſh it from that made in 1496, which, on account of the advantages it brought them, they had named Intercurſus Magnus, or the Noble Treaty.

The next buſineſs of importance propoſed by Henry to Philip, was a marriage between himſelf and Philip's ſiſter Margaret, widow of the duke of Savoy. The famous Thomas Wolſey, being then the king's chaplain, was employed in managing this affair, which was ended greatly to the advantage of Philip, as by this alliance he made a friend of Henry, and prevented him from traverſing his deſigns of depriving his father-in-law of the adminiſtration of Caſtile: accordingly the propoſal was readily accepted, and the king of Caſtile engaged to pay the ſum of three hundred thouſand French crowns, each crown worth four ſhillings ſterling (an exorbitant ſum!) together with an annuity of thirty thouſand eight hundred and fifty French crowns, as Margaret's fortune, during their wedlock. This treaty was ſigned by both parties, at Windſor, on the twentieth day of March. Henry however, who judged of mankind by himſelf, could not forbear expreſſing his uneaſineſs leſt Philip ſhould go from his bargain, when out of his power; but Dr. Wolſey, who had already began to diſplay thoſe able talents for negociating, for which he afterwards became ſo famous, fell upon an expedient for preventing all difficulties and quieting Henry's ſuſpicions; for, after the king of Caſtile had agreed to the matter, he had an article inſerted in the treaty, which obliged twelve of the principal lords in the Low Countries to ſwear they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to procure the accompliſhment of the marriage.

Henry having thus ſettled his foreign concerns with the king of Caſtile, proceeded to a matter of great conſequence to his own quiet. It was Henry's peculiar misfortune to realize the phantoms of troubles, and find to himſelf matter of uneaſineſs where there were no grounds of apprehenſion. We have alſo remarked, that he underſtood no delicacy when intereſt was in queſtion; and on the following occaſion he broke through all the rules of decorum and hoſpitality, to compaſs a matter on which his future quiet depended.

The earl of Suffolk, who, as we have before related, had taken refuge in Philip's territories, was a perpetual object of Henry's outrageous jealouſy, nor could he be eaſy while that nobleman was at liberty, who had the unpardonable demerit of being of the blood of York. One day, therefore, he took the opportunity, when the king of Caſtile and himſelf were alone, to preſs him in a manner that ſhewed he would not be denied, to deliver up the earl. Philip was greatly ſtartled at the meanneſs and injuſtice of this requeſt; but ſeeing what hands he was fallen into, and impatient to depart for Spain, did not chuſe to affront Henry by a flat denial, but excuſed himſelf by ſaying, "Sir, this I cannot do, conſiſtent with my honour, and much leſs with your's, for you will be thought to have uſed me like a priſoner." But Henry preſently replied, "Then I will take all the diſhonour upon me." This anſwer convinced Philip that Henry was determined to make the moſt of that advantage which fortune had put in his power, and, after ſome heſitation agreed, but on condition that Henry ſhould ſwear that he would not take the earl's life. Henry ſubmitted to this reſtriction, and even condeſcended to ſend a letter under his own hand, aſſuring the unfortunate exile of good uſage; who, being over-perſuaded by theſe aſſurances, backed with others from Philip, ſurrendered himſelf to the king of England's officers at Calais, who ſent him over hither; but no ſooner was he landed in his native country, than he was ſent under a guard to the Tower of London, where we ſhall ſee him, in the next reign, inhumanly ſacrificed to the prevailing jealouſies of the ſtate.

The earl being thus ſecured, and Henry's apprehenſions lulled to ſleep, he permitted the king of Caſtile to reſume his voyage, after having detained him by a thouſand pretexts for upwards of three months, during which time he had created him knight of the Garter; and Philip, in return, a little before his departure, made Henry knight of the Golden Fleece: at laſt, on the twenty-third of April, Philip and his conſort ſet out for Spain, and, after a ſhort and pleaſant paſſage, landed ſafely at Corunna (now called the Groyne), in Galicia, before Ferdinand knew of their arrival. They were received with ſuch marks of univerſal love and affection, that Ferdinand did not think proper to inſiſt upon his right of adminiſtration, but withdrew to his own kingdom of Arragon. Within a few months, however, Philip was carried off by a ſurfeit, which he contracted by drinking plentifully of cold water when in a ſweat, and died on the twenty fifth of September following. His queen was ſo afflicted with his loſs, that ſhe fell into a deep melancholy, which at length turned to a phrenzy; and Ferdinand, having yet a powerful party in the council of Caſtile, was declared adminiſtrator of that kingdom during the non-age of Charles of Luxembourg, their orphan ſon, who afterwards proved the ſcourge and terror of France and all Europe, by the name of Charles V.

By a treaty made at Blois, two years before, between Lewis XII. and the emperor Maximilian and his ſon Philip, archduke of Auſtria, it had been agreed that this young prince Charles ſhould eſpouſe madame Claude, the king of France's only daughter by Anne of Brittany, on certain conditions therein ſpecified, which were to the laſt degree detrimental to the realm of France; but this year the general eſtates of that kingdom, held at Tours, remonſtrated againſt this fatal treaty, by which the king's council, with one ſtroke of a pen, had mutilated and deſtroyed the French monarchy. Lewis, either repenting what he had done, or overcome by the remonſtrances of the nation, agreed to annul that treaty: in fine, the heireſs of France and of Anne of Brittany was taken from the heir of Auſtria and Spain, as her mother had been from Maximilian; and, before the aſſembly broke up, was married to the count d'Angoulême, afterwards Francis I. and Brittany, which had been twice annexed to the crown of France, and was twice very near ſlipping through its hands, was now incorporated with it, and Burgundy likewiſe was ſtill preſerved *.

* Voltaire's Eſſay on General Hiſtory, chap. xci.

In the mean time the Flemings, who were left in a manner without a head, by the death of their archduke Philip, king of Spain, and the minority of his ſon, ſent to invite the emperor Maximilian to come into their country, and aſſume the adminiſtration of public affairs during the minority of his grandſon Charles. The emperor promiſed to accept the invitation; and, till he could paſs over himſelf, ſent his daughter Margaret, widow of the duke of Savoy, in the beginning of the ſummer of 1507, with the character of governante of the Low Countries: and that princeſs had no ſooner arrived at Bruſſels, than ſhe concluded with Henry a provi ſional treaty of commerce, until ſome differences between the ſubjects of the two princes could be amicably adjuſted. As to the marriage which was to have taken place between the princeſs and Henry, the death of her brother Philip gave it a contrary turn: beſides, Henry, about this time, began to feel his conſtitution impaired by a phthiſical diſorder, which gave him frequent intimations of his approaching diſſolution.

But no diſtemper, however violent, could call off Henry's attention to his two favourite objects, that of aggrandizing his family and heaping up riches; and he ſent orders to his ambaſſadors *, who had juſt concluded the treaty with the governante of the Netherlands, and were now aſſembled at Calais, to ſet on foot a negociation for a marriage between the infant Charles, archduke of Auſtria, ſovereign of the Low Countries and king of Caſtile, and his third daughter the princeſs Mary. After much time ſpent in this project, the finiſhing hand was put to the treaty, at Calais, on the twenty-firſt of December, 1507, and ratified by Maximilian the emperor, and by the ducheſs of Savoy. By the articles of this contract it was ſtipulated, that the marriage ſhould be conſummated as ſoon as Charles ſhould have attained his fourteenth year, and that Mary's dower ſhould be two hundred and fifty thouſand crowns of gold; in conſideration of which ſhe was to be entitled to the ſame jointure which was ſettled upon the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, ſiſter to Edward IV †. At the ſame time Henry concluded an alliance with Maximilian, as tutor and guardian to the king of Spain, in which all the former treaties were confirmed.

All this while Henry went on in heaping up money; and Empſon and Dudley's oppreſſions were now more raging than ever. Sir William Capel, who had been lord-mayor of London, was proſecuted upon a frivolous charge of not puniſhing a perſon who had paid him falſe money in the time of his mayoralty, in the year 1503, and fined two thouſand pounds: upon his refuſal to pay ſo exorbitant a fine, he was clapped up in the Tower, where he remained all the reſt of this reign. Sir Laurence Aylmer, mayor of London, and his two ſheriffs, were in like manner proſecuted upon frivolous charges, and fined each one thouſand pounds: upon refuſing to pay, they were committed to the King's Bench priſon. Sir Thomas Kneſworth, who had beeen mayor in 1505, and both his ſheriffs, were committed to priſon on pretence of ſome irregularities which had happened during their magiſtracies, and obliged to pay fourteen hundred pounds for their releaſe ‡. While ſuch meaſures prevailed, we are not to be ſurprized that Henry amaſſed the prodigious ſum of one million eight hundred thouſand pounds. This year the ſweating-ſickneſs raged again in England, though not ſo violently as it did before; among others it carried off, was Giles, lord d'Aubeney, one of the greateſt ſtateſmen and generals that England had ſeen for many years.

The year 1508 affords us no one event worthy hiſtorical record, except the marriage of the princeſs Mary with the archduke Charles, king of Caſtile, to ſecure the accompliſhment of which Henry employed all his attention. At length, on the ſeventeenth of December, the young couple were affianced in a chamber of Henry's palace of Richmond, in "verba de præſenti," or words of the preſent tenſe; Charles by his proxy, John, marquis of Berghes, or Bergen op Zoom, and Mary in perſon, before the archbiſhop of Canterbury and a conſiderable number of the Engliſh nobility; the ceremony concluded with Charles's proxy kiſſing the young princeſs, in his name, as a token of the eſpouſal, and putting a gold ring on her middle finger. Henry was ſo delighted with this alliance, that he could not forbear boaſting, "that he had now built a wall of braſs round his kingdom," meaning the marriage of his daughters with the king of Scotland, and the prince of Spain, by which he had provided the beſt ſecurity that human prudence could deviſe for eſtabliſhing his family on the throne of England; but he did not live to ſee this laſt marriage completed, and it was at laſt broken off entirely.

About the time of performing this ceremony the marquis of Berghes borrowed from Henry, for the uſe of the archduke, the ſum of fifty thouſand pounds, for which he pawned a jewel belonging to that prince, called the rich Fleur de Lis, which weighed above two hundred and eleven ounces in gold and precious ſtones, and the emperor, as guardian and grand-father to Charles, approved the mortgage for the money, which he converted to his own uſe.

Though crowned with ſucceſs in all his undertakings, triumphant over all his enemies, his alliance courted by every foreign crown, and his power dreaded at home, yet Henry now found that neither riches, power, nor ſucceſs could ſecure him againſt the attacks of the thouſand ills incident to human nature: he had for ſome time laboured under a diſorder of the lungs, which had baffled all the art of medicine in behalf of a life that he was at once the moſt unwilling, and the leaſt prepared, of any man to part with. His diſorder at length became ſo violent, that he found his latter end could not be far off: we are told, that in this humiliating ſituation he entered ſomewhat into himſelf, and when he found that he could no longer continue in the practice of rapaciouſneſs and oppreſſion, and that the treaſures he had thus hatefully accumulated, were inſufficient to ſatisfy the demands of that ſtern creditor, death, he expreſſed ſome contrition for what he had made his ſubjects ſuffer, and determined to do ſomething that might recommend him to the mercy of Heaven and the forgiveneſs of men; he diſtributed large ſums in charity, and releaſed, at his own expence, all pri-

* Fox, biſhop of Winchester; the earl of Surry; Docwra, prior of St. John's; Gilbert Talbot, lieutenant of Calais; and Dr. Nicholas Weſt.

† Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 171—230.

‡ Stowe, Bacon.

ſoners

ſoners that were confined for debt under forty ſhillings. He then made his will, in which he ſtrictly enjoined his heir and ſucceſſor to make reſtitution of all that thoſe infamous agents of his oppreſſive avarice had unjuſtly taken from the people; and on the twenty ſecond of April, 1509, expired, at his favourite palace of Richmond, after reigning twenty-three years and eight months, and in the fifty-third year of his age, leaving his ſon Henry the crown of England, together with one million eight hundred thouſand pounds ſterling in ready money, jewels, and plate, depoſited in the vaults of his palace.

If we conſider Henry either as a man or a king, we ſhall find him in many reſpects inferior to many of his predeceſſors, and even cotemporaries, in ſeveral important reſpects; but at the ſame time it muſt be confeſſed that few of them poſſeſſed ſo many excellencies as he did upon the whole. His reign was more advantageous to his people than honourable to himſelf. He put an end to the civil wars with which the kingdom had been ſo long diſtracted. He maintained order and regularity in the ſtate; he depreſſed the exorbitant power of the nobility; and, together with the friendſhip and alliance of ſome foreign princes, he acquired the eſteem and regard of all.

As he had known how to conquer, ſo he knew how to govern, and his reign ſomewhat humanized the manners of the Engliſh nation. His parliaments, with whom he always kept fair, enacted wiſe laws: juſtice, under him, reſumed her functions; and trade, which had begun firſt to flouriſh under the third Edward, and which had been almoſt annihilated during the civil wars, was again revived. Henry was, through inclination more than neceſſity, avaricious; had he been only ſaving, he would have ſhewn his prudence; but the ſordidneſs of his diſpoſition and his rapacious exactions have tarniſhed the glory of his reign: indeed he ſeems to have hated his ſubjects, and to have made it his buſineſs to keep them low, by loading them with taxes, and ſeizing all opportunities of ruining them by exceſſive fines. He was cool, cloſe, cunning, dark, diſtruſtful, and deſigning: he poſſeſſed in a peculiar manner the art of turning all his domeſtic troubles, and all his foreign diſputes, to his own advantage: and it is not a little remarkable, that one ſo fond of peace, ſhould be ſo fortunate in war; for his arms, whether employed within his own kingdom, or abroad, were always crowned with ſucceſs; and he hardly knew what ill fortune meant, but as he ſaw it in others. In his private diſpoſition he was rather inclined to be merciful, whenever the ſhewing of tenderneſs was compatible with his own intereſt, the regard for which was the ſtandard of all his actions: in a word, his ſoul ſeems to have been engroſſed by two ruling paſſions, the fear of loſing his crown, and the deſire of amaſſing riches; paſſions which, however baſe and ſordid in themſelves, were nevertheleſs productive of conſiderable advantages to the nation. He inherited a fund of good ſenſe, which was greatly improved by ſtudy and experience; and ſo high an opinion had the world conceived of his ſagacity and penetration, that he was commonly diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Engliſh Solomon; though many indifferent actions, which were the effect of pure chance, were generally aſcribed to his conſummate policy: as an inſtance of this we need only mention the marriage of his daughter Margaret with James IV. king of Scotland, which proved the means of uniting that realm to the crown of England, and in bringing about of which Henry's ſagacity and foreſight have been ſo greatly extolled by writers, who have been warped by intereſt or prepoſſeſſion; whereas nothing is more apparent, than that theſe nations owe that benefit to Perkin Warbeck, ſince it was to draw off James from giving him protection and aſſiſtance that this match was agreed upon and ſettled by d'Ayala, the Spaniſh mediator; and lord Bacon juſtly obſerves, that Henry was more dexterous in removing, than in foreſeeing or preventing dangers.

Henry was in ſtature ſomewhat above the middle ſize; his perſon was ſtraight and handſome, and his limbs elegant and well proportioned, though extremely delicate and tender; his countenance was grave and melancholy; his temper ſour and ſaturnine. He was difficult of acceſs, but affable when once engaged in converſation, and irreſiſtibly eloquent and perſuaſive when he had any favourite point to gain. We ſhall here take our leave of this great prince's character, and relate the honours paid by his ſucceſſor to his remains.

His body was brought into the great chamber, where reſting three days, a ſolemn maſs and dirge were ſung by a mitered biſhop: whence being removed into the hall, the ſame ſervice was performed there, the like ſpace of time; as alſo in the chapel three days longer: and in every place a hearſe, adorned with banners, eſcutcheons, and pennons, with mourners attending. From thence, on Wedneſday the ninth of May, it was put into a chariot, covered with cloth, black and gold, drawn by five great courſers, covered with black velvet, ornamented with eſcutcheons of fine gold; with his effigies, apparelled in rich robes, the crown on his head, and ſceptre and ball in the hands, laid on a cuſhion of gold, and environed with banners of arms of all his dominions, titles, and genealogies; a great number of prelates praying, with his ſervants and others in black, before the body; and nine mourners, with about ſix hundred torches, following. In this order it was attended to St. George's Fields, near Southwark, and there met by the religious of the ſeveral orders in or about the city, with the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, in black; it was thence brought through London to St. Paul's, and placed in the choir, in a ſtately hearſe of wax; whence, after a ſolemn maſs, and a ſermon preached by the biſhop of Rocheſter, it was the next day, with the ſame ſtate, conveyed to Weſtminſter, ſir Edward Hayward, with the king's coat of arms, bearing his banner, on a courſer, trapped with the arms of the defunct; and there, by ſix lords, taken out of the chariot, and ſet under a moſt curious hearſe, full of lights, the effigies lying on the coffin, on a pall of gold; about which the mourners being ſat within the firſt rail, knights bearing banners within the ſecond, and officers of arms without the ſame, Garter, king of arms, cried aloud for the ſoul of the noble prince Henry VII. king of this realm; when the choir beginning with "Placebo," and ending with "Dirige," cloſed the ſolemnities of that day. The next day three maſſes were ſolemnly ſung by biſhops, at the laſt of which were offered the banner, courſer, coat of arms, ſword, target, and helmet, the nobility likewiſe offering their rich palls of cloth of gold and bodkins.

Then

Then when the choir had ſung "Libera me," the corpſe was interred, the treaſurer and comptroller breaking their ſtaves into the grave: when, Garter having cried with a loud voice, "Vive le roy Henrie le huiteſme, roy d'Angleterre & de France, ſyere d'Ireland," the mourners, with them of the houſhold, departed to the palace, where they had a ſumptuous feaſt; and thus the funeral ended.

By his queen Elizabeth Henry had iſſue as follow:

1. Arthur Tudor, born at Wincheſter, on the twentieth of September, 1486; was married, on the fourteenth of November, 1501, to the princeſs Catherine of Spain; and died ſoon after, at Ludlow, in Shropſhire, on the ſecond of April, 1502, and was buried in the cathedral of Worceſter.

2. Henry Tudor, his ſecond ſon, born at Greenwich, on the twenty-eighth of June, 1491, and ſucceeded by the name of Henry VIII.

3. Edmund Tudor, third and youngeſt ſon, born at Greenwich, on the twenty-firſt of February, 1498, who, dying ſoon after, was buried within the abbey of Weſtminſter.

1. Margaret Tudor, queen of Scotland, his eldeſt daughter, was born on the twenty-ninth of November, 1489. She was firſt married to James IV. king of Scotland, anno 1503; and next to Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, in the year 1514, and had children by both.

2. Elizabeth, ſecond daughter, born the ſecond of July, 1492. She died at Eltham, on the fourteenth of September, 1495, and was buried at Weſtminſter.

3. Mary, born A. D. 1498; affianced to Charles, prince of Caſtile, afterwards emperor; married firſt to Lewis XII. king of France; and, after his deceaſe, to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

Remarkable Occurrences.

In the ſecond year of Henry VII. John Percival, the lord-mayor's carver was choſen one of the ſheriffs of London in this manner: ſir Henry Collet, the lord-mayor, took a cup of wine, and drank to John Percival, who then waited at his table, ſtanding bare-headed; the lord mayor drinking to him, and ſtyling him ſheriff of London for the enſuing year, ſo far made uſe of his privilege of election that way, as to cauſe Percival to put on his hat and ſit down at table; accordingly the carver ſat down, took on him the office of ſheriff, and was afterwards lord-mayor himſelf, and knighted.

In his ſeventh year, Robert Fabian was an alderman and ſheriff of London: he wrote a Hiſtory of England and France, from the creation of the world to the third year of the reign of Henry VIII.

In his ninth year, on the twenty-eighth of April, Joan Boughton, a widow, was burnt in Smithfield, for hereſy and profeſſing Wickliff's opinions.* This year wheat was ſold in London for four ſhillings a quarter; and Bourdeaux wine, or claret, for thirty ſhillings a hogſhead.

In the tenth year of his reign the body of one Alice Hackney, which had been buried one hundred and ſeventy-five years, ever ſince the beginning of the reign of Edward II. was accidentally dug up in the church of St. Mary Hill, London; the ſkin of the corpſe was whole, and the joints of the arms pliable.

In the ſeventeenth year of his reign, ſir John Shaw, then lord-mayor, firſt cauſed his brethren the aldermen to ride to the water-ſide, when he went to the Exchequer-bar to be ſworn: he was alſo the firſt that held the mayor's feaſt in Guildhall, which was before done at Mercers-hall, or Merchant-taylors-hall.

In the following year, on the eighteenth of January, the firſt ſtone of the chapel known by the name of Henry VII's Chapel, was laid, within the monaſtery of Weſtminſter, by John Iſlip, the abbot; ſir Reginald Bray, knight of the Garter; Dr. Barnes, maſter of the Rolls; ſir Edward Stanhope and others aſſiſting at the ceremony. The charge of this building amounted to no more than fourteen thouſand pounds, if we may believe the lord Bacon.

In the ſame year the king gave the title of Merchant Taylors to the company of Taylors, of which he himſelf was a member, as ſeveral of his predeceſſors had been before him.

The colleges founded in this reign were, Chriſt's college and St. John's, in Cambridge, by Margaret, counteſs of Richmond, the king's mother; Jeſus college, in the ſame univerſity, by John Alcock, biſhop of Ely: Corpus Chriſti, in Oxford, by Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter; and Brazen Noſe college, by William Smith, biſhop of Lincoln.

It was likewiſe in the courſe of this reign that St. Paul's ſchool was founded by John Collet, dean of that cathedral.

* Rymer, Stowe, Bacon, &c.

Of the State of Religion, Learning, Laws, Arts and Sciences, Commerce, Public Revenues, &c. in ENGLAND, from the Death of HENRY IV. to the Acceſſion of HENRY VIII. Including a Period of Ninety-ſix Years, viz. from A. D. 1413 to A. D. 1509.

Of RELIGION, and of the CHURCH.

WE have already given ſome account of the ſeverities exerciſed againſt the Lollards, in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV*. The general perſecution raiſed againſt them had kept them, for ſome time, quiet; but in the beginning of the reign of Henry V. they began to appear with more aſſurance. The king had been remarkably attached to ſeveral of the ſect, when prince of Wales, and they now thought that they ſhould find in him a patron and protector; but they ſoon found themſelves miſerably deceived. Henry had already formed the great ſcheme of conquering France, and was ſenſible he could never effect this favourite project without a perfect good underſtanding between the crown and the church; he therefore reſolved not to interrupt the clergy in any matters pertaining to their juriſdiction: accordingly, in the very beginning of his reign, he delivered up ſir John Oldcaſtle to eccleſiaſtical cenſure. The ſeverities exerciſed againſt him have been already related; but it may not be amiſs here to mention ſome of the profeſſed tenets of that great man, and for which he ſuffered by the ſpiritual power.

Upon his examination before a convocation held by archbiſhop Arundel, at Black-friars, on the twenty-ſeventh of September, 1413, aſſiſted by the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and Bangor, when he was queſtioned concerning the euchariſt, he profeſſed his belief, "that, after conſecration, Chriſt's very body was preſent in form of bread, the ſame individual body that was born of the Virgin Mary." But being aſked by one of the divines preſent, to declare, without reſerve, "whether he did not hold the bread, after conſecration, to be material?" turning to the archbiſhop, he ſaid, "I believe it is Chriſt's body, in form of bread. Sir, believe you not this?" "Yea, marry, do I," replied the archbiſhop. "But (redemanded the doctors) think ye that any part of the bread remains after conſecration?" He replied, "It is both Chriſt's body and bread: for what ſaith St. Paul, 2 Cor. x. "The bread which we take, is it not the partaking of the body of Chriſt?" Now (added the knight) is it not plain that the ſubſtance is called bread?" As theſe anſwers were directly repugnant to the eſtabliſhed opinion of thoſe days, which held the bread, after conſecration, to be no longer material, but abſolutely changed into the very body of Chriſt, ſir John's enemies, who formed the great majority of the aſſembly, cried out that he had confeſſed hereſy; and Dr. Walden, a noted theologiſt of thoſe times, undertook to confute Oldcaſtle by argument; but both their reaſonings are miſerably lame and ſcurrilous. The behaviour of the latter on this occaſion was quite indefenſible; for, being warmed in his own defence, he compared the members of the court to Annas and Caiphas, who ſat in judgment upon Chriſt, and afterwards upon his apoſtles; launched forth into the moſt bitter and indecent reflections on the church of Rome, and thoſe of the Engliſh clergy who ſupported her cauſe; concluding his harangue thus: "Rome is the very neſt of Antichriſt, from whence came all his diſciples; prelates, prieſts, and monks are the body; and the ſhaven friars the tail, which covers the moſt filthy parts." Such obloquy could not fail to exaſperate the aſſembly, which being unanimous in finding him guilty, the archbiſhop pronounced ſentence of condemnation againſt him; and, though he made his eſcape from the Tower, he was afterwards apprehended, and ſuffered death both as a traitor and heretic, by being hanged and burned at Tyburn †.

But we are now to give an account of the famous council of Conſtance, in which the Engliſh made ſo great a figure. There were at this time no fewer than three popes; Peter of Candia, who took the name of Alexander V. Peter de Luna, who took the name of Benedict XIII. and Angeli Corrario, who called himſelf Gregory XII. The emperor Sigiſmund had been indefatigable in endeavouring to bring their ſeveral pretenſions under ſome compromiſe: in the mean time Alexander V. dying, his tiara was given to Balthazzar Corſa, who took the name of John XXIII. His holineſs was at this time highly diſtreſſed by Ladiſlaus (Charles Durazzo), king of Naples and Sicily, whoſe victorious troops had ſhut him up in Bologna; in this extremity he had recourſe to the emperor Sigiſmund, who was come into Italy to conclude a treaty with the Venetians.

Sigiſmund, as emperor, had an opportunity of exalting his own power, by the humiliation of the pope; but, on the other hand he was the mortal enemy of Ladiſlaus, the tyrant of Italy. John propoſed to him to form a league, and aſſemble a council; the one to expel the common enemy, and the other to confirm his own right to the pontificate.

A council was in fact neceſſary, that of Piſa ‡ having ordered one to be called at the end of three years: accordingly Sigiſmund and John iſſued their joint proclamation for the holding this council in the little city of Conſtance, ſeated on the weſtern bank of the lake of that name; but Ladiſlaus oppoſed his victorious army to theſe negociations, and nothing but an extraordinary turn of affairs could de-

* See the State of Religion at the latter end of vol. i. of this Hiſtory.

† Hall. Walingham. Elmham.

‡ See vol. i. p. 696. of this Hiſtory.

liver

liver the emperor and the pope from their critical ſituation; this happened by the death of Ladiſlaus in 1414, brought about, as was ſuſpected, by poiſon, a cuſtom in thoſe times but too prevalent.

John XXIII. thus delivered from his moſt implacable enemy, and having now only the emperor and the council to fear, wanted to put off the meeting of this high aſſembly, which may not improperly be ſtyled the ſenate of Europe, as having the power of judging over the ſupreme pontiffs themſelves; but, notwithſtanding all John's arts, the meeting was proclaimed, the emperor preſſed for its ſitting, and thoſe who had a right to aſſiſt at it were haſtening from all parts to take poſſeſſion of the auguſt title of arbitrators of Chriſtendom: John therefore was obliged to go to the council; but he made a ſecret convention with the duke of Auſtria, to protect his perſon againſt all attempts, and to aſſure him an open and ſafe retreat from Conſtance when he pleaſed: in ſhort, he omitted nothing that could ſecure his perſon and authority.

On the ſixteenth of November, 1414, the council met, and never had there been a more numerous convocation. Beſides the crowd of prelates and doctors who aſſiſted at this council, there were twenty-eight great vaſſals of the empire preſent, and the emperor himſelf conſtantly attended, as did the electors of Metz, Saxony, the Palatine, and Brandenburgh, with the dukes of Auſtria and Bavaria, and twenty-ſeven ambaſſadors from the ſeveral courts of Europe*. The bull for calling this council being read, it was declared to be convocated, not only to aboliſh the ſchiſm which ſtill continued in the church, but alſo to root out the hereſy of Wickliff, which had by this time made great progreſs abroad, and manifeſtly tended to the diſſolution of the papal dignity, which ſerved for the baſis and foundation to moſt of the privileges claimed by the clergy, and indeed to the hierarchy itſelf. The council next choſe its officers and ſervants, which were equally elected out of the four nations of which it was compoſed, viz. the Engliſh, Iralians, French, and Germans: but a queſtion of a very intereſting nature for the Engliſh now happened; it was ſtarted by Peter de Chiaco, cardinal de Camera, who was put upon it by the French. It was, "Whether the Engliſh ſhould ſit as a diſtinct nation in the council, or be conſidered as comprehended in that of Germany?" After much altercation on both ſides, the matter was at laſt decided in favour of the Engliſh, and it was agreed that the fathers of the council ſhould be ranged under five nations, viz. Italy, France, Germany, England, and Spain; and that the plurality of voices ſhould determine all matters propoſed.

On the twenty-third day of December the emperor appeared in council, which proceeded to buſineſs; and, after much debate, it was found abſolutely neceſſary towards the re-eſtabliſhment of peace and union in the church, that not only the antipopes, Gregory and Benedict, ſhould be diveſted of all authority, but even John XXIII. who was the only lawful pope (as having been elected and acknowleged by the cardinals of the council of Piſa, and ſucceeded to the pope choſen by the ſame council) ſhould abdicate his papal dignity. This laſt, conſcious of many enormities in his own conduct, for which he dreaded proſecution, ſeemingly agreed to the propoſal; but this conſent was the effect of diſſimulation, for he knew that Sigiſmund had made himſelf maſter of the council, by placing ſoldiers round the city of Conſtance, under the ſpecious pretext of providing for the ſafety of the fathers; ſo that the pontiff now found himſelf a priſoner in the midſt of the very council where he ſat as preſident.

He had now no reſource left but to make his eſcape. The emperor cauſed him to be narrowly watched; the duke of Auſtria, who was deſirous to favour the pope's flight, could not think of any better way than by giving the council the diverſion of a tournament; in the midſt of the hurry and confuſion uſual on theſe occaſions, the pope made his eſcape in the diſguiſe of a poſtilion, and the duke of Auſtria ſet out immediately after him: they both retired into a part of Switzerland which ſtill belonged to the houſe of Auſtria. The duke of Burgundy was likewiſe ready to protect the pope: this duke was very powerful, both on account of his great poſſeſſions and the authority he had in France Thus a new ſchiſm was on the point of being kindled; the heads of religious orders who were in the pope's intereſt, were already retiring from Conſtance, and the council by this turn of affairs might have become an aſſembly of rebels. Sigiſmund, who had been unfortunate on ſo many occaſions, proved ſucceſsful in this: he had, as we have already obſerved, a body of troops at hand, with theſe he made himſelf maſter of all the duke of Auſtria's territories in Alſace, Tyrol, and Switzerland. This brought the duke back to the council, where he aſked pardon on his knees of the emperor, and promiſed in the moſt ſolemn manner never for the future to undertake any thing contrary to his will, and reſigned all his dominions to him, to be diſpoſed of as he ſhould think proper, in caſe of infidelity. The emperor upon this gave the duke his hand, and pardoned him, upon condition that he would deliver up the perſon of the pope.

The fugitive pontiff was accordingly ſeized at Fribourg, and conveyed to a neighbouring caſtle.

* The deputies ſent to this council from England were, firſt, the biſhops of Saliſbury, Bath, and Hereford, the abbot of Weſtminſter, and the prior of Worceſter; but, upon the death of the biſhops of Saliſbury and Hereford, the Engliſh prelates underſtanding that other churches were repreſented by a more numerous delegation, ſent Clifford, biſhop of London, the chancellors of both univerſities, with twelve doctors, to this council. Walſingham, p. 387. The deputies mentioned in Rymer's Fœdera, are theſe: Nicholas, biſhop of Bath and Wells; Robert, biſhop of Saliſbury; John, biſhop of St. David's; William, abbot of Weſtminſter; John, prior of Worceſter; Thomas Spofford, abbot of St. Mary's at York; Richard, earl of Warwick; Henry Fitz Hugh, lord-chamberlain; ſir Walter Hungerford, ſir Ralph Rocheford, John Honyngham, doctor of laws. Vol. ix. p. 162, 167, 169.

Every one of the members of this council (ſays Mr. de Voltaire, in his Eſſay on General Hiſtory, vol. ii. chap. 60. from whence we have chiefly extracted the above account) vied with the other in luxury and magnificence; they brought in their train five hundred players on inſtruments, called in thoſe days minſtrels; ſeven hundred and eighteen courtezans, who were openly protected by the magiſtracy of Conſtance. They were obliged to build a great number of wooden huts, to lodge all the miniſters to luxury and incontinence which theſe lords, rather than fathers, of the council brought with them. No one was aſhamed of theſe practices, which were then as publicly authoriſed in every ſtate, as they had been formerly in moſt of the heathen nations. On this occaſion the church of France allowed every archbiſhop it ſent to the council ten franks a day (which is equal to fifty livres [about two guineas Engliſh] of our preſent currency), eight to a biſhop, five to an abbot, and three to a doctor.

In

In the the mean time the council proceeded to his trial: he was charged with having ſold benefices and reliques, with poiſoning the pope his predeceſſor, with having murdered a number of innocent perſons, in ſhort he was accuſed of the moſt impious licentiouſneſs, and of the higheſt exceſs of debauchery, even of ſodomy and blaſphemy; they however ſuppreſſed fifty-five articles of the verbal proceſs, which they thought too great an infamy on the pontifical character. At length, on the twenty-ninth of May, the ſentence of his depoſition was read, in the preſence of the emperor. This ſentence imported, that the council reſerved to itſelf the power of puniſhing the pope for his crimes, according to juſtice or mercy.

John XXIII. who had formerly given proofs of the greateſt courage, was all reſignation, when they came to read his ſentence to him in priſon. The emperor kept him priſoner three years at Manheim, where he treated him with ſuch ſeverity, that the public began to compaſſionate him more for his ſufferings than it had even hated him for his crimes. Thus far I have thought neceſſary to carry the tranſactions of this council, in relation to the ſettling the ſchiſm in the church; it now remains to give an account of the fires which were aftewards lighted up by the miſtaken religious zeal of this ſame aſſembly.

The fathers of this council did not originally meet about depoſing a pope, their principal view ſeemed to be the reformation of the church. The doctrines of Wickliff had been condemned by the univerſity of Oxford, and by the biſhops and clergy, but this did not hinder its ſpreading; his books, though obſcure and ill written, were every where circulated by mere dint of curioſity, which the ſubject of diſpute and the boldneſs of the author had raiſed in all degrees of people, and which received no little weight from his unſpotted manners and purity of life. His works made their way into Bohemia, a country newly riſen out of barbariſm, and which, from the groſſeſt ignorance, had arrived at another ſpecies of it, at that time called erudition.

The emperor Charles IV. the lawgiver of Germany and Bohemia, had founded the univerſity of Prague, on the ſame model as that at Paris. In this univerſity, which, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, contained no leſs than twenty thouſand ſtudents, the Germans had three voices in all deliberations, and the Bohemians only one: John Hus, a native of Bohemia, who had attained to the degree of a bachelor in that academy, and was confeſſor to the queen, Sophia of Bavaria, wife of Wenceſlaus, obtained of that princeſs, that, for the future, his countrymen ſhould have three votes, and the Germans only one. Theſe latter incenſed at this change, withdrew from the univerſity, and became ſo many irreconcileable enemies to John Hus. At the ſame time ſome of Wickliff's works had fallen into his hands; and, though he totally rejected the ſpeculative doctrine contained in them, he adopted the author's paſſionate invectives againſt the lives of the popes and biſhops; againſt the excommunications, thundered out with equal levity and fury; and, in fine, againſt all eccleſiaſtical power; in which neither he nor Wickliff had properly diſtinguiſhed between the rights and uſurpations. This ſtep made him many more enemies, but at the ſame time it procured him a number of protectors, eſpecially the queen, whoſe ſpiritual director he was. He was accuſed before John XXIII. and ſummoned to appear in the year 1411, which ſummons he did not obey. In the mean time the council of Conſtance aſſembled, which was to pronounce judgment upon the popes and the opinions of men: hither he was alſo ſummoned, the emperor himſelf writing to the court of Bohemia to deſire he might be ſent to give an account of his doctrine.

John Hus, full of confidence, repaired to the council, when both he and the pope ought to have kept away. He arrived there, accompanied by ſeveral Bohemian gentlemen and many of his diſciples; and, what is moſt remarkable, he came with the emperor's ſafe-conduct, dated the eighteenth of October, 1414, and drawn up in the fulleſt and moſt favourable terms; but no ſooner was he arrived, than he was committed to cloſe confinement, and the council proceeded to try him, at the ſame time with the pope. He, like the pope, made his eſcape; and, like him, was brought back again, and they were both confined for ſome time in the ſame priſon.

At length he appeared before the council, loaded with chains, and was examined concerning ſeveral paſſages in his writings. It is certain any man may be ruined by wreſting the meaning of his words: what teacher, what writer is ſure of life, if we condemn to the flames a perſon who ſays, "there is but one catholic church, which contains all the predeſtined in its boſom; that a reprobate is not a member of this church; that the temporal lords ought to oblige the prieſts to obſerve the law; and that a wicked pope is not a vicar of Jeſus Chriſt?" And yet theſe, and no others, were the propoſitions maintained by John Hus, and which he explained in ſuch a manner as might have acquitted him, had not the council put ſuch a ſenſe upon them as was found neceſſary to condemn him.

The fathers of the council were determined that Hus ſhould retract his opinion; and Hus, on his ſide, perſuaded he was in the right, would not acknowlege himſelf in an error. The emperor, moved with compaſſion, ſaid to him, "What harm is there in abjuring errors, falſely attributed to you? I am ready this moment to abjure all kind of errors, does it follow from thence that I have held them?" Hus, however, remained inflexible: he demonſtrated the difference between a general demonſtration of errors, and retracting an opinion as an error, and choſe rather to be burnt than acknowlege that he had been in the wrong.

The council were as obſtinate as himſelf; but his obſtinacy in ruſhing to certain death was ſomething heroic, whereas that of condemning him to the flames was an act of great cruelty. The emperor, notwithſtanding the ſafe-conduct he had granted, ordered the elector Palatine to ſee him carried to execution, and he was accordingly burnt alive in preſence of the elector, chanting out hymns of praiſe to the divinity till the flames ſtifled his voice. After his death, the duke of Bavaria ordered the executioner's ſervant to throw all the martyr's cloaths (for that title he certainly deſerved, if ever man did) into the flames; and his aſhes, being carefully collected, were caſt into the Rhine.

Some months after, the council exerciſed the ſame ſeverity againſt a diſciple and friend to John Hus, named Jerom, whom we commonly call Jerom

rom of Prague. This man was greatly ſuperior in underſtanding and eloquence to Hus; he at firſt had ſubſcribed to the condemnation of his maſter's doctrine; but being informed with what greatneſs of ſoul he had encountered death, he was aſhamed to ſurvive him, and having made a public retraction, he was conſigned to the flames.

Poggio the Florentine, ſecretary to John XXIII. and one of the firſt reſtorers of letters, who was preſent at his examinations and execution, ſays that he never heard any thing that approached ſo nearly to the eloquence of the Greeks and Romans as the ſpeech which Jerom made to his judges: "He ſpoke (ſays he) like Socrates, and walked to the ſtake with as much chearfulneſs as that great philoſopher drank the cup of hemlock."

The council having depoſed the true pope in the manner we have already related, wanted the renunciations of thoſe who pretended to the pontificate. Corrario ſent them his; but the proud Spaniard, Luna, would never yield: the council found no difficulty in depoſing him, but it was an affair of greater importance to fix upon the choice of one to ſucceed him. The cardinals claimed the right of election as immediately veſted in themſelves; and the council, as repreſentatives of the whole Chriſtian church, pretended likewiſe to the ſame right. The preſent queſtion was about giving a head to the church and a ſovereign to Rome. It was but juſt that the cardinals, who conſtituted the privy-council of this ſovereign, and the fathers of the general council, who acted in conjunction with them, as repreſentatives of the church, ſhould with them enjoy an equal right of ſuffrage: thirty deputies of the council joined with the cardinals in electing Otho Colonna, of the ſame family who had been excommunicated by pope Boniface VIII. to the fifth generation. This pope, who, after his election, changed his illuſtrious name for that of Martin V. poſſeſſed all the qualities of a prince with the virtues of a biſhop.

Never had the inauguration of a pontiff been attended with greater pomp: he went in proceſſion to the church, mounted on a white palfrey, the emperor and the count Palatine on foot, leading it by the reins, a numerous croud of princes, and all the members of the council cloſed the train. When he arrived in the church, the tripple crown was put on his head, which the popes had worn for upwards of two centuries.

There had been great complaints made in this council, for above two years, againſt the annates or firſt-fruits, the exemptions, the reſervations, and the taxes impoſed by the popes on the clergy, for the profit of the holy ſee; and againſt the torrent of vice with which the church was at this time overflowed. But how did this ſo much deſired reformation end? Pope Martin declared, firſt, that no exemptions ought to be granted, without ſhewing juſt cauſe. Secondly, that an enquiry ſhould be made into the re-united benefices. Thirdly, that the revenues of vacant churches ſhould be diſpoſed of, according to common law. Fourthly, he made an ineffectual prohibition of ſimony. Fifthly, he ordered for the future, thoſe that had benefices ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by the tonſure. Sixthly, he forbad the celebration of maſs in a lay habit. Theſe were the laws promulgated by the moſt ſolemn aſſembly in the univerſe.

Gerſon, and the deputies of the univerſity of Paris, even found great difficulty in getting the two following propoſitions condemned, viz. "That in ſome caſes the aſſaſſination of a perſon might become a virtuous act: that it is more meritorious in a knight than in an eſquire, and far more in a prince than in a knight." This doctrine of aſſaſſination had been maintained in France by one John Petit, a doctor of the univerſity of Paris, upon the occaſion of the murder of the king's own brother. The council for a long time evaded Gerſon's petition, but at length it was obliged to condemn this doctrine of murder, though without mentioning the cordelier John Petit's name.

We cannot cloſe our account of this council, without noticing ſome tranſactions thereof, which were peculiarly honourable to the Engliſh nation.

In the nineteenth ſeſſion of this council, the queſtion of precedency between the Engliſh and the Arragoneſe, or Spaniards, was again revived, through the intrigues of the French deputies, and for a while by its violence cauſed a total ceſſation of all buſineſs; but the noble ſtand made by the Engliſh, and the great credit their nation was in at this time with all Europe, was ſuch, that, before the end of this council, an end was put to this affair entirely in their favour; and the queſtion running between the right of precedency of the univerſities of Oxford and Salamanca, the antiquity, privileges, and excellency of the former were defended by Henry de Abingdon, of Merton college, in Oxford, in a formal ſpeech, with ſo much glory and advantage, that the council gave the point entirely in favour of that univerſity.

On the twenty-ſecond of April, 1418, the council of Conſtance was diſſolved by the new pope, Martin V. after having been aſſembled four years and an half, viz. from the firſt of November, 1413, and after having rendered itſelf famous by the irretrievable blow it had inflicted upon the papal authority by the ſpirited decree paſſed in its fourth ſeſſion, by which a general council was declared above any pope, and that, "being gathered together in the Holy Ghoſt, and repreſenting the catholic church militant, it received a power immediately from Jeſus Chriſt, which perſons of all conditions, even popes themſelves, were obliged to obey in every thing which concerned the faith, the extirpation of ſchiſm, and reformation of the church in head and members." In ſhort, the authority of a general council was ultimately confirmed by the approbation of two unqueſtionable popes, John XXIII. and Martin V*.

In the mean time the Lollards underwent ſevere perſecutions in England. Preſentments of heretics were formally ordered by Henry Chicheley, archbiſhop of Canterbury (in the room of Arundel, who died in 1415), in a convocation held at London, July 1, 1416, enjoining every pariſh to give in the names of all perſons ſuſpected of hereſy within their reſpective diſtricts; and ordering that the dioceſans, upon ſuch informations, ſhould iſſue out proceſs againſt the accuſed perſons.

Theſe injunctions were carried into execution with a moſt fiery zeal, and the biſhops obliged all whom they ſuſpected, to ſwallow abjuration in the moſt copious terms. It was about this time that ſir John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham, was taken by

*Baronius. Æneas Sylvius. Poggius. Voltaire.

the lord Powis, and ſent up to London, where he ſuffered death in the manner related in the civil hiſtory *.

In the year 1418, a ſynod was called by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, at London, which granted two tenths as a ſupply for the war with France; and the duke of Bedford notified to the aſſembly the election of pope Martin V. whoſe elevation was celebrated with rejoicings and acts of devotion. The aſſembly then enacted a decree for regulating the graduations at the two univerſities, which decree met with great oppoſition at Oxford and Cambridge, though it was at laſt received by the interpoſition of king Henry V. who was himſelf a patron of learning.

The meek Martin V. proved as encroaching a pope upon the Engliſh church as any of his predeceſſors had ever been: he diſpoſed of biſhoprics by way of proviſion, and vacated the elections of the chapters. Henry V. in order to put a ſtop to this uſurpation, as alſo to reform a number of abuſes which had crept in among the clergy, ſent John Ketterick, biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield, to demand an expreſs concordat upon the abuſes ſo much complained of. The pope, who knew too much of Henry to think of dallying with him, on the ſeventeenth of April, 1419, eſtabliſhed the following concordat between the ſee of Rome and the church of England.

"That it was agreed by pope Martin V. for the reformation of the church of England, and of the dominions of Ireland and Wales, that the number of cardinals ſhould be ſo moderate that it might not be a burthen to the church, nor render the dignity mean and contemptible.

"That they ſhould be elected indifferently out of all the nations of Chriſtendom, and be created with the conſent of the college of cardinals, or the greateſt part of them.

"That ſince, on occaſion of indulgencies granted by the popes, and the great number of thoſe perſons who diſtributed them, which now abounded in England more than formerly, many encouraged themſelves in a bold licentiouſneſs; and, neglecting their proper cures and proper churches, flocked to make their confeſſions in thoſe places where the indulgencies were given out; it ſhould therefore be in the power of the diocеſan of the place to enquire into the quality of thoſe indulgencies, to ſuſpend thoſe which were ſcandalous, and to ſend notice to the pope that he might revoke them.

"That there ſhould be no appropriations of parochial churches, without the knowlege and conſent of the biſhop of that dioceſe.

"That all appropriations of perpetual vicarages in the pariſh churches, made during the late ſchiſm, ſhould be recalled; and perpetual vicars be ordained in them by the ordinaries of the place: and that in every parochial church there ſhould be one conſtant vicar to have the cure of ſouls, who ſhould be ſufficiently endowed to maintain hoſpitality, and to ſupport the charges of his function.

"That all the privileges of uſing the pontifical veſtments granted to inferior prelates ſince the death of Gregory XI. ſhould be revoked; but thoſe which had been obtained before, ſhould continue.

"That whereas the plurality of benefices was contrary to the canons, and no diſpenſations could be lawfully made in this caſe, unleſs in favour of perſons of noble birth or excellent learning, yet ſuch diſpenſations were now common; it was therefore ordained, that they ſhould not be granted for the future; though thoſe which had been, might continue in force, excepting only ſuch as were ſcandalous, of which the ordinary of the place ſhould take cognizance.

"That whereas the popes, in latter times, had given diſpenſations to perſons who had obtained benefices ſupplied with curates before, to enjoy them for a term of years, or for ever, to the great ſcandal of the church; it was therefore ordained that all thoſe diſpenſations ſhould be recalled, and the perſons be left to common law.

"And whereas diſpenſations granted by the popes for non-reſidence, or to give to the archdeacons licence of viſiting by their proctors, had cauſed not only a great neglect of the cure of ſouls, but a contempt of epiſcopal authority, it was therefore ordained, that no ſuch diſpenſations ſhould be made for the future, unleſs upon very great reaſons; and that all which had been, ſhould be revoked.

"That all letters of licence to obtain any eccleſiaſtical benefices, whether cures or ſine-cures, which had been given to monks and friars, and not yet put in execution, ſhould be revoked; and that there ſhould be no more of them for the time to come.

"That thoſe of the Engliſh who were fit for places or offices in the court of Rome, ſhould ſtand as fair to be elected as thoſe of other nations."

The pope, after paſſing an act ſo much in favour of the church of England, applied to Henry to have all thoſe laws which had been made to the prejudice of his authority, abrogated; but Henry ſoon gave his holineſs to underſtand that this was not in the power of the crown to grant. About this period another convocation was held in London, wherein one Richard Walker, a prieſt of Worceſter, was tried and convicted of witchcraft, which he ſolemnly renounced, and did public penance. Many people were likewiſe obliged to abjure Lollardiſm; and the aſſembly granted a large ſubſidy to the king, who ſuppreſſed French monaſteries in England, and granted their lands to other colleges of the learned. After Henry's marriage, a convocation, held at London, made the king a preſent of a tenth, but upon the following conditions, propoſed by the famous Lyndwood:

"Firſt, that the king's purveyors ſhould not over-reach upon the goods of churchmen.

"Secondly, That no clergyman ſhould be impriſoned, but for theft or murder; and that when proſecuted for other crimes, they ſhould be bailable†." It is pretended that theſe exceptions were confirmed by act of parliament, but no ſuch act is to be found upon the records.

Pope Martin V. having ſummoned a new council at Pavia, in the beginning of the year 1421, the archbiſhop of Canterbury held another convocation, for the election of delegates, the names of whom were returned to the king, whoſe prerogative it was to pitch upon what number he thought proper to repreſent the Engliſh clergy in the enſuing council: a ſum of money was likewiſe voted

* Page 17, of this volume.

† Goodwin.

to

to the delegates who were to act on this occasion. At this convocation also several were punished for heresy and other crimes.

Archbishop Chicheley was famous for a great number of constitutions which he enacted, enjoining the celebration of festivals, regulating the probates of wills by administration, instituting a kind of inquisition against Lollardism, providing against false weights, reviving the constitutions of John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, who decreed that in those cases and articles in which the sentence of the greater excommunication was incurred, should be publicly declared in every parish church for the information of the people; and augmenting the stipends of vicars, who were allowed to sue for such augmentation "in forma pauperum."

The last ecclesiastical occurrence in the reign of Henry V. was the reformation of the Benedictine monks, who were become so luxurious and dissolute that the king himself interposed to reduce them to greater regularity; and by his orders a provincial chapitulary was held in the year 1422, in the chapter-house at Westminster, where the following regulations passed.

"That the abbots should employ their attention in the cure of souls; and that the extravagance of their equipage should be retrenched, so that none should be attended by above twenty horse, under a severe temporal penalty.

"That none of the monks should ever make gifts of the effects of the convent above the value of forty shillings.

"That they should be uniform in the colour and fashion of their habits.

"That their necessities should be supplied, not in money, which none of the order ought to possess, but in provision of things needful.

"That they should not have distinct private cells for the entertainment of female guests.

"Lastly, That, since the way to preserve chastity was to avoid the conversation of women, therefore none of the monks should have liberty to go into the cities or towns to visits or merry-makings."

No sooner had the illustrious Henry V. paid the common debt of nature, and the reins of government were devolved into the hands of an infant king, than the see of Rome began to take advantage of a circumstance which appeared so favourable for her purpose, and to endeavour at levelling that terrible fence against her usurpations, the statute of Præmunire. This statute, which has been already mentioned on several occasions, though it did not directly attack the pope, since the parliament had no jurisdiction over him, yet as it hindered the English from applying to the court of Rome for things contrary to the prerogative of the crown and the laws of the realm, it abridged the pope of good part of the advantages which he pretended to reap from his apostolic power. It will, perhaps be thought strange that the popes should be silent at the time, and so long after the time this statute was passed; but the continued schism which had rent the Roman church from 1378 to 1409, had hindered them from stirring. It is true there was an interval of some years, during which Alexander V. and John XXIII. might have made some attempt against that law; but Alexander's pontificate was very short, and John was employed in affairs which he thought of more importance. Martin V. however, did not consider this affair with the same indifference; and he no sooner heard of the death of Henry V. than he thought the minority of his successor, Henry VI. a favourable opportunity to compass his ends. Accordingly he wrote a thundering letter to Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury, upbraiding him for his remissness, and enjoining him to exert his utmost efforts to get this statute repealed. As this letter is a very extraordinary one of its kind, and shews the pope's sentiments of the pretended privileges of his see, it may not be unacceptable to give an extract from it; such of our readers who may be desirous of perusing it entire, will find it in bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i.

He begins with accusing the archbishop in the warmest terms with "having neglected his pastoral care, and minding nothing but the means of amassing wealth." He tells him, "that he suffered his flock to brouze on poisonous herbs, and that when wolves came to devour them, he stood like a dumb dog, without so much as barking." Then he inveighs against the statute of Præmunire as an act "that repealed the laws of God and the church, and subverted the ancient usages of the good kingdom of England." He complains that "such a rigour is the more unjustifiable, as the English government does not treat Jews, Turks, and Infidels with so great severity: people of all countries and persuasions (says he) have the liberty of coming into England, only those who have cures bestowed on them by Christ's vicar are excluded; those only are banished, seized, imprisoned, stripped of their fortunes, and thrown out of the king's protection. Was ever such iniquity (exclaims this mild and modest pontiff) passed into a law?" He concludes with an order to the archbishop to repair immediately on the receipt of his letter to the council, and use all his interest there, and in the parliament, for the abrogating this statute; and threatening him, in case of remissness or non-compliance with this his apostolic injunction, that he should incur the sentence of excommunication."

If it should be enquired, why pope Martin poured forth all his indignation upon Chicheley in particular, who was not concerned in the statute of Præmunire, passed long before he was archbishop? the reason is this, Chicheley had opposed to his utmost the papal exemptions; he had dissuaded Henry V. from consenting that Henry Beaufort, his uncle, bishop of Winchester, should be made cardinal and legate a latere for life; moreover, he had publicly declared that the views of the see of Rome were perpetually to drain the country of its treasures for the aggrandizing of her own sons.

Chicheley, on receiving the above letter, sent an apology for his conduct to Rome; notwithstandwhich he was again severely reprimanded; and, notwithstanding the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London, Durham, and Lincoln wrote to his holiness in favour of their brother, and that their instances were backed by the university of Oxford, which gave testimony greatly in honour of the archbishop's character, whom they termed "the golden candlestick of the church of England," yet Martin remained implacable, and summoned Chicheley to Rome, as an enemy to the pope in England.

At last the archbishop, seeing the pope thus obstinate, and not daring longer to disobey him, went, with

with ſeveral other biſhops, to the houſe of commons, where he made a long ſpeech, tending to perſuade the houſe to repeal the ſtatute, and put them in mind of the danger of an interdict upon the whole kingdom. But the members, ſuppoſing this harangue was the effect of compulſion, paid no regard to the metropolitan's threats or remonſtrances, but preſented an addreſs to the king, praying that he would take the archbiſhop into his protection, and to write to the pope in his behalf.

When the cruſade againſt the Bohemians was preached up, and the cardinal of Wincheſter declared general of the enterprize, the pope ordered that prelate to collect a tenth from the Engliſh clergy, for the expence of the expedition; but all the convocation would grant was eight pence in the mark, on condition it ſhould be found conſiſtent with the king's prerogative, and the laws of the kingdom. The pope's nuncio thinking this ſupply inſufficient, had the inſolence to venture to collect money without being properly authoriſed, and was impriſoned for his preſumption: in ſhort, Martin perceiving he was ſupported neither by the king's council, the clergy, nor the people, dropped the affair, not thinking proper to expoſe his authority any farther.

Pope Martin V. in the year 1430, iſſued his ſummons for a general council to meet at Baſil, the capital of a canton of that name in Switzerland; upon which the archbiſhop of Canterbury held a convocation at London, when the following delegates were choſen to repreſent the Engliſh church in that aſſembly, and two pence in the pound voted to defray their expences: Thomas, biſhop of Worceſter; William, prior of Norwich; Thomas Brown, dean of Saliſbury; Peter Patrick, chancellor of Lincoln; Robert Baſton, precentor of Lincoln; John Saliſbury, doctor of divinity; and John Simon Deſborough, bachelor in common law. Theſe received inſtructions to act againſt all papal diſpenſations and other abuſes which had crept into the church of Rome, eſpecially that of providing livings for unqualified perſons. Pope Martin would have avoided convening this council if it had been in his power, but finding himſelf ſtrongly preſſed by the emperor and other princes in Chriſtendom, he ordered cardinal Julian Ceſarini to preſide as legate, and open the aſſembly; but dying before its meeting, which was in the year 1431, Eugenius IV. was choſen in his room.

Neither the emperor Sigiſmund nor the fathers of the council of Conſtance had foreſeen the conſequences of the execution of John Hus and Jerom of Prague. Out of their aſhes roſe a civil war; for the Bohemians looked upon this action as a cruel affront offered to their whole country, and imputed the death of their fellow-citizens to the revenge of the Germans, who had withdrawn from the univerſity of Prague: they openly reproached the emperor with having violated the law of nations; and, not long afterwards, when Sigiſmund attempted to ſucceed his brother Wenceſlaus in the kingdom of Bohemia, he found that, though he was emperor and king of Hungary, the death of two private citizens barred his way to the throne of Bohemia. The avengers of John Hus amounted to no leſs than forty thouſand. Martin V. eſpouſing the cauſe of Sigiſmund, and publiſhing cruſades againſt the Huſſites, they found themſelves obliged to ſtand in their own defence, and choſe for their general a perſon called Ziſka (or the One-eyed), chief in barbarity and rank among theſe barbarians who defeated Sigiſmund in ſeveral battles. This ſame Ziſka having loſt his only remaining eye in an engagement, ſtill continued to march at the head of his troops, giving his orders to his generals, and aſſiſting at their victories: he commanded his ſoldiers, that, after his death, they ſhould make a drum of his ſkin*, which they obeyed, and theſe his remains proved for a long time fatal to his enemies.

This war continued till the meeting of the council of Baſil, which, conſidering the bad ſucceſs of Sigiſmund, reſolved to make peace with the Huſſites. With this view the fathers invited them to ſend deputies to the council; who, being ſent accordingly, preſented the four following articles containing their chief tenets and ſentiments, in which they differed from the church of Rome, to whom they offered to reunite themſelves ſhould it agree to theſe articles:

"I. That communion in both kinds ſhould be adminiſtered to the Bohemian laity.

"II. That offenders ſhould be puniſhed according to the law of God, and by thoſe to whom ſuch correction belonged.

"III. That the word of God ſhould be preached by paſtors properly qualified. And,

"IV. That the clergy ſhould have no juriſdiction over temporalities."

Eugenius IV. who had by this time ſucceeded pope Martin, highly reſented the proceedings of the council: he ſaid, that admitting the Bohemians to a conference was an indignity, not only to the holy ſee, but to the authority of the council of Conſtance, wherein thoſe heretics had been ſo ſolemnly condemned; he therefore publiſhed a bull in the beginning of the year 1432, diſſolving the council, and ſummoning another to Bologna in a year. The members, however refuſed to ſeparate, and paſſed ſeveral decrees, which placed the authority of a general council above that of the pope, and vacating the bull for their diſſolution. On this occaſion a convocation was held at London, in which it was reſolved to ſend more delegates to the council, and that ſome of them ſhould repair to the pope, in order to attempt an accommodation between him and the council. In this ſame convocation a diſpute happened between the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, about precedency; for Kemp, archbiſhop of York, having obtained a cardinal's hat, claimed the upper hand of the archbiſhop of Canterbury in the parliament houſe at Weſtminſter; Chicheley oppoſed this with great firmneſs: pope Eugenius, before whom the matter was laid, eſpouſed the cauſe of the cardinalate, though without any effect.

The diſpute between the pope and the council now flamed forth more violent than ever; but the emperor, the king of France, and moſt of the other princes of Europe, declaring for the council, and this latter threatening to ſuſpend the pope, Eugenius ſaw himſelf under the neceſſity of confirming the council and approving its decrees.

This forced compliance of the pope appeaſed the quarrel for ſome time, and, in the year 1433, the affair of the Huſſite hereſy was taken into ſerious

* Voltaire's Eſſay on General Hiſtory, vol. ii. chap. 61.

conſideration.

conſideration. The fathers of the council exhauſted all their art and eloquence in perſuading the Bohemians to ſubmit to the church at diſcretion; but finding them inflexible, reſolved to grant their demands, on condition that they ſhould be previouſly explained, in order to avoid new diſputes. This they accordingly did by the mouth of their orator, Peter Payne, an Engliſhman, and a concordat was ſettled, to the ſatisfaction of all parties. This affair being accommodated, Sigiſmund was acknowleged king of Bohemia, after having approved of the concordat, and ſubſcribed ſome other conditions; but he had no ſooner mounted the throne, than he broke his promiſe, and the pope refuſed to ſign the concordat: the troubles of Bohemia were renewed; and, being fomented by the pope of Rome, continued till the Huſſites were entirely ruined*.

In the year 1438, the univerſity of Oxford complained that church-preferments were beſtowed without any regard to learning or merit: that the colleges were thereby become empty, becauſe there was no need of ſtudy or learning to be qualified for a benefice. Whereupon the convocation, then ſitting, formed a canon, declaring "that none but graduates in either of the univerſities ſhould be capable of enjoying benefices†."

During theſe tranſactions, Chichely, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died, after having filled that ſee twenty-nine years, during all which time he had been a ſtrenuous aſſertor of his own independency, and that of the church of England, though ſometimes obliged to give way to the neceſſity of a conjunction with the Roman pontiff. He was alſo a remarkable benefactor to learning and learned foundations. He was ſucceeded by John Strafford, ſon to the earl of Strafford, one of the greateſt families in England. This prelate, at the time of his acceſſion to the ſee of Canterbury, was lord high-treaſurer and biſhop of Bath and Wells. Under this prelate the clergy complained grievouſly that the act of Præmunire, which was meant to guard the church of England, was, by the conſtruction of the common lawyers, turned into an engine of oppreſſion, and that, by the arts of perverſe men, they were ſubjected to all manner of perſecution, by vexatious ſuits in the courts, and this by the miſapplication of a ſingle word; for it was enacted in that ſtatute, "That if any purchaſe or purſue, or cauſe to be purchaſed or purſued, in the court of Rome, or *elſewhere*, any tranſlations, proceſſes, &c. &c. affecting the king's rights ‡," &c. Now they obſerved, that when common lawyers were diſpoſed to harraſs the clergy, they put ſuch a conſtruction upon the word *elſewhere*, as to bring them within the ſtatute, if ever they ſhould proſecute any matter of eccleſiaſtical right before any of the eccleſiaſtical courts without the kingdom; whereas the word *elſewhere* can only refer to the place in which the pope might chance to preſide; and therefore they prayed that ſome remedy might be applied to this evil, by expunging *elſewhere* in the ſtatute of Præmunire: but the times were too unſettled for them to obtain immediate ſatisfaction.

The diſpute between the council of Baſil and pope Eugenius IV. being again revived, on account of his perfidy in refuſing to ſign the concordat, the aſſembly proceeded to depoſe him, and, in the year 1440 or 1441, choſe another pope in his room. This was Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who was the firſt of his family who had borne the title of duke, and afterwards turned hermit from a motive of devotion, which Poggio ſays he thinks to have been far from real: be that as it may, his piety could not hold out againſt the temptation of a tripple crown; accordingly he was declared ſupreme pontiff, though a layman, and took the name of Felix V. But that which had occaſioned ſo violent a ſchiſm, and the moſt bloody war in the time of Urban VI. now only produced a few eccleſiaſtical diſputes, bulls, cenſures, counter-excommunications, and ſplenetic invectives: the council of Baſil had beſtowed the epithets of ſimoniſt, ſchiſmatic, heretical, and perjured, on Eugenius IV. and his ſecretary returned the abuſe by ſtyling the fathers fools, madmen, and barbarians, and their new pontiff Cerberus and Antichriſt. In fine, in the year 1449, this council diſperſed gradually of itſelf, and this hermit-pope duke of Savoy contented himſelf with a cardinal's hat, and left the church in its uſual tranquility. Eugenius dying in 1447, was ſucceeded by Nicholas V. who, upon the reſignation of Felix, was acknowleged as lawful pope. Thus ended at length this ſchiſm, in which there was a complication of three ſchiſms, firſt between Eugenius IV. and the council of Baſil; then between two general councils, and laſtly between two popes. My reaſon for having introduced what paſſed between the two famous councils of Conſtance and Baſil, was to ſhew the reader, in its true light, the wretched ſtate of the church in thoſe days.

Nothing remarkable happened for a year or two in eccleſiaſtical affairs in England. On the firſt of June, 1452, Strafford, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died, and was ſucceeded by John Kemp, archbiſhop of York and cardinal, who held his ſee not quite two years, and was ſucceeded by Thomas Bourchier, brother to the earl of Eſſex and cardinal-biſhop of Ely. He owed his election to the monks alone, which was confirmed by the pope. He compoſed a ſet of articles of reformation for his province, amongſt which were the following:

"I. That all religious who, abandoning their habit, entered upon parochial cures, ſhould loſe their freedom, and be puniſhed as deſerters from their order.

"II. That no church-living ſhould be farmed, without leave from the biſhop. And,

"III. Laſtly, That all marriages and laſt teſtaments ſhould have two witneſſes."

But the moſt remarkable churchman that lived at this period was Reginald Peacock, biſhop of Chicheſter, a perſon of great learning and reputation, who appears to have been a kind of free-thinker in matters of religion. If we believe Collier and other eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, he maintained, "that the meaning of the holy Scriptures was to be collected by the force of natural reaſon; and as for the generality of preaching, it was little better than bawling in the pulpit. He denied the apoſtles were the authors of the creed which goes under their name; queſtioned the received doctrine of ſeveral articles; and made human reaſon the ul-

* Æneæ Sylvii Hiſt. Bohem.

† Spelman Concil. vol. ii. p. 675—677.

‡ See the article Laws, vol. i. p. 704.

timate judge of the controverſy. He denied the deſcent of our Saviour into hell; and though he granted the article of the Catholic Church might paſs, he added, that Chriſtians were not bound to the obſervance of the canons any farther than they could be found agreeable to reaſon and good ſenſe." For theſe tenets, and others that were deemed equally erroneous, publiſhed by him in a long creed, drawn up in Engliſh, he was condemned, in a convocation, held at London, by Strafford, then archbiſhop of Canterbury; and, upon the death of the earl of Suffolk, his great patron, in the year 1450, his books were ordered to be burnt, and himſelf forced to recant part of his writings. He was afterwards deprived of his ſee, and ſent to live at Maidſtone, in Kent, where he died in obſcurity.

During the remainder of the period under conſideration, the civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs of England are ſo interwoven, that the latter have generally been accounted for in the relation given of the former; we ſhall therefore be very brief on this head, touching only on ſuch matters which could not be introduced in the civil hiſtory.

Edward IV. found the friendſhip of the clergy ſo neceſſary for ſupporting his diſputed title to the crown, that he rather enlarged than abridged their privileges. He granted them a charter, exempting them from the juriſdiction of the civil power, in criminal cauſes, and remitting all ſuch to the judgment of their ordinaries.

In this reign, pope Sixtus IV. at the ſolicitation of Graham, archbiſhop elect of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, erected that ſee and Glaſgow into archbiſhoprics, independent of the dioceſe of York, which claimed a juriſdiction over the church of Scotland: but the ſame pope, to make this encroachment go down with the Engliſh clergy more ſmoothly, granted them ſeveral advantageous bulls, by which they were rendered more independent of the ſecular power; and alſo confirmed, renewed, and greatly augmented the privileges of the univerſity of Oxford.

Upon the death of the uſurper Richard III. whoſe ſhort and troubled reign left little room for any eccleſiaſtical tranſactions of note, archbiſhop Bourchier placed the crown of England on the head of the fortunate earl of Richmond, Henry VII. and dying in the year 1486, was ſucceeded by Morton, biſhop of Ely, who had been greatly inſtrumental in raiſing Henry to the throne. The civil hiſtory of this king's reign has ſhewn us, that his ſituation, like that of Edward IV. laid him under a kind of neceſſity of keeping fair with the clergy; and they, in return, took care to gratify ſo obliging a patron. The ſecure retreat that ſanctuaries afforded to all thoſe who took refuge in them, had given Henry no little uneaſineſs in the caſes of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck; he therefore applied to his friends the churchmen, to give up ſome part of this their privilege in his favour; and, by their concurrence, a bull was procured from Rome for regulating theſe ſanctuaries, which, according to lord Bacon, contained, among others, the following articles:

"I. That if any ſanctuary-man did, by night or otherwiſe, privately get out of a ſanctuary, and commit miſchief or treſpaſs, and then come in again, he ſhould loſe the benefit of ſanctuary for ever after.

"II. That how ſoever the perſon of the ſanctuary man was protected from his creditors, yet his goods out of ſanctuary ſhould not.

"III. That if any took ſanctuary for caſes of treaſon, the king might appoint keepers to watch and guard him in ſanctuary."

Such in general was the ſtate of the Engliſh church during the period from the year 1413 to the year 1509, in which we meet with no national councils, but only convocations of the clergy in the two metropolitical provinces of Canterbury and York. National ſynods were, indeed, become uſeleſs, ſince the popes had engroſſed the cognizance of all eccleſiaſtical affairs; beſides, the leaſt appeal to the pope was ſufficient to annul all the canons of a council. On the other hand, the popes had ſo managed, that no national ſynods could be held without their licence; now as in thoſe ſynods there was but too frequent occaſion to enquire into the extent of the papal authority, they were grown ſo odious to the court of Rome, that the uſe of them was inſenſibly laid aſide, and the pope was become the centre of religion, to which every thing was to tend: while the legates ſent hither by the ſee of Rome were ſo many incendiaries, who ſought every means to ſow diſcord and diviſion among kings and their nobles, or excite the former to acts of violence and oppreſſion. In a word, they regarded only the intereſt of their maſter, and the papal chair, making no ſcruple to violate all the ties of religion and equity to accompliſh their ends.

The indolence and devotion of Henry VI. was extremely detrimental to the Engliſh church. He was the firſt king of England who gave the biſhops a taſte for a court-life, which brought them into all the intrigues of ambition and avarice. The heads of the univerſities, and ſome of the more virtuous prelates, were ſenſible of this degeneracy, and endeavoured, but in vain, to put a ſtop to the papal proviſions, which were the roots of all abuſes, ſince few could hope to attain any degree of preferment in the church, who did not render themſelves commendable by their attachment to the intereſts of the court of Rome, or for their ſervices to the prince in his temporal concerns.

The great favour ſhewn the clergy by his ſucceſſors, Edward IV. Richard III. and Henry VII. who all ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance, at length raiſed this body to ſuch an envied pitch of greatneſs as prepared the way to that reformation, which, ſome years after, uſhered in their fall: a glorious event! which muſt make the ſubject of the enſuing period.

LEARNED

LEARNED MEN in the XVth CENTURY.

LEARNING was at a very low ebb in this century, till the acceſſion of Henry V. but through the whole courſe of his glorious reign, there was always a particular biaſs on the part of the crown towards the advancement of literature. This great deſign was carried into much more extenſive execution than could be imagined from the multiplicity of martial concerns with which the life of that prince was filled: in ſhort, perhaps ſeveral princes, to the time of Charles I. in England, have been patrons of learning, but we know none who was at the ſame time the patron of liberty and the arts beſides Henry V. The fine taſte for polite learning he inherited from his family always appeared uppermoſt, amidſt the toils of the field or the intricacies of the cabinet: in a word, we may ſay, that from his time learning in England began to gain every day new ſtrength, and to improve in numberleſs uſeful diſcoveries. The moſt eminent men for learning which this period produced, were the following.

John Seguard was a very fine Latin poet, and poſſeſſed a variety of polite learning. He flouriſhed about the year 1414, and was ſo unblameable in his life and morals, that the freedom he took in laſhing the lives of the monks and prieſts never brought him into trouble. His great patron was the martial biſhop of Norwich, Richard Courtney.

Richard Snettiſham acquired ſo great reputation at Oxford, that, though very young, he was elected chancellor of that univerſity in the year 1412. He was reckoned one of the beſt diſputants of the age, and was indefatigable in his labours in expounding the holy Scriptures in the public ſchools. He was appointed, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, one of the cenſors of Wickliff's doctrine.

John Beſton, prior of a convent of Carmelites, in Lynn, was held to be one of the greateſt orators of the age. He was illuſtrious for philoſophy and divinity, in the univerſity of Cambridge, as likewiſe in that of Paris. He was ſent as one of the delegates to the council of Sienna, called by pope Martin V. but that council never meeting, he died at Lynn about the year 1428.

The elder Leland was one of the beſt grammarians of that age. He taught in the univerſity of Oxford with ſo much ſucceſs, that the following barbarous verſe grew into part of his character with the public:

Ut roſa flos florum,
Sic Leland grammaticorum.

He was buried at Oxford, in the year 1428.

Richard Ullerſtone, a Lancaſhire man, was fellow of Queen's college in Oxford, doctor of divinity, and canon of York, but a zealous Anti-Wickliffite. He publiſhed a book in 1409, concerning the articles of faith, or the creed of the church, which ſhews him to have been a great maſter of controverſial learning. He likewiſe, at the requeſt of the cardinal-biſhop of Saliſbury, wrote a book in Latin, concerning the reformation of the church, in which he proved himſelf as zealous a reformer as the warmeſt Wickliffite. He was likewiſe author of ſeveral other tracts, relating to the divinity common in thoſe days.

Peter Clerk was himſelf a profeſſed Wickliffite, though maſter of arts in the univerſity of Oxford. He diſputed about the points in debate, in the year 1420, with Thomas Walden; but his great zeal had almoſt coſt him his life, for he was obliged to fly to Bohemia: but even there he was apprehended by order of the emperor, nor did he ever after return to England.

Thomas Walden is repreſented by Leland, and other authors of that ſtamp and time, as one of the moſt formidable enemies that the Wickliffites ever had: he is cried up by Leland and other writers as a man of prodigious acuteneſs in diſputation. This much is certain, that Henry IV. who was a great judge of learned men, ſent him from England to the council of Piſa, where he diſtinguiſhed his zeal againſt the ſchiſm of the two antipopes. In the year 1414, he was made provincial prior of his order of the Carmelites, being the twenty-third of that ſucceſſion; and he had the courage to reproach Henry V. to his face from the pulpit, for his indolence againſt the Wickliffites: this freedom was not, perhaps, diſagreeable to the king, as Leland tells us that Walden's zeal was principally levelled againſt the Oldcaſtellans, of whom, no doubt, the king, in the beginning of his reign, was extremely jealous. About the year 1415, the king made Walden his father-confeſſor, and ſent him to the council of Conſtance, as being the beſt qualified of any man in England to make a figure againſt the Huſſites. About the year 1419, he was employed in a kind of mediation between the king of Poland and the great-maſter of the Teutonic order: his interceſſion had great weight, and he had the addreſs to introduce his order of Carmelites into thoſe countries. But this was not all, for he converted to the Chriſtian religion Wittold, duke of Lithuania, one of its moſt dreadful enemies. He had the honour to be in the bed chamber when Henry V. expired; and he afterwards died at Rouen, on the third of November, 1430.

Richard Flemming, a Yorkſhireman, educated at Oxford, was a profeſſed favourite of Wickliff's doctrine, and very eminent in the learning of thoſe days. One Nicholas Pout particularly affected to oppoſe him in all public diſputations: but Flemming, either receiving new conviction, or altering his ſentiments, through the flow of eccleſiaſtical promotions which came upon him, became a violent perſecutor of the ſect he had befriended, and was appointed one of the twelve cenſors of Wickliff's doctrine. He was the founder of Lincoln college, which he had deſigned as a ſeminary for Anti-Wickliffites. On the twenty-fourth of May, 1420, he was appointed biſhop of Lincoln by the pope; and afterwards, as we have already ſeen, was nominated to the ſee of York, but the pope was obliged to drop his nomination. In the council of Sienna, to which he was ſent, he made a great figure in defending the honour of the Engliſh nation above all others. He died in the year 1430.

William Lyndwood was firſt of Gonvil hall, in Cambridge, and then took his degree as doctor in Oxford. He was undoubtedly one of the greateſt canoniſts this nation has produced, and a moſt conſummate ſtateſman. He was keeper of the privy-

ſeal

ſeal to Henry V. and employed by him in many important negociarions, particularly to the courts of Spain and Portugal. By Henry VI. he was ſent to the council of Baſil; and in the year 1434 he was made biſhop of St. David's, but died in 1446. His great work, and indeed the only work of the kind we have, compoſed by an Engliſhman, is his Provinciale ſeu Conſtitutiones Angliæ. Therein we have the provincial decrees of forty archbiſhops, digeſted into order, with large and learned commentaries upon them.

There were but few good hiſtorians graced this period: thoſe whoſe writings in this kind were the moſt eſteemed, were,

Sir John Froiſſart, who wrote a general hiſtory of France, Spain, &c. but chiefly of England. He was a Frenchman born, but was brought up in his youth in the court of Edward III. and familiarly converſant in that of Richard II. He wrote in his own tongue, which was then the court-language of England. In the Engliſh edition, publiſhed by ſir John Bourchier at the command of Henry VIII. the miſtakes that had crept into the French copies are corrected. His account of matters ſeems to be plain and honeſt; and perhaps none gives a better of the affairs of Edward III. and Richard II.

Enguerrand de Monſtrelet, and Philip de Commines, may not improperly be called Froiſſart's continuators. They give a faithful and complete account of the affairs of England, as far as they are intermixed with, or have any relation to thoſe of France, Burgundy, &c.

Thomas Walſingham, a Benedictine monk of St. Alban's. His Hiſtoria Brevis (or Short Hiſtory) begins at the concluſion of Henry III's reign, where Matthew Paris ended his. The account he gives is well enough; and we are indebted to him for many things not taken notice of by any other writer of thoſe times. His Ypodigma Neuſtriæ (as he calls it) gives an account of Normandy, from the time it came firſt into the hands of Rollo and his Danes, down to the ſixth year of Henry V. wherein the reader will find many occurrences not elſewhere to be met with. Both theſe works were publiſhed by archbiſhop Parker, in 1547, and reprinted at Francfort in 1603.

John Harding comes next, a northern Engliſhman, and an inveterate enemy to the Scots. He collected whatever might tend to the proof of the antient vaſſalage of Scotland to the crown of England; and hearing of an old record in that kingdom which put the matter paſt diſpute, he went in diſguiſe, with much ado brought it away, and ſhewed it to Henry V. Henry VI. and Edward IV. To the laſt of theſe he dedicated his two books of Chronicles in Engliſh rhyme. Printed at London, 1543.

John Roſe, or Rous, travelled over the greateſt part of England, and having made large collections out of the libraries where he came, he wrote the hiſtory of our kings, which was publiſhed in 1716, by T. Hearne, from a MS. in the Cottonian Library. He died 1491.

L A W S.

THE common law of England (ſaith the author from whom we borrowed our laſt obſervations on this head *), during the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry V. fell ſhort of the excellency it had in the firſt part of the reign of Edward III. but the times of Henry VI. as alſo of Edward IV. Edward V. and Henry VII. were times that abounded with excellent lawyers.

The firſt part of Henry VI. indeed is more barren, ſpending itſelf in much learning, of little moment, and now out of uſe: but the ſecond part is full of excellent learning. In the time of theſe three kings, Henry VI. Edward IV. and Henry VII. the learning ſeems to be much alike: but theſe two things is obſervable in them, and indeed generally in all reports after the time of Edward III. viz.

Firſt, that real action and aſſize were not ſo frequent as formerly; but many titles of land were determined in perſonal actions: and the reaſons thereof ſeem to be, firſt, becauſe the learning of them began by little and little to be leſs known or underſtood: ſecondly, the ancient ſtrictneſs of preſerving poſſeſſions to poſſeſſors till eviction by action, began not to be ſo much in uſe, unleſs in caſes of deſcents and diſcontinuances, the latter neceſſarily drove the demandent to his Formedon, or his Cui in vita, &c. But the deſcents that ſhewed entry, were rare, becauſe men preſerved their rights to enter, &c. by continual claims: thirdly, becauſe the ſtatute of 8 Henry VI. had helped men to an action to recover their poſſeſſions by a writ of Forcible Entry, even while the methods of recovery of poſſeſſions by ejectments was not known or uſed. The ſecond thing obſervable, is that though pleadings in the time of thoſe kings were far ſhorter than afterwards, eſpecially after the death of Henry VIII. yet they were much longer than in the time of Edward III. and the pleaders, and even the judges, became ſomewhat too curious therein. So that art or dexterity of pleading, which in its uſe, nature, and deſign was only to render the fact plain and intelligible, and to bring the matter to judgment with a convenient certainty, began to degenerate from its primitive ſimplicity, and the true uſe and end thereof, and became a piece of nicety and curioſity; which, how theſe latter times have improved the length of the pleading, the many and unneceſſary repetitions, the miſcarriages of cauſes upon trivial niceties, have too much witneſſed. Our author next gives ſome general obſervations touching the proceedings of law in theſe latter times, more eſpecially touching the length and nicety of pleadings, which at this day far exceeds not only that ſhort yet perſpicuous courſe of pleading which was in the time of Henry VI. Edward IV. and Henry VII. but thoſe of all times whatſoever, as the vaſt preſſes of parchment for any one plea do abundantly witneſs; and the reaſons thereof ſeem to be theſe, viz. firſt, becauſe in ancient times, the pleadings were drawn at the bar, and the exceptions all taken at the bar, which were rarely taken for the pleaſure or curioſity of the pleader, but

* Vol. i. p. 698.

only

only as it was apparent that the omiſſions, or matter excepted to, was for the very merit or life of the cauſe, and purpoſely omitted or miſpleaded, becauſe the matter or cauſe would bear no better; but now the pleadings being firſt drawn in writing, are drawn to an exceſſive length, and with much laborioufneſs and care enlarged, leſt it might afford an exception, not intended by the pleader, and which could be eaſily ſupplied from the truth of the caſe; leſt the other party ſhould catch that advantage, which commonly the adverſe party ſtudies, not in contemplation of the merit or juſtice of the cauſe, but to find a ſlip to faſten upon, though in truth not material to the merits of the plea, wherein all things conform to it. Secondly, becauſe thoſe parts of pleading (which in antient times were material, but at this time are become mere ſtyles and forms), are ſtill continued with much ſtrictneſs; and ſo all thoſe ancient forms (at firſt introduced for conveniency, but now not neceſſary, or it may be antiquated to their uſe) are yet continued, as things wonderfully material, though they only ſwell the bulk, and contribute nothing to the weight of the plea. Thirdly, theſe pleas being moſtly drawn by clerks, who are paid for entries and copies thereof, the larger the pleadings are the more profit comes to them; and the dearer the clerk's place is, the dearer he makes the client pay. Fourthly, an overforwardneſs in courts to give countenance to frivolous exceptions, though they make nothing to the true merits of the cauſe, whereby it often happens, that cauſes are not determined according to their merits, but do often miſcarry for inconſiderable omiſſions in pleading.

Next our author gives reaſons why, in the time of Edward I. one term contained not above two or three hundred rolls; but in latter times one term contained two thouſand rolls, or more: his reaſons are, firſt, many petty buſineſſes, as treſpaſſes or debts under forty ſhillings, are now brought to Weſtminſter, which uſed to be diſpatched in county or hundred courts; and yet the plantiff is not to be blamed, becauſe at this day thoſe inferior courts are ſo ill ſerved, and juſtice there ſo ill adminiſtered, that they had better ſeek it (where it may be had) at Weſtminſter, though with ſome more expence: ſecondly, multitudes of attorneys practiſing in the great courts of Weſtminſter, who are ready at every market to gratify the ſpleen, ſpite, and ſtrife of every plaintiff: thirdly, a great increaſe of people in this kingdom above what they were anciently, which muſt needs multiply ſuits: fourthly, a great increaſe of trade, and trading perſons, above what there were in ancient times, which muſt have the like effect: fifthly multitudes of new laws, both penal and other; all which breed new queſtions, and new ſuits at law: and particularly the ſtatutes touching the deviſing of lands, cum multis aliis: ſixthly, the multiplication of actions upon the caſe, which were rare formerly, and thereby a wager at law outſted; which diſcouraged many ſuits; for when men were ſure that they reſted upon a bare contract, without ſpecialty, the other party might wage his law, they would not treat upon ſuch contracts without reducing the debt into a ſpeciality, if it were of any value, which created much certainty and accorded many ſuits*.

We ſhall now proceed to ſhew the great improvements made in the ſtatute law, by the ſeveral monarchs who reigned during this period. And firſt of

HENRY V.

THIS great king, on his acceſſion to the throne, gave his aſſent to ſeveral ſtatutes tending to the preſervation of the public peace, and of the people's rights and privileges, and in particular one relating to the elections for members of parliament. Henry IV. as well as Richard II. had endeavoured to corrupt the houſe of commons; and the court had of late years fallen upon the method of getting its own dependents choſen for counties and boroughs, to whoſe intereſts they were abſolute ſtrangers, and where they had reſided. This practice, if not diſcouraged, bid fair to extinguiſh all the ſpirit of an Engliſh parliament, a ſeaſonable check therefore was given to it in this king's firſt parliament, which met on the fifteenth of May, 1413, and which enacted,

"That none ſhould be choſen knights of the ſhire who were not reſident in the county on the day when the writs were dated; nor any be choſen burgeſſes but ſuch as were citizens, or townſmen and freemen, dwelling in the towns and cities where they were elected."

It was alſo enacted in this ſeſſion, that no underſheriff, ſheriff's clerk, receiver, or bailiff, ſhould be attorney in the king's courts during the time he is in office with ſuch ſheriffs †.

In the next parliament under this king, holden at Leiceſter, on the thirtieth of April, 1414, the commons, deſirous to have a clear and full explanation of their rights, drew up a petition for that purpoſe; and that the matter might be clearly underſtood, their petition was drawn up in Engliſh. In this remarkable addreſs, they lay it down as an inconteſtible fact, "That it has ever been the privilege of their houſe, that no ſtatute or law ſhould paſs without their aſſent; and upon this principle the houſe of commons has been ever a conſtituent part of the legiſlature, and aſſented as well as the petitioners; they therefore inſiſt, that no act or ſtatute ſhould be made without their conſent; and that nothing ſhould be entered upon the rolls as their petitions, but in the direct terms in which they were preſented by their ſpeaker and granted by the king."

Had this petition, which Henry agreed to, been ever examined, it would have given an irrevocable blow to the arguments advanced by the enemies of the power of the commons in parliament.

In the eighth year of this king's reign, a parliament, which met on the ſixteenth of October, among other regulations, paſſed an act for the conſumption of home manufactures, by providing that all the Engliſh troops in France ſhould be cloathed and furniſhed with Engliſh commodities manufactured in England.

TAXES in the Reign of HENRY V.

His firſt parliament, which met on Monday the fifteenth of May, 1413, at Weſtminſter, continued the ſubſidy of wool and leather for four years, and the tonnage and poundage for one: and, granting him an entire fifteenth and an half, expreſſed their hopes of being ſoon eaſed of ſuch taxes and talliages by his good government.

* Analyſis of Common Law, vol. i. p. 172, 173, &c.

† See Statutes, 1 Hen. V.

On occaſion of his parliament addreſſing him to make war with France, in the ſecond year of his reign, they granted him a ſubſidy of two whole tenths and two fifteenths, to be levied upon the laity; an immenſe ſum for thoſe days!

In his fourth year, he had again two whole tenths and two fifteenths, to be levied on the laity; and the clergy gave two tenths to be raiſed from their own body.

In his ſixth, he had one tenth and one fifteenth, and two tenths from the clergy.

In his ſeventh, the parliament gave him one fifteenth and an half, and one tenth and an half.

In his ninth, he received a fifteenth from the laity, and a tenth from the clergy; and the biſhop of Wincheſter (afterwards cardinal of England) lent him twenty thouſand pounds by way of advance.

HENRY VI.

THE firſt remarkable parliamentary tranſaction we meet with under this reign, was during the king's minority, when, in a parliament held by the duke of Bedford, as regent of the kingdom, in April, 1425, the fourth after Henry's acceſſion, amongſt other ſalutary acts, one paſſed againſt the exportation of ſheep beyond ſea, without the king's licence; becauſe, by carrying ſheep into Flanders and other parts, the wool of England would at laſt become of little value, and the woollen manufacture be diminiſhed, to the damage of the realm: to prevent which, they laid an heavy tax upon exported wool, of forty-three ſhillings by the ſack, ten ſhillings more than ever was paid in England for the like quantity. From this ſeaſonable proviſion we learn how jealous even in thoſe days the legiſlature was of the Engliſh golden fleece; a jealouſy which hath hitherto been tranſmitted down to their poſterity, and which never can be loſt without loſing ſight of the true intereſt of England. We have from this proviſion another hint, that the woollen manufactures of England were then much advanced beyond what is generally imagined; a retribution more than ſufficient for all their expence of blood and treaſure incurred in the reduction of France. The happy diviſion of England from the continent had rendered her the aſylum of baniſhed arts and induſtry; and however loudly then the people complained of the public taxes, which were immediately and ſenſibly felt, as they muſt be under all governments, it is evident that the increaſe of trade and riches had now enabled them, eſpecially the lower ſort, to ſupport them with eaſe, while the government applied them to bad purpoſes.

But, beſides manufactures, it is certain that agriculture, that neceſſary attendant, was by this time highly advanced in England. Honeſt induſtry had for ſome time enjoyed under her own vine the fruits of her labour; and trade in ſome meaſure connected with the continent of the country, which nature had diſjoined from it; for we find that there was another act of this parliament for the exportation of butter and cheeſe, to encourage huſbandry, giving the chancellor of England power to grant licences, at his diſcretion, to ſuch perſons who ſhould apply for them, to ſell and vend the ſame in all foreign parts as well as at the ſtaple of Calais. "That all merchant-ſtrangers, within fifteen days after they are landed in any port of this kingdom, ſhall take up for themſelves lodgings, or ſome other habitations, in the town or place where the port is, under ſome Engliſhman; and ſhall not make ſale of any goods or merchandizes till they are ſo ſettled; and then ſhall ſell all their merchandizes within forty days next enſuing; and if any goods after this time ſhall remain unſold, they ſhall be forfeited for the king's uſe." This act, ſays a judicious, but inaccurate author, was intended that the king might not be defrauded by ſtrangers of his cuſtoms; and next, that ſtrangers might not, by keeping their goods and merchandizes, underſtand the wants of the nation, and ſo raiſe the prices. After theſe acts the parliament gave the king a tax of twelve pence per pound upon all merchandizes, whether brought into or carried out of the realm, except wool, which they had otherwiſe taxed; and wine, upon which they laid three ſhillings per tun for three years enſuing.

But we cannot diſmiſs this parliament without taking notice of ſome other laudable proviſions which the commons inſiſted upon, for the public good; as if they had thought that their glory and grandeur abroad was but a ſecondary enjoyment to that of liberty and property at home.

For, among other petitions of the commons, one was from the inhabitants of Northumberland, praying that the extortions of the ſheriffs, by yearly levying certain ſums of money, called head-pence, amounting to fifty-one pounds, may be utterly aboliſhed.

That ſuch merchants as be grieved by the Bretons in time of truce, may have letters of marque.

That remedy may be provided for ſuch victuals as are taken by the ſoldiers lying at ſundry towns.

The grieved, upon complaint, ſhall be heard.

That all men impriſoned for treaſon, felony, or Lollardy, may come to their anſwers ſpeedily.

The ſtatutes afore-made ſhall be obſerved.

Another, That the treaſurers of the chamber of Henry IV. and Henry V. who only are accountable to the king, and not in the Exchequer, may pay all due upon tallies.

The king will be adviſed.

Another, That the juſtices of peace in every county may redreſs all matters of ſewers, and touching the waters.

The ſtatutes therefore made ſhall be obſerved.

Another, That the feoffees that buy lands of the king's tenants in tail, may enjoy the ſame againſt the king.

The king will be adviſed *.

In this ſame fourth year of Henry VI. an act paſſed, "granting a diſcretionary power to the king and council to reſtrain the exportation of corn, whenever they ſhall judge it to be for the benefit of the realm:" Which reſtraint may be neceſſary, firſt, in the caſe of a bad harveſt at home, whereby our own corn may prove too ſcanty for ourſelves: ſecondly, in caſe of a very great dearth of it beyond ſea, ſo that our dealers in corn may be allured by its high price in foreign parts, to export more of it than we can ſpare from our home conſumption: and laſtly, it may be frequently prudent and beneficial to reſtrain our exportation of corn for the diſtreſſing of our enemies, who may at ſuch times be in great want of it, and who might obtain a

* See Stat. Hen. VI. Guthrie, vol. ii. p. 517, 518,

ſupply

ſupply of it from thoſe neutral nations to whom we export it."

This prudent law has in the main been continued ever ſince in force, though with ſome temporary regulations, as the public utility from time to time required.

In the year 1429, the eighth of Henry VI. it was enjoined by act of parliament,

"That every city and town of England ſhould at their own expence keep a common ballance with ſealed weights, correſponding to the ſtandards in the Exchequer; and all the inhabitants might weigh thereby, without paying any thing for the ſame; but ſtrangers were obliged to pay." By this ſame ſtatute it was enacted "that no man ſhould buy woollen yarn, unleſs he will make cloth thereof."

In the parliament holden at Weſtminſter, the tenth year of his reign, the following acts paſſed.

"I. That whereas, under the colour of outlawries ſued out againſt certain perſons, occaſion was taken to moleſt others of the ſame name, and to ſeize goods and chattels, eſpecially when they were dead, becauſe there was no remedy at common law for executors to recover ſuch ſeizures; wherefore it was enacted by the parliament in favour of executors, that, in defence of the teſtator's goods, a writ called "Identitate nominis," ſhould be granted to them, and ſhould be maintainable by them as by any other perſon living.

"II. That whereas the Welſhmen aſſembled in great numbers, and did, in a riotous and rebellious manner, intercept and ſtop the boats, trowers, and boats called drags, carrying wares and merchandizes to Briſtol, Gloceſter, Worceſter, and other places upon the river Severn, and broke the ſaid veſſels, to the end that the traders might have their boats and veſſels of them only; therefore it was enacted, that all the king's liege people ſhould have free paſſage upon the ſaid river, to carry their goods and chattels as they pleaſe, without any moleſtation from the Welſh; and if, for the future, they any ways moleſted them in their traffick, the party or parties aggrieved, ſhould have their action according to the courſe of common law.

"III. That in all pleas wherein baſtardy is alleged againſt any perſon, party to the ſaid plea, the judge or judges in the court wherein the ſaid plea is depending ſhall certify it to the chancellor of England, for the time being, to the intent that proclamation be made in the ſame chancery by three months, once every month, that all perſons that have any thing to object againſt the ſaid mulier, or perſon pretending a legitimate iſſue, may put in their allegation and objections before any certificate be given in by the biſhop."

In the twelfth year of his reign, in a parliament holden at Weſtminſter, on the eighth of July, the following acts were paſſed.

"I. That ſuch perſons as were keepers of the ſtews, or whore-houſes, in Southwark, ſhould not be impannelled upon any jury, nor keep any inn or tavern in any other places; leſt men of ſuch vile conſciences and practices ſhould corrupt juſtice, and propagate their villanies over the nation.

"II. It was enacted, that even diſſeiſors ſhould not be put out of poſſeſſion by any colluſive tricks of law, as was then uſual, by making the ſheriff the diſſeiſor, and then entering upon the lands for the default of the tenants not anſwering; wherefore it was ordained, that all ſuch writs ſhould be abated and quaſhed. And,

"III. In the behalf of the perſon diſſeiſed wrongfully of his lands, whereas before the law was, that the diſſeiſee might ſue the diſſeiſor in his life-time, if he took the profits at the time the ſuit commenced, which, to avoid, the diſſeiſors made over the land by feoffments to others, and ſo avoided the ſuit; whereas it was enacted, that the diſſeiſees ſhould have their action as well againſt the feoffee, as diſſeiſees or himſelf, if either of them take the profits of the lands.

"IV. And becauſe divers tenants of lands for term of life and years, made over the ſaid lands to other under-tenants, to the end that they might not be liable to writs of waſte, for the damages done upon the ſaid lands by their order and connivance before the grant of the ſaid leaſes; it was hereupon enacted, that the tenant in reverſion might have his action againſt the tenant for life or years, for the damages done as well before as after the leaſe made to any under-tenants, and recover treble damages for the ſaid waſte, provided that it were proved that the ſaid firſt tenants took the profits of the land to their own proper uſe at the time of waſte done.

"V. Whereas divers ſuits and indictments, as well for the king as his ſubjects, were diſcontinued by making of new commiſſioners for the peace, to the great delay of juſtice, and wrong of the ſubject; it was enacted, that no pleas or proceſſes ſhould be diſcontinued by any new commiſſions; but the juſtices ſo made, ſhould have power and authority to continue all pleas depending, and determine the ſame.

"VI. An abuſe alſo being crept into the nation about meaſures contrary to the ſtatutes, and purveyors, bakers, merchants, and buyers of corn, taking nine buſhels for the quarter; it was enacted, that the ſtatutes for weights and meaſures ſhould be retained in every market-town, and that there ſhould be a buſhel, common balance, and weights in every market-town, city, or borough, kept by the mayor and juſtices thereof, according to the ſtandard in the Exchequer; and if any perſon ſhall preſume to ſell or buy by any other weights or meaſures, they ſhall forfeit five pounds to the perſon that ſhall ſue for it, and five pounds to the king.

"VII. Recognizors having found out the way to defeat the exactions of ſuch perſons as they were indebted to for recognizances, by bringing their writ "De corpus cum cauſa" out of chancery, and giving ſureties to the king only, are delivered out of priſon, and their creditors are defeated of their debts; it was therefore ordained, that ſureties ſhould be given as well to the party as to the king, that their debts may be ſurely paid."

In the parliament which ſat early in the year 1437, the ſixteenth of this reign, the following acts were paſſed.

"I. A remedy was provided againſt vexatious and troubleſome ſuits of ſuch perſons as were not of the king's houſhold, in the courts of ſtewards and marſhals in the king's houſe; and it was allowed as an exemption from their juriſdiction, to plead and aver that they are not of the king's houſe.

"II. An allowance was given to all the ſubjects of England to tranſport corn of low price out of the realm,

realm, viz. wheat at ſix ſhillings and eight pence, and barley at three ſhillings and four pence the quarter.

"III. An injunction to all ſheriffs, bailiffs of franchiſes, and coroners, that in actions or writs of attaint of plea for land, of the yearly value of forty pounds, they do not return nor impannel any perſons but ſuch as be inhabitants in his bailiwic, and have an eſtate to their own uſe, in lands and tenements, to the yearly value of twenty pounds, or more, upon the penalty of forfeiting ten pounds to the king, and ten pounds to the plaintiffs in the ſaid actions or writs of attaint: and that no perſon of leſs ſufficiency of freehold than twenty pounds a year, ſhall be ſworn in the king's courts upon any iſſue in the ſaid actions, if he be for the ſame by the plaintiffs in due form challenged.

"IV. A permiſſion was given to all perſons, as well religious as ſecular, to appoint themſelves general attorneys, to ſue or plead for them in every hundred or wapentake. And,

"V. A prohibition was laid upon all merchants to ſhip, or cauſe to be ſhipped, any wool, woolfells, or any other merchandize belonging to the ſtaple, in any place within the realm, excepting the quays and wharfs appointed by ſtatute, where the king's weights and wools be ſet; excepting the merchants of Genoa, Venice, Tuſcany, Florence, and the burghers of Berwick."

In the Fœdera, vol. x. p. 661. we meet with the form of a naturalization granted by Henry VI. this year to Titus Livius of Ferrara, poet to Humphrey, duke of Gloceſter, the king's uncle, in ſubſtance, viz. "that he be received and taken in all reſpects as if he were a native of England; and ſhall be capable of holding any office or employment in England; may take or receive, buy or ſell, any lands, revenues, reverſions, advowſons, or other benefits, for him and his heirs; to have and plead all manner of actions, in all courts, in all reſpects like a natural-born ſubject." Than which a fuller naturalization can ſcarcely be penned in any words whatever.

In ſir Robert Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, p. 626, there is a ſecond inſtance or proof that the Engliſh people, even ſo early as the year 1440, underſtood the expediency of a navigation act (the former being under the year 1381), as the only means to preſerve to themſelves the benefit of being the ſole carriers of their own merchandize, and as much of thoſe of other nations as they could procure. It is a petition of the houſe of commons to the king Henry VI. requeſting "that no Italian, nor any other merchant beyond the Streight of Morocco (i. e. Gibraltar), ſhall bring any other merchandize into the realm than ſuch as are growing or produced in the ſame, their own reſpective countries;" and that for good reaſons in the record.

The anſwer of king Henry was, "The king will be adviſed;" (which every one knows to be a flat denial from the crown.) Whether the king's own weak judgment or (which is moſt likely) the bribes of the Italians to his worthleſs miniſters, produced this anſwer, is not perhaps eaſy to determine at this diſtance of time; but ſure the petition was wiſely intended, being the very ſubſtance of that enacted after the reſtoration of king Charles II. and ſtill in force, to the very great benefit of the nation.

A remarkable and wholeſome law was made in the twenty-third of king Henry VI. chap. vii. for reducing the number of attorneys at law in the two manufacturing counties of Norfolk and Suffolk: it takes notice, "that not long paſt there were not ſix or eight attorneys in both thoſe counties and the city of Norwich together, in which times great tranquility reigned there; whereas there were now more than fourſcore attorneys, moſt part of whom, not being of ſufficient knowlege, come to fairs, markets, and other public places, exhorting, procuring, moving, and inciting the people to ſuits for ſmall treſpaſſes, &c. wherefore there ſhall be but ſix attorneys for the county of Suffolk, ſix for Norfolk, and two for the city of Norwich."

In his thirty-ſecond year, an affair of a very extraordinary nature took up the attention of the parliament, then aſſembled at Reading. This was no leſs than the arreſting of Thorpe, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. The whole of this tranſaction, and the proceedings conſequent thereupon, we have thus related by Mr. Carte, from the records.

Thorpe was a baron of the Exchequer, and, as was repreſented by the duke of York's counſel, to the houſe of lords, had, in the laſt ſummer, ſeized, in Durham Place, and carried off the duke's harneſs and warlike habiliments, with other goods, to the value of two thouſand marks, againſt the ſaid duke's will and licence; who thereupon brought an action againſt him in Michaelmas term, for the inſult, in the court of Exchequer, agreeable to its privilege, Thorpe being a member thereof; and, after ſeveral hearings before a Middleſex jury, judgment was given againſt Thorpe in one thouſand pounds damages to the duke for his treſpaſs, and he was moreover committed to the Fleet priſon till he ſhould have made payment thereof, as alſo of his fine to the king for the breach of his peace. When this affair came to be argued, the duke's counſel inſiſted, "that as the treſpaſs had been committed by Thorpe not in parliament-time, but during the prorogation, and that if he ſhould be releaſed by privilege of parliament before the duke had ſatisfaction for his coſts and damages, the latter would be left without remedy; therefore that Thorpe ſhould be kept, according to law, in cuſtody till he ſhould give full ſatisfaction for the ſaid damages." The lords, out of tenderneſs for the privileges of the commons, and yet obliged to do juſtice to every one according to law, conſulted the judges on the ſubject; who, after a mature deliberation, anſwered, "that it did not belong to them to determine in any ways the privilege of parliament; but the houſe of lords was the proper judicature to determine ſuch privileges." The chief-juſtice, however, added in their name, "that, with regard to proceedings in the lower courts, in ſuch caſes as writs of Superſedeas and privilege of parliament, there were many of that kind brought into thoſe courts, but never any general Superſedeas for the ſurceaſe of all proceſſes; for if there were, it would look as if the high court of parliament, which miniſters all juſtice and equity, ſhould obſtruct the proceſs of common law, and put the party complainant without remedy, ſince actions at common law are not determined in parliament. But if any member of parliament were arreſted in caſes as neither for treaſon, felony, ſurety of the peace, nor for a condemnation had before the parliament, it

was

was uſual in ſuch caſes for the member to be releaſed of his arreſt, and to conſtitute an attorney, that he might have his liberty freely to attend on the parliament." The lords hereupon adjudged, that Thorpe ſhould, according to law, remain in priſon, notwithſtanding his privilege as a member and ſpeaker of the parliament; and the commons were thereupon required to chuſe another ſpeaker, which they accordingly did.

In the parliament of 1460, the thirty-ninth of this king's reign, the following ſtatute was made, "that women being of the age of fourteen years at the time of the death of their anceſtors, ſhall, without queſtion or difficulty, have livery of their lands and tenements deſcended to them; for ſo the law of this land wills they ſhould have."

TAXES in the Reign of HENRY VI.

In the fourth year of his reign, the duke of Gloceſter then acting as regent, the parliament granted the king the ſubſidy of wool, namely, forty-three ſhillings and four pence on every ſack, from ſtrangers; and from denizens, thirty-three ſhillings and four pence: as alſo three ſhillings on every tun of wine, and twelve pence in the pound for all ſorts of merchandize imported or exported.

In his ſixth year, the parliament granted tonnage and poundage for two years; and of every pariſh within the realm, ſix ſhillings and eight pence for every twenty nobles in value; and ſix ſhillings and eight pence of every perſon that held immediately by knight's fee, or according to the rate.

A parliament held at Weſtminſter, in January, 1431, the tenth of his reign, by the duke of Gloceſter, keeper of England, gave the crown the grant of one tenth and one fifteenth, and of a third of both; a grant of tonnage and poundage for two years, with a ſubſidy of like value, of all merchant-ſtrangers, over and above the ſaid tonnage and poundage. The commons alſo granted the king, that every perſon holding a whole knight's fee, ſhould pay the king twenty ſhillings; and ſo according to the value, under or over: and ſo of the clergy, for lands purchaſed ſince the twentieth of Edward I. that all other perſons having any hereditaments to the value of twenty pounds, over all reprizes not holden as above, ſhall pay to the king, and ſo according to the rate.

In his twelfth year he had a grant of one tenth and one fifteenth, to be levied on the laity; as alſo three ſhillings on every tun of wine imported or exported; twelve pence in the pound on all merchandize ſold for two years, and a ſubſidy of fifty-three ſhillings and four pence on every ſack of wool for three years.

In his fourteenth, a parliament which met at Weſtminſter, on the tenth of October, granted the king a tenth and a fifteenth, deducting out of it four thouſand pounds for the relief of decayed towns and villages; alſo tonnage and poundage for two years; a ſubſidy of thirty-three ſhillings and four pence of merchant-denizens, and of forty-ſix ſhillings and eight pence of aliens, for every ſack of wool. They alſo granted, that every perſon having any freeholds in lands, annuities, fees, offices, or hereditaments, above five pounds yearly, ſhould pay for every pound ſix pence, upon his oath. There was alſo a parliament in the beginning of the year 1436, which met at Weſtminſter, on the twenty-firſt of January, and granted a tenth and fifteenth, and the like ſubſidy of wool for three years, as was granted in the former parliament.

In his eighteenth, a parliament met at Weſtminſter, on the twelfth of November, which granted the king one tenth and one fifteenth, to be levied on the laity; and the ſubſidy of thirty-three ſhillings and four pence from the denizens, and forty-ſix ſhillings and eight pence from aliens, for every ſack of wool; as alſo for tonnage and poundage, for which aliens were to pay ſeven ſhillings and eight pence. The commons alſo granted, that all aliens within the realm, who were not denizens, ſhould pay to the king ſixteen pence, if they were houſholders; and if they are not, then but ſix pence.

The parliament which met in 1446, granted the king a conſiderable ſubſidy, for a vigorous proſecution of the war in France, for which purpoſe they gave a tenth and an half, and a fifteenth and an half, except five thouſand pounds allowed to poor waſted towns; they alſo granted tonnage and poundage on denizens as before, but double on aliens; and a ſubſidy of thirty-four ſhillings and four pence on denizens, and fifty-three ſhillings on aliens, for every ſack of wool, for four years.

In his twenty-ſeventh year, his parliament granted him a tenth and a fifteenth; tonnage and poundage, for five years, of all merchants, with three ſhillings tonnage more of aliens; and the ſubſidy of wool for four years, as before. They alſo granted the king ſixteen pence to be taken of every houſholder within the realm not born in the king's dominions, and ſix pence of every other perſon not ſo born; and alſo ſix ſhillings and eight pence of every merchant-ſtranger, and twenty of all and every of their clerks.

In the year 1449, the twenty-ſeventh of his reign, the parliament met at Weſtminſter, from whence it was adjourned to Black-friars, London, by reaſon of the plague being in the fore-named place; and on the fourth of December it was adjourned back again to Weſtminſter, prorogued on the ſeventeenth to the twenty-ſecond of January, 1450, and on the thirtieth of March prorogued to the twenty-ninth of April, at Leiceſter. In this parliament the commons granted the king an annual ſubſidy, viz. "that every perſon having frank tenement by free deed, copy, grant of annuity, or office, to the clear yearly value of twenty ſhillings, ſhould pay ſix pence; and ſo to twenty pounds; from twenty pounds to two hundred pounds yearly, twelve pence in the pound; from two hundred pounds to pay two ſhillings for twenty ſhillings, as well for the laity as the clergy, guardians of wards, men having fees, and all corporations to pay accordingly."

On the ſeventeenth of March, 1453, a parliament ſat at Reading, and on the eighteenth was prorogued to the twentieth of April, at Weſtminſter, where it aſſembled accordingly; from thence, on the ſecond of July, it was prorogued to the ſeventh of November, at Reading, and from thence to the eleventh of February, 1454, at Weſtminſter: but notwithſtanding it appears that it met at Reading, whence it was adjourned to Weſtminſter; for on the fourteenth of February, in the firſt ſeſſion, the commons granted the king one tenth and an half and one fifteenth and an half, tonnage and poundage during life, the ſubſidy of wool, viz.

twenty-three ſhillings and four pence for every ſack of denizens, and five pounds of aliens; and ſo of other ſtaple ware in proportion. They alſo granted the king, of every merchant not born within the realm who was no denizen and kept houſe, forty ſhillings per annum; and of every ſuch merchant as ſhall remain within the realm but ſix weeks, twenty ſhillings; and of every merchant alien being no denizen, ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence yearly, during the king's life.

EDWARD IV.

THE moſt remarkable ſtatutes in this king's reign were the following.

In his third year the importation of woollen cloth, laces, ribbons, all ſorts of iron ware, and moſt other things manufactured in England, was ſtrictly forbidden. This ſtatute was farther enforced, eſpecially in regard to Engliſh wool, in the following year.

In his ſeventh year, a parliament meeting at Weſtminſter, on the third of June, or, according to others, the third of July, the king ſigned an act of reſumption, wherein he recalled into his own hands all the crown-lands granted away during his reign.

TAXES in the Reign of EDWARD IV.

In the third year of his reign his parliament granted him an aid of thirty-ſeven thouſand pounds, to be levied in the counties, cities, and towns. And, in the following year, the ſame parliament, which had been prorogued ſeveral times till the thirty-firſt of January, gave him tonnage and poundage for life; and of every Engliſh merchant for every ſack of wool, thirty-three ſhillings and four pence, of every two hundred and forty wool-fells the ſame, and of every laſt of hides three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence; of every merchant-ſtranger, denizen or otherwiſe, for every ſack of wool three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence, of every laſt of hides three pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence, of every two hundred and forty wool-fells, three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence.

In his ſeventh year, the parliament at Weſtminſter paſſed the reſumption act, and alſo granted the king two tenths and two fifteenths.

In his eleventh year the commons granted that fourteen thouſand archers ſhould ſerve the king at their own charge, to be levied out of all men's lands, according to a certain proportion; and the lords ſpiritual and temporal granted towards the ſame the tenth part of one whole year's revenues of all and ſingular their poſſeſſions; and at a ſecond ſeſſion of the ſame parliament, the commons granted the king one tenth and one fifteenth.

In his thirteenth year they granted him one tenth and one fifteenth, and fifty-one thouſand, one hundred and ſeventy pounds four ſhillings and ſeven pence three farthings, in full payment of the wages of the fourteen thouſand archers granted before; towards the payment whereof every county, city, and town were ſeverally taxed.

In the beginning of the year 1482, the twenty-ſecond of his reign, a parliament, which met at Weſtminſter, gave the king a tenth and fifteenth, to be levied on the laity, except ſix thouſand pounds to be beſtowed on decayed towns. They alſo granted a yearly ſubſidy, to be levied on all ſtranger as well denizens as otherwiſe. They moreover allowed a yearly rent out of the cuſtoms and other revenues, to defray the king's houſhold expences, amounting to eleven thouſand pounds.

RICHARD III.

IN January, A. D. 1484, the ſecond of this king's uſurped reign, he held his firſt parliament at Weſtminſter, in which an act of attainder was paſſed againſt Henry, earl of Richmond, and all his adherents. The moſt remarkable ſtatutes enacted in this parliament were theſe:

"I. An act aboliſhing a new impoſition ſet on foot by Edward IV. called a benevolence.

"II. An act giving every juſtice of the peace power to admit a priſoner, arreſted for felony, to bail; and that no officer ſhall ſeize the goods of a priſoner arreſted for felony, till he is attainted.

"III. An act to ſettle the qualification of perſons to be impanelled upon juries; no one to be choſe but who hath twenty ſhillings freehold, or twenty-ſix ſhillings and eight pence copyhold, at leaſt.

"IV. An act for ſettling the ſtandard meaſures of wine and oil veſſels, as follow: that every tun ſhould hold two hundred and fifty-two gallons; a pipe, one hundred and twenty-ſix gallons; a tertian, eighty four gallons; an hogſhead, ſixty-three gallons; a barrel, thirty-one gallons and an half; a runlet, eighteen gallons and an half."

We meet with no other ſtatutes worth notice during this reign, nor was the ſubject loaded with any new impoſt, nowithſtanding the heavy outcries ſome hiſtorians have made on account of the exorbitant taxes this king laid on the nation: in this parliament, indeed, the commons continued to him, for his life, the ſubſidy of tonnage, poundage, wool, and hides, which they had granted in like manner to his brother Edward IV.

HENRY VII.

THE conſtitution of England, by the feodal law, was calculated plainly to govern the realm with a ſtanding army, of which the king was commander in chief; the barons, his field-officers; the knights, his ſubalterns; and all the other ſubjects, the common ſoldiers. While the kings of England had great hereditary countries and lands of their own, whilſt they were purſuing foreign conqueſts and ſubduing great nations, thoſe countries ſupplied England with manufactures, and many of the neceſſaries of life; and the people were too much abroad to feel their wants at home. The immenſe eſtates of the great barons, and their uncontrouled power over their vaſſals, kept them from feeling the miſeries of the inferior ſort; whilſt the vaſt prerogative which was lodged in the crown often times ſqueezed all the riches of thoſe barons into its own coffers. But the almoſt perpetual wars which the kings of England, upon their own accounts, and to preſerve their hereditary dominions on the continent, were obliged to carry on with the kings of France, Scotland, and other potentates, made the barons ſometimes of ſuch importance, as to diſpute their attendance, and by degrees to emancipate themſelves from the rigours of the feodal conſtitution, as both the king and the nation ſeverely felt till the days of Henry VII. That wiſe prince made uſe of the circumſtances of the times he reigned in, to encourage

encourage commerce and agriculture, and to raiſe the middling ſtate of the ſubjects as the only ballance againſt the dangerous power of the barons. In this he was greatly aſſiſted by the ſituation in which the barons found themſelves: they had juſt begun to breathe from a long and bloody war, which had emptied their veins and exhauſted their eſtates; they wanted to enjoy the ſweets of peace, but found themſelves without the means to do it on account of the vaſt debts they had contracted.

But Henry, to ſmooth the way for removing thoſe difficulties, ſeemed to part with an uſeleſs prerogative of his crown, by paſſing an act giving leave for all barons and great land holders, who ſhould attend him, to alienate their eſtates, or ſell or otherwiſe mortgage or diſpoſe of the ſame, without paying for fines or licences of alienation. This act following a great benevolence very unconſtitutionally granted by parliament, and which muſt have proved very prejudicial for many of the landed intereſt to have complied with, and the thing itſelf being popular, we know no oppoſition made to it by the great barons*.

A legal though dangerous cramp to the liberty of the ſubject was projected, encouraged, and at laſt enacted by this prince, almoſt in the very beginning of his reign: for under pretence that the channels of juſtice, by unlawful maintenances, giving of liveries, miſbehaviour of ſheriffs, and a number of other cauſes, were corrupted, the authority of the court of Star Chamber was now ſet up. The officers who conſtituted this court were, the chancellor and treaſurer of England, for the time being, and the keeper of the privy-ſeal, or two of them, calling to them a biſhop and a temporal lord of the king's moſt honourable council, and the two chief-juſtices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas for the time being, or other two juſtices in their abſence. Their powers "were (as appears by the words of the ſtatute, 3 Hen. VII.) to proceed upon bill, or information, that to the ſaid chancellor, for the king, or any other, againſt any perſon for miſbehaving, to call before them, by writ or by privy-ſeal, the ſaid miſdoers, and they, and others by their diſcretion, by whom the truth may be known, to examine; and ſuch as they find therein defective, to puniſh them after their demerits, after the form and effect of the ſtatutes thereof made, in like manner and form as they ſhould, and ought to be puniſhed, if they were thereof convict after the due order of laws." Thus the reader may perceive that the moſt valuable privileges of Engliſhmen, of not being taken or impriſoned but by the law of the land, or the judgment of their peers, was ſet aſide.

But this inſtitution, or, as lord Bacon will have it, re-creation, of the Star Chamber, who makes it of a date much more early than is to be found upon the rolls, or records of parliament, was far from completing the great civil ſcheme, which Henry had projected, of humbling the great men, ſo terrible to the crown, and enhancing the conſequence of the commoners. He obſerved, that many ſalutary laws had been made by parliament, but that the over-grown powers of his great men, by neglecting the obſervance of thoſe laws, had brought many of them into ſuch diſuſe, that they were now as if they never had been. It was, for example, the law of the land, "that if any man be ſlain in the day, and the felon not taken, the townſhip where the death or murder is done, ſhall be amerced: and if any man be wounded, and in peril of death, the party that ſo wounded ſhall be arreſted, and put in ſurety till perfect knowlege be had whether the perſon ſo hurt ſhould live or die." But thoſe excellent inſtitutions, with that of the coroner's duty upon ſuch an occaſion, had fallen into ſuch diſuſe, that murder was every day committed with impunity; for whilſt the protection that great men gave to their retainers exiſted, it was dangerous or impoſſible for the officers of juſtice to attach the perſon of any malefactor. Thus the courſe of civil juſtice was obſtructed, and the hopes of impunity made all who had ambition, revenge, or any other paſſion to gratify againſt their neighbours, to enliſt them as retainers, or dependents of great men. Henry therefore revived, reinforced, and renewed the old laws againſt murderers and felons, as the moſt proper way for bringing them to the puniſhment of the law, and withdrawing them from the protection of the great.

The parliament alſo paſſed an act, by which it was ordered "that the coroner, upon the view of a dead body, ſhould, according to the former acts, enquire of him or them that had done that deed or murder; of their abettors and conſentors, and who were preſent when that death or murder was done, whether man or woman, and the names of them that were preſent; and ſo bound to enrol and certify." But this was not enough for rooting out this pernicious practice of murder: it appears by the common law, a felony could not determine at the king's ſuits within a year and a day after a death or murder, for ſaving of the party-ſuit. That the firſt edge of reſentment being taken off in the proſecutor, his eagerneſs was abated, his proſecution was often times a ſeeking revenge in cold blood, and few were found who proſecuted with the ſame earneſtneſs twelve months after the crime had been committed, that they would have done immediately after ſuch commiſſion: we may add to theſe reaſons, which are expreſſed in the act of parliament, another not there expreſſed, which is, that ſuch a delay gave the great men, who were perhaps at the bottom of thoſe murders, an opportunity of interpoſing and making matters up, to the infinite prejudice of the public juſtice; but it was now enacted, that "if any man be ſlain or murdered; and therefore the ſlayers, murderers, or abettors, manſlayers, and comforters of the ſame be indicted; that the ſame ſlayers and murderers, and all other acceſſaries to the ſame, be arraigned and determined of the ſame felony and murder, at any time, at the king's ſuit, within the year after the ſame felony and murder done, and not tarry the year and a day for any appeal to be taken for the ſame felony or murder. And if it happened that any perſon named as principal or acceſſary to be acquited of any ſuch murder, at the king's ſuit within the year and a day, that then the ſame juſtices aforeſaid, by whom he is acquitted, ſhall not ſuffer him to go at large, but either remit him again to priſon, or elſe to let him to bail, after their diſcretion, till that year and a day be paſſed. And if it fortune that the ſame

* Guthrie, vol. iii. p. 1400.

felons

felons or murderers, and acceſſaries, ſo arraigned, or any of them, to be acquit, or the principal of the ſaid felony, or any of them, to be attained, the wife, or next heir, to him that is ſlain, as ſhall require, may take and have their appeal of the ſame death and murder, within the year and day after the ſaid felony or murder done, againſt the ſaid perſon ſo arraigned, and acquit, and all other their acceſſaries againſt the ſaid principals ſo attainted, if they be alive, and the benefit of his clergy thereof before not had: and that the appellant have ſuch and like advantage as if the ſaid acquitance or attainder had not been the ſaid acquital or attainder notwithſtanding."

A kind of civil rapes upon women of property were none of the leaſt frequent conſequences of the power of the great men; and it was a common way of rewarding their followers by aſſiſting or protecting them in ſuch violences: it was therefore to put a ſtop to ſo enormous an abuſe that this ſame parliament made an act, "That whatever perſon or perſons from henceforth that taketh any woman againſt her will unlawfully, that is to ſay, maid, widow, or wife, that ſuch taking, procuring, and abetting the ſame, and alſo receiving willingly the ſame woman ſo taken againſt her will, and knowing the ſame, ſhall be felony."

We find another act of the ſame parliament, according to the act of Richard III. concerning the power which juſtices had in admitting priſoners, committed for felony to bail. By this act, the juſtices of peace who took bail, were obliged to certify the ſame at the next general ſeſſions of peace or next goal-delivery of the county, city, or town; and the ſheriff was to certify the names of all the priſoners in his cuſtody, to the juſtices of goal-delivery. Thus the act of Richard III. giving authority and power in the premiſſes to any juſtice by himſelf, was repealed.

The other remarkable ſtatutes enacte this time, were the following.

"I. That if any of the king's ſervants, under the degree of a lord, did conſpire the death of the king, or any of the king's council, or lord of the realm, as the lord-ſteward, treaſurer, or comptroller, it ſhould be felony." This law was thought to be procured by the chancellor, Morton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, being unamiable in his private manners and extremely obnoxious to almoſt all the great men of Henry's court, provided this act for his own ſafety.

"II. An Act for making void all deeds of gift made to defraud creditors.

"III. An act awarding coſts to the plaintiff, where the defendant ſueth a writ of error before execution had *."

The parliament which met in the beginning of the year 1490, the ſixth of Henry's reign, paſſed an act which ſhews the conſiſtency and firmneſs of Henry's policy at home. It was founded upon a ſtatute made under Edward I. by which it was ordained, "That notes and fines to be levied in the king's court before his juſtices, ſhould be openly and ſolemnly read; and that both pleas in the mean time ſhould ceaſe; and this to be done two days in the week, after the diſcretion of the juſtices." But the ſtatute now enacted ſays, "That fines ought to be a final end and concluſion." The contrary practice had ſome time before prevailed, to the great trouble of the Engliſh ſubjects; it was therefore enacted, "That, after the engroſſing of every fine to be levied, after the feaſt of Eaſter that ſhall be in the year of our Lord 1490, in the king's court, before his juſtices of the Common Pleas, of any lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, the ſame fine be openly and ſolemnly read and proclaimed in the ſaid court, the ſame term, and in three terms the next following the ſame engroſſing in the ſame court, at four ſeveral days in every term; and in the ſame time that it is ſo read and proclaimed, all pleas to ceaſe:" ſome exceptions of minors, married women, and ſuch others, are inſerted in the ſtatute. Thus Henry in ſome reſpect gave his ſubjects the ſame right to their eſtates that he had to his crown, thereby engrafting upon the Engliſh conſtitution, and even tenor of government, and reſtoring the peaceable poſſeſſion of eſtates. This admirable law prevented and ſhut the door upon that dreadful litigiouſneſs which civil commotion introduced, and which the ſucceſs of the one or the other party which the claimant favoured, always revived and encouraged.

During the ſeſſion of the ſame parliament we meet with a proclamation, which, by act of parliament, every juſtice of peace was to take care ſhould be proclaimed four times yearly in four principal ſeſſions within the county where he acted. This proclamation complains bitterly of the remiſſneſs of juſtices of the peace in doing their duty; it takes notice, that by their remiſſneſs riots, murder, and other enormities were occaſioned, to the great prejudice of agriculture, the great ſtay and ſupport of the land, the upholder of the Engliſh church, and the fund for the payment of the landlords rent: it is therefore decreed, "That if any perſon ſhall be baulked in his ſuit, or aggrieved, that they may have an appeal to the next neighbouring juſtice, from him to the juſtices of aſſize; and if he find no remedy there, to the king himſelf or his chancellor. In this caſe the juſtice is to be ſtruck out of the commiſſion, and further puniſhed according to his demerits."

The other remarkable ſtatutes enacted in this parliament were,

"I. That benefit of clergy ſhall be allowed but once; and that perſons convicted of murder, ſhall be marked with an M upon the brawn of the left thumb, and other felons with a T.

"II. That no butcher kill any manner of beaſt within the walls of London, on pain of forfeiting for every ox twelve pence, and for a cow and every other beaſt eight pence; this to extend to every city, borough, and walled town within the realm of England, Berwick and Carliſle excepted." There were ſome other laws then made, which are either repealed or of ſmall conſequence.

In the eighth year of his reign an act paſſed, by which the barons and gentlemen of landed intereſt were at liberty to ſell and mortgage their lands, without fines or licences for the alienation; and that likewiſe they ſhould have their own liveries, and authority to diſpoſe of the wardſhips of their heirs: but this act was confined only to thoſe who ſhould enter into the army; and nothing could be better calculated than it was, not only for the purpoſes already mentioned, but for Henry's great

* See Statute 3 & 4 Hen. VII. and Bacon, p. 594.

and

and favourite ſcheme in breaking the tenures and dependencies upon the landed intereſt. For luxury and vanity were become as it were neceſſary to the Engliſh for the enjoyment of life. Thoſe vices had been begun, continued, and encouraged by Edward IV. the ſhort reign of Richard III. could not, but Henry (though he did not practiſe them in his own perſon) did encouraged them at his court. The great debts the nobility had contracted, rather encreaſed than weakened the dependency, as long as it was out of their power, without the king's licence, and without paying exorbitant fines, to diſpoſe of their lands for diſcharging them. This act in ſome meaſure took off this check. The prodigal, the brave, and the adventurous ruſhed precipitately into extravagance; ſome through motives of luxury, and others of ambition; whilſt the induſtrious commons made every day freſh acquiſitions of the landed intereſt, and thereby threw an additional weight into the ſcale, which Henry wanted to ſupport and help to preponderate. Some other military acts paſſed in the ſame parliament, particularly a kind of mutiny bill; for every captain whoſe muſters were not complete, or who defrauded his ſoldiers of their legal pay, was to forfeit all his goods and chattels to the king, and his body to the priſon. By another clauſe of the ſame act, all deſerters were adjudged to be guilty of felony without benefit of clergy: the captain was likewiſe, if in the land ſervice, to make a return of all ſoldiers who ſhould die or deſert, within ten days after ſuch deaths or deſertions, to the paymaſter of the forces; or if in the marine ſervice, to the admiral of the navy. By another act of this ſeſſion, every officer and ſoldier of the army ſerving beyond ſea, or on the ſea, was protected; and he had power by his writing to make his attorney enter upon lands deſcended unto him.

The parliament which met towards the end of the year 1495, after a long prolongation, enacted a law which is well deſerving the attention of every Engliſh reader. This act was founded upon a reflection of the dreadful ſituation in which the people of England muſt have found themſelves had Henry himſelf not ſucceeded, and had Richard been victorious. The act itſelf was built upon a maxim ſo ſimple and plain, that it could not be miſtaken or miſrepreſented by the meaneſt or moſt ignorant of his ſubjects: it was, "that the poſſeſſion of the throne points out the king." This was the principle upon which the parliament made the following law: "That none who ſhall attend upon the king for the time being, no matter whether he was ſo in fact or in right, or in both, doing true ſervice, ſhould be attainted or forfeit any thing." And to this act it was added, "That if any act or acts, or other proceſs of law, hereafter made thereupon for the ſame, happen to be made contrary to this ordinance, that then that act or acts, or other proceſs of the law whatſoever they ſhall be, ſtand and be utterly void; provided always, that no perſon or perſons ſhall take any benefit or advantage, who ſhall hereafter decline from their ſaid allegiance."

To explain the true meaning and occaſion of this act, it is proper to conſider the circumſtances of things and the ſituation of the kingdom at the time it paſſed. The feudal law and cuſtoms, agreeable to which all tenures of knight's ſervice were regulated, prevailed in England at that time; and the great lords, who held their lands immediately of the crown, on the condition of ſerving the king in his wars, and other ſervices, granted out parcels of thoſe lands to under-vaſſals, holding of themſelves under the like obligations and ſervice; theſe vaſſals were bound to follow the meſne-lord, or (as he is termed in ſtatute 12 Henry VII. cap. 7.) their immediate ſovereign, in his hoſtings (or arrays); and if they neglected to attend him in the field, even when he fought againſt the crown, they forfeited their tenures, and their lands were confiſcated to the uſe of their immediate lord. Hence aroſe the great power of the ancient barons, who, in the days of Henry III. and in latter reigns, were able to make head againſt the crown in the field, having, in proportion to their eſtates, a powerful body of vaſſals, obliged, by their tenures on pain of forfeiture, to follow them in their riſings, and farther engaged ſo to do by the ſacred tye of their oaths of fealty taken in their lords courts. It had always been Henry's view, from the beginning of his reign, to depreſs the power of the great lords; but as there was danger in attempting it too openly, he choſe to do it in the way of ſap, by means the true deſign whereof was ſcarce perceivable; as by allowing them freely to alienate their eſtates; and by this act juſtifying all perſons (and their vaſſals among the reſt) that ſhould ſerve him in his wars, and ſecuring them abſolutely from all forfeitures on that account, whatever conduct their immediate lords obſerved. This leſſening the dependence of vaſſals upon thoſe lords, ſeems to have been calculated for the ſame purpoſes, as ſome late acts for diminiſhing or taking away the vaſſalage of the Highland clans in Scotland to their ſuperiors; but if it was one part of Henry's view in this, it was not the only end he propoſed to anſwer.

For though Henry thought that the above act was a ſufficient ſecurity for his ſubjects to ſtand by him, yet he wanted a farther ſecurity for himſelf: for though it is declared in general terms, that the poſſeſſion of the crown implies allegiance, yet there is no ſpecification of the caſes that require this allegiance to call the ſubjects into the field, neither is there any penalty upon a man who does not attend. But Henry made a diſtinction among his ſubjects, between thoſe who owed him allegiance, and thoſe who with allegiance owed him ſervice, which laſt rank included all placemen, that is, ſuch perſons who had from the crown promotions or advancement, as grants and gifs of office, fees, and annuities. It was therefore enacted, "That if ſuch do not attend the king, when he ſhall fortune to go in the wars in his perſon, in their ſaid perſons, as their duty bindeth them, that then they, and every of them, making thereof default (the king's ſpecial licence not had, or elſe he have ſuch unfeigned ſickneſs, letting, or diſeaſe that he may not in perſon come to do his perſonal attendance and ſervice, after the form aforeſaid, and that duly proved), that then every ſuch perſon or perſons forfeit and loſe their ſaid offices and annuities, and to ſtand void at the king's pleaſure, any act, ſtatute, or ordinance to the contrary, before this time had or made, in anywiſe notwithſtanding. Provided that this act extend not to any ſpiritual peers, or maſter of the Rolls, nor to any other officer and clerks of the Chancery, juſtices of either bench, barons of the king's Exchequer, and other officers and clerks of the ſaid places, the king's attorney and ſolicitor,

and the ſerjeants of the law." But notwithſtanding both thoſe acts, it is certain that Henry thereby took from his ſubjects that determined zeal with which they had hitherto fought, ſince their ſafety no longer depended upon their ſwords, but was inſured by an act of parliament.

In this parliament it was ordained, "That a weight and a meaſure of each kind in uſe, according to the ſtandard of the Exchequer, ſhould be ſent unto every city and borough, and that no commodity ſhould be bought or ſold but with ſuch weights as were ſtamped or ſealed."

There was likewiſe a ſtandard weight and meaſure conſigned into the hands of the repreſentatives of eight-and-twenty cities, towns, and corporations, there to remain, and to be appealed unto upon occaſion. This parliament was likewiſe diſtinguiſhed by a ſtrain of public ſpirit which has ſince been of vaſt uſe to England; for it prohibited the exportation of any horſe, without a licence from the king, and of any mare which was not three years old, and above the value of ſix ſhillings and eight pence, which the government was obliged to pay to the owner in caſe of being ſeized. The parliament afterwards, in this ſeſſion, paſſed an act "That no alienation by the wife of the inheritance of her deceaſed huſband, ſhould be valid; but that a woman may alienate her lands for the term of her life." This parliament likewiſe enacted, "That an attaint ſhould be attainable againſt a petty jury upon a falſe verdict between party and party; but with this exception, that the act ſhould not extend to capital cauſes; for there the virdict of the jury was to be final and irremediable, except by the king's prerogative, if the party was caſt." Lord Bacon upon this obſerves, that ſuch caſes were, for the moſt part, at the king's ſuit; and that if they are followed in courſe of indictment, there are properly two juries, one to find the bill and the other to try the priſoner: add to this, that matters of life and death where a jury is liable to any penalty for acquitting a priſoner, it might occaſion a perpetual warping towards ſeverity, and would diſcourage the ſubjects from the office. Another caſe, wherein this law did not take place, is where the ſum tried did not exceed forty pounds; becauſe ſuch ſums could not bear the charges of farther trial. To this parliament was likewiſe owing the act of admitting poor ſuitors, in forma pauperis, to ſue in courts without paying fees for any writs they ſhould have out of Chancery, and having counſel and attorneys aſſigned to them without paying for the ſame.

On the ſixteenth of January, 1504, a parliament was held at Weſtminſter, in which Dudley, one of the deteſted inſtruments of Henry's mercenary oppreſſions, was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. The principal buſineſs of this ſeſſion was to give a farther blow to the power of liveries and retainers. A greater penalty was now enacted for giving or taking any livery, or for retaining or being retained with another, during the king's life. "Hereupon (ſays an excellent author), is a ſtrange power given to ſummon upon a mere ſuſpicion; to proceed, without information, to examine the defendant upon oath, and to make him his own accuſer; to puniſh according to diſcretion, by fine and impriſonment: and thus the king and his council have gotten a power, under colour of liveries and retainers, to bring the whole kingdom to be of their livery; or elſe they can ſuſpect whom they pleaſe, apprehend whom they ſuſpect, put him preſently to the rack of confeſſion, and ſo into priſon till he hath ſatisfied both diſpleaſure and jealouſy, and even covetouſneſs itſelf. Never was England before now in ſo low a degree of thraldom, bound under a double knot of ſelf-accuſing and arbitrary cenſure."

In the ſame parliament it was enacted, "That all perſons having gifts or patents, ſhould forfeit the ſame if they did not attend the king, upon lawful ſummons, whenever he took the field in perſon, either at home or abroad, for the ſafety of his crown and defence of his kingdom." This act was ſupplemental to the act formerly made, by which the like penalty was impoſed upon thoſe who held places, and did not give the like attendance; but neither of thoſe acts have any retroſpect.

By the ſame act it is provided, "That all perſons repairing to the king's ſtandard, upon ſummons, ſhall receive pay according to their degree; nor does that act extend to clergymen or lawyers, nor to any who held mortgages from the crown.

Great abuſes had been committed with regard to the coinage; and among others complained of, was the practice of bringing Iriſh coin into England, and of clipping and counterfeiting the Engliſh coin, eſpecially ſilver. It was therefore enacted, "That no clipped or diminiſhed money ſhould be current in payment, but that the ſame might be brought to the king's mint, there to be changed for new coined groats and two-pences." Our hiſtorians ſay, that this act brought vaſt ſums into Henry's coffers.

A ſtatute was likewiſe made againſt importing certain manufactures of ſilk, ſuch as ribbons, laces, girdles, and points, the ſame being now manufactured in England; but encouraging the importation of raw ſilk, as the materials for the ſaid manufactures. This act does not extend to large pieces of ſilks, there being no ſuch manufacture then in England. Lord Bacon obſerves, that it was founded upon a right principle in commerce, that where foreign materials are but ſuperfluities, foreign manufactures ſhould be prohibited; for that will either gain the manufacture, or baniſh the ſuperfluity. The next act of importance in this ſeſſion, was that concerning gaols: it had been a common practice, during the civil wars, for the great men to have places within their caſtles which they uſed in the nature of gaols, in which they impriſoned and ranſomed at their own pleaſure. But this practice was now aboliſhed. It was enacted, "That the ſheriff of each county ſhould have the keeping of all gaols, except all gaols whereof any perſon or perſons, ſpiritual or temporal, or body corporate, have the keeping, of eſtate or inheritance, or by ſucceſſion; and all letters patent for the keeping of any gaols were reſumed and void."

During this ſeſſion, an act was made to regulate the making of ſtatutes by incorporate bodies. It had, it ſeems, been a practice for maſters and wardens of fellowſhips and corporations to make acts, which were not only inconſiſtent with the laws of the land, but held by them to be compulſive upon the ſubject, and thereby they very often reſtrained ſuits in the king's courts. It was therefore enacted, "That no maſter and wardens of fellowſhips ſhould make any new ordinances without the conſent of the chancellor, or the treaſurer, or the chief-juſtices,

tices, or the juſtices of aſſize within the ſame county."

This was not the only act that bore hard upon ſmall corporations in this parliament. An abuſe had prevailed all over England, of extorting a tax called ſeawage, or ſchewage, upon all goods vended within a borough or other corporation. This tax had originally been impoſed upon merchants aliens, but was now extended to natural born ſubjects. An act was therefore now made, aboliſhing this tax upon the natives throughout all England, excepting within the city of London.

The laſt act which we have occaſion to take notice of, in this parliament, concerns vagabonds and unlawful games, and the ſuppreſſing common tippling ale-houſes; abuſes which are all linked together. Proper officers and perſons were appointed for puniſhing, but not by impriſoning, all vagabonds in proportion as they repeated their offences. The playing at games was reſtricted to perſons of certain quality and ſtanding; and two juſtices of the peace had it in their power to ſuppreſs any notorious common tippling ale-houſe.

We ſhall cloſe this ſketch of the laws of Henry VII. with a few obſervations taken from the lord Bacon's character of that prince. "In that part both of juſtice and policy which is the durable part, and cut as it were in braſs and marble, which is the making of good laws, he did excel. His laws he did much maintain and countenance, which nevertheleſs was no impediment to him in working his will; for it was ſo handled, that neither prerogative nor profit went to diminution, and yet, as he would ſometimes ſtrain up his laws to his prerogative, ſo would he alſo let down his prerogative to his parliament."

Taxes in the Reign Henry VII.

In the firſt parliament of this king the taxes granted were as follow: 1. Tonnage, which was three ſhillings on every tun of wine of denizens, and ſix ſhillings of aliens. 2. Poundage, that is, one ſhilling in the pound for all merchandizes imported or exported, except tin, for which aliens were to pay two ſhillings. 3. The ſubſidy of wool and wool-fells, which was thirty-three ſhillings and four pence of denizens, and of aliens three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence for every ſack of wool, and for every two hundred and forty wool-fells; and for every laſt of hides denizens were to pay three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence, and aliens three pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence. The clergy at the ſame time granted the king a tenth.

In the fifth year of his reign, the commons voted him ſeventy-five thouſand pounds, to make good his engagements with the ducheſs of Brittany; and for raiſing this ſum they granted a tenth of the yearly value and profits of all honours, caſtles, manors, rents, lands, fees, annuities, offices, and penſions, to whomſoever belonging (except lords of parliament, who likewiſe granted a tenth of all their lands, fees, offices, and penſions); and laid a tax upon perſonal eſtates, at the rate of twenty pence for every ten marks of goods, and upwards in proportion: but this producing only twenty-ſeven thouſand pounds, the commons, to make up the deficiency, gave the king a fifteenth, with a requeſt that he would accept thereof, and remit the reſidue of the ſeventy-five thouſand pounds voted for the ſupply. This Henry conſented to; and the commons were ſo pleaſed with his complaiſance, that the next year they granted him another fifteenth of their goods and chattels.

In the year 1492, the eighth of his reign, having publicly declared his intention of heading his army in perſon againſt France, under pretence that the ſupplies were not ſufficient for the ſervice, he ſent, of his own authority, commiſſioners into every county, to extort money from the ſubject by way of Benevolence, a practice firſt ſet on foot by king Edward IV. but which Richard III. had got aboliſhed by act of parliament. Archbiſhop Morton, the chancellor, is ſaid to have been the adviſer of this illegal taxation; and the lord Bacon relates, that he at the ſame time made uſe of this dilemma in his inſtructions to the commiſſioners (which was commonly called Morton's Fork or Crutch), "That if they met with any who were ſparing, they ſhould tell them they muſt needs have, becauſe they laid up; and if they were ſpenders, they muſt needs have, becauſe it was viſible in their manner of living; declaring that the largeneſs or ſmallneſs of the ſums they gave, would ſerve the king for an infallible rule to diſtinguiſh who were his friends, and who were diſaffected to his government*." By theſe arts immenſe ſums were raiſed all over the kingdom, and near ten thouſand pounds from the city of London alone. Henry's avarice being not yet ſatisfied, he obtained from the parliament, that met towards the latter end of this year, a grant of two fifteenths of perſonal eſtates.

The next extraordinary tax we meet with under this reign (for there were many petty ones intervening) was in his twelfth year, when the two houſes, upon a heavy complaint of the Scots breach of the ſeven years truce, and late invaſion of the realm, voted a ſupply of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds (a greater ſum than had ever been granted on ſuch an occaſion) for the war with Scotland. The way of raiſing it, was by a grant of two fifteenths, and by a ſubſidy, as well on all cities, boroughs, and towns not chargeable to thoſe fifteenths, who were to be aſſeſſed to the amount of both, as on all freeholders and copyholders having twenty ſhillings a year, and others that were worth ten marks in goods. The colleges of Oxford, Cambridge, and Eton were exempted from this taxation; which was not to be levied if the king, or his lieutenant, did not march with an army, or if a peace or truce was made, in which caſes the levies were to be ſuſpended. This enormous impoſition, and the unmerciful manner of collecting it, raiſed a dangerous inſurrection among the inhabitants of the Weſt, as we have already ſhewn in the hiſtory of this king's reign.

In January, 1504, the nineteenth of his reign, he called a parliament, in order to procure an equivalent for two ancient aids due to the crown, on account of the knighting the king's eldeſt ſon, and the marriage of his eldeſt daughter; (the dignity of knighthood he had conferred on his elder ſon Arthur, lately deceaſed; and had beſtowed his daughter Margaret on James IV. of Scotland.) The commons, meanly obſequious to his will, deſired

* Bacon, p. 602.

him

him to accept forty thouſand pounds in lieu of thoſe aids; but Henry, amazed at the largeneſs of the ſum, out of his abundant grace, and to gain the love of his ſubjects, remitted ten thouſand pounds of the money, that the poor might not be charged with it; and the reſt was levied upon all cities, boroughs, and towns (thoſe not uſed to pay it, included) and on all perſons who had either a real eſtate of twenty ſhillings a year, or a perſonal one of ten marks, throughout the kingdom. The lands and tenements of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were exempted from this tax, which was levied by an aſſeſſment of ſpecific ſums upon each county, the whole amounting to thirty-one thouſand two hundred and forty-eight pounds and nine pence; out of which, two hundred and forty-one pounds ſix ſhillings was to be deducted for the fees and wages of the collectors.

Thus did this prince, through the moſt inſatiable thirſt for money that ever diſgraced a royal breaſt, oppreſs his ſubjects to fill his coffers. Henry had no view but to get money; and it was indifferent to him by what means: this made him unfeelingly traffick with the blood and treaſure of his people, loading them with taxes, and ſeizing all opportunities of ruining them by exceſſive fines: all which were, towards the latter end of his reign collected by thoſe execrable tools Empſon and Dudley, who left no nerve of villany unſtrained to drain the helpleſs victims of their maſter's avarice to the laſt drop. Theſe two inſtruments of Henry's being lawyers in ſcience, and privy-counſellors in authority, "turned (to uſe lord Bacon's words, and better I cannot uſe) law and juſtice into wormwood and rapine." They, who introduced arbitrary and unuſual methods of informations and proceedings, and revived every penal law, wherein they ſpared none, great or ſmall, nor conſidered whether the law was poſſible or impoſſible, in uſe or abſolete; and, after ſuffering the accuſed parties to languiſh long in priſon, without admitting them to traverſe the charges according to law, they, by various artificial terrors and devices, extorted from them great fines and ranſoms, which they termed compoſitions and mitigations." Nothing can be more melancholy than the repreſentation which this noble author gives of the miſeries of the people for fourteen years together, that theſe proſecutions were carried on; but neither their cries nor their ſufferings cauſed any relenting in Henry's heart; avarice, at once the meaneſt and the worſt of crimes, ſtifled in him every other ſentiment: he baſked in the ſpoils of the ruined, and ſtuck at nothing to amaſs an immenſe treaſure, which he was at length obliged to leave behind him, to be ſquandered away by his ſon and ſucceſſor.

Of the PUBLIC REVENUES.

IN the Fœdera, or Collection of Public Acts, vol. x. p. 113, 114, we have a curious record, exhibiting the annual revenue of the kingdom of England, anno 1421, and its application: "Declaratio proficuorum regni, & onerum ſupportandorum," viz.

RECEIPTS.

	l.	s.	d.
"1. The revenues ariſing from the cuſtom, in the ſeveral ports of England, from wool exported,	3,976	1	2
"2. The ſubſidy on wool [i. e. the inland duty],	26,035	18	8½
"3. The ſmall cuſtoms,	2,438	9	1½
"4. Twelve pence per pound on goods, rated ad valorem,	8,237	10	9½
Total	40,687	19	9½
[But the printed record makes the total (by miſtake) but 40,676 l. 19 s. 9½ d.]			
"5. The caſual revenue for one year paſt, viz. ſheriffs receipts [for the quit-rents, fee-farm rents, &c. were ſtill received, and accounted for in the Exchequer, by the ſheriffs of counties], eſcheats, duties on ſale of proviſions and on other neceſſaries, wards, marriages, &c. paid into the Exchequer	15,066	11	1
Total revenue	55,754	10	10½

ANNUAL PAYMENTS.

"1. For the annual [maritime] guard [cuſtodia] of England, 8000 marks [or]	5,333	6	8
"2. The like for Calais and its marches, in war time	19,119	5	10
"3. For guarding the Eaſt and Weſt Marches of Scotland, with Roxburgh caſtle, in the time of war,	19,500	0	0
"4. For the guard of Ireland, 2500 marks, i. e.	1,666	13	4
[The ſmallneſs of this ſum confirms what many writers have remarked, viz. that the entire reduction of Ireland to the laws and government of England was much neglected now, and long after.]			
"5. For the guard of the caſtle of Frounſake, 1000 marks,	666	13	4
"6. For the fees of the treaſurer, keeper of the privy-ſeal, the judges of both benches, the barons of the Exchequer, and other officers of the king's court,	3,002	17	6
"7. To the collectors and comptrollers of the king's cuſtoms and ſubſidies, in the ſeveral ports of England, for their ſalaries [de regardis], paid at the receipt of the Exchequer,	547	0	0
Carried forward	49,835	16	8

	l.	s.	d.
Brought forward	49,835	16	8
" 8. To ſundry dukes, earls, knights and eſquires, to the abbeſs of Shene, and to divers other perſons, for their annuities at the Exchequer, ...	7,751	12	7½
" 9. To ſundry perſons, for their annuities, out of the cuſtoms of ſundry ports of England, ...	4,374	4	3
" 10. For fees of the cuſtomers and comptrollers of the ſeveral ports of England, allowed them at the Exchequer yearly, ...	274	3	4
Total yearly payments, according to the particulars,	62,235	16	10½

Which total is juſt 10,000l. more than the record makes the total to be, viz. 52,235l. 16s. 10½d. probably owing to the ſum for the marches of Calais, or elſe for thoſe of Scotland, being ſet down 10,000l. too much. "And thus (ſaith the record) the receipt at the Exchequer exceeds the payments the ſum of 3507l. 1s. 11½d. (taking the abovementioned wrong total of 40,676l. 19s. 9½d.) out of which ſaving the following charges are to be ſupplied, viz.

" 1. For the king's and queen's chamber (camera.)

" 2. For the houſhold of the king and queen.

" 3. For their wardrobe.

" 4. For the building of the new tower at Portſmouth.

" 5. For the office of clerk of the king's ſhips (navium regis.)

" 6. For the keeping of the king's lions, and the ſalary of the conſtable of the Tower of London.

" 7. For the artillery and divers other neceſſaries for the king's war.

" 8. For the expence of the king's priſoners.

" 9. For the king's embaſſies.

" 10. For ſundry meſſengers (pro diverſis negociis), for parchment, and other diſburſements, and other neceſſaries.

" 11. For the expence of the ducheſs of Holland.

"And the following articles remain unprovided for, viz. The old debts of the towns of Harfleur and Calais — of the king's wardrobe and houſhold — of the clerk of the king's ſhips — and of the clerk of the king's works — for the arrears of annuities, or yearly ſalaries — to the executors of Henry IV's will for diſcharging his debts — and laſtly for the preſent king's debts when prince of Wales.

" This account was laid before the king, at Lambeth, by the lord-treaſurer of England, in the preſence of the archbiſhop of Canterbury and ſundry other lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the great officers of the crown."

State of ARTS, SCIENCES, and COMMERCE, in the XVth Century.

IF we are to believe many writers, and particularly archbiſhop Nicholſon, in his Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, and baron Holberg, in his Introduction to Univerſal Hiſtory, this century was one of the moſt rude and illiterate: "Learning (ſays the latter author) was looked upon as a ſort of hereſy." There were even biſhops who did not ſo much as know their letters; and in ſome of their ſubſcriptions to ſynodical acts the following words are to be found, viz. "As I cannot read myſelf, N. N. hath ſubſcribed for me:" or, "As my lord biſhop cannot write himſelf, at his requeſt I have ſubſcribed."

All which, with reſpect to the ignorance of many, or even of moſt, of the clergy, may very probably be true; nevertheleſs, there are many viſible traces to be diſcovered of the increaſe of real knowlege within the compaſs of this century; and in particular the noble art of Printing, which was not only invented, but brought to perfection, much about the ſame time with the moſt uſeful invention of rag-paper. William Caxton, citizen and mercer of London, an ingenious man, being ſent, in the year 1464, ambaſſador from Edward IV. to the duke of Burgundy, at great labour and expence learned the art of Printing, and introduced it into this kingdom about 1474: he ſet up a preſs at Weſtminſter, and was greatly encouraged in the art by Margaret, ducheſs of Burgundy, king Edward's ſiſter. The monaſteries ſoon purchaſed the invention, and it was exerciſed at Oxford, Cambridge, St. Alban's, and other places. This noble art diſſeminated freſh ſeeds of knowlege, which were continually labouring for birth. The incomparable ſcience of Algebra alſo began to be known in this country; a ſcience which has proved extremely uſeful in ſome calculations relating to certain branches of commerce, and probably the foundation of the excellent method of merchants accounts by double-entry, commonly called Italian Book-keeping.

This century can moreover boaſt of ſundry other improvements for regulating and rectifying coin, and of the intereſt of money, all which, though not ſo perfectly well underſtood as in more modern times, were however more ſo than in any former century.

Engraving on wood and metal was introduced into England in this century by the famous Albert Durer: Etching was alſo diſcovered very near as early. We need not add, that both of theſe neceſſarily produced rolling-preſs printing.

Geographical maps were firſt brought into England by Bartholomew Columbus, in the year 1489: and the ſtudy of this ſcience began daily to gain ground, through the great encouragement given by Henry VII. to perſons of an adventuring ſpirit.

Painting was in this century greatly improved, and the art of perſpective and clair obſcure began now to animate the canvas, and diffuſe juſtneſs and propriety through all the works of the pencil.

Sculpture, which is a more limited art, and eaſier to be attained, was in this century likewiſe carried to ſome degree of perfection.

Muſic was as yet rude, nor was it thoroughly cultivated till after the ſixteenth century; but even in the ſtate it was at the period we now treat of, we have the ſtrongeſt reaſon to imagine that it was

very far ſuperior to that of the Greeks, as they have left no monument of this art, by which we can gather that they ſung in parts.

We find, in the Collection of Public Acts, an annuity or ſalary granted by Henry VII. to his poet laureat, Bernard Andreas (or Andrews) of ten marks yearly (or about ſix pounds modern money); a ſad inſtance of the low eſteem in which poetry was held in thoſe times.

As to architecture, it was ſtill in a very low ſtate; the hand of induſtry had not yet changed our ſorry wooden dwellings into ſumptuous palaces; the thatched roofs and mud walls ſtill remained in the ſtreets of London; and the manner of living among the people in general, was coarſe, hard, and indelicate. The greateſt noblemen, when they went into the country, carried their ladies behind them on horſeback; princeſſes themſelves ſeldom travelled in any other manner, being covered only with a riding-cloak of waxed cloth in rainy weather. Indeed, on certain occaſions, they made a momentary diſplay or ſtretch of luxury; but this did in no wiſe imply that general magnificence, nor thoſe uſeful conveniencies, which ſo far exceed the pomp of a ſingle day. The magnificence of thoſe times were only for days of public ſolemnity; whereas at preſent, the ſhews and entertainments which we ſee common every day, the number of gilt coaches, and the multitude of lamps which are lighted up during the night-time in the ſtreets of all our great cities, exhibit far greater riches, plenty, and convenience, than the moſt brilliant ceremonies of the moſt mighty monarchs of the fifteenth or ſixteenth centuries.

COMMERCE.

The general mercantile characteriſtic of this fifteenth century is, that almoſt every important incident in it contributes more or leſs to its being an introduction to the ſucceeding commerce and opulence of Europe, and very eminently ſo to thoſe of the Britiſh empire, which, towards the concluſion of this century, by marriages and other concurring circumſtances, viſibly tended to a conſolidation of all its formerly disjointed parts and intereſts into one united dominion, by the bleſſings of the Almighty, in ſucceeding times brought to maturity.

With particular regard to the improvement and increaſe of commerce, navigation, and manufactures, as well as of agriculture and fiſheries, and even of ſome mercantile and mechanic arts, this century undoubtedly excels any preceding one; with is the building of larger ſhips, and the undertaking of remoter voyages, even prior to the actual diſcovery of either of the Indies; remote iſles and ſtrange coaſts diſcovered and partly planted, till at length new worlds being diſcovered, before the final concluſion of this century, ſundry new and unheard-of materials for commerce and manufactures were hereby brought among us.

It may, perhaps, be deemed no unacceptable piece of curioſity to ſee the under-named liſt of Engliſh manufactures and merchandize ſo early exported as the year 1428. It is a licence granted by Henry VI. to the king of Portugal's agent to export them cuſtom-free, as being for the proper uſe of his Portugueſe majeſty and of the prince his ſon*, viz.

1. Six ſilver cups gilt.

2. The following woollen goods, viz. two pieces of ſcarlet; one piece of ſanguine, dyed in grain; two pieces deblodis (we know not what); two pieces of Muſtrevillers; two pieces of marble colour; two pieces of ruſſet of Muſtrevillers; two pieces of blanch cloth of Lynn; one piece of white cloth; three hundred pieces of Eſſex ſtraits; two thouſand veſſels of amber, being diſhes, plates, ſaucers, &c. (this is called "electrum" in the record, but could never be pure amber, as it muſt have been of an immenſe value, but was probably a mixture of braſs, or tin, or pewter, a practice formerly uſed to give an amber-colour to veſſels and other matters made of it); two beds with curtains, of the largeſt ſize; four beds, of a middling ſize, with red and green colours; four red and green pallet-beds; two green beds, with curtains; eight pieces of red cloth; four pieces of green; ſixty rolls or bales of worſted, red, white, and green; twelve dozen of lances, and twenty-ſix ſaddle-horſes.

And the ſame year king Henry VI. grants the like licence to the agent of the ducheſs of Gloceſter and Hainault, of exporting the following merchandize duty free:

Thirty-four yards of grey Muſtrevillers; thirteen yards of grey cloth; ſeven yards and half of moray, dyed in grain; ten yards and half of red, twenty-two yards of green, ſix yards of white, and twenty-four yards of grey cloth; two yards and half of brunette; twelve yards of red flowered ſattin (ſatyn figerato); two entire white kerſeys; three mantles of coney-fur; one and half timber of martin fur; certain caſks of grain and meal; and twelve yards of white cloth.

To this account of ſome of our exported commodities, we ſhall add, as matter of equal entertainment to the curious reader, the following account of the materials of commerce brought from almoſt every part of Europe into this country, France only excepted, with which nation England was at this time (viz. about the year 1430) engaged in an unfortunate war. It is taken from a poem in Hackluyt's firſt vol. p. 187, 188, &c. entitled the Proceſs of Engliſh Policy, and is not only curious on account of its exhibiting a brief ſtate of the then productions and manufactures of the different countries of Europe, whereby we may behold the wonderful alterations that have taken place almoſt every where in thoſe reſpects within the ſpace of about three hundred years, but it affords us alſo the ſatisfaction to know, that even ſo early as this time, the great political maxim, never too often to be inculcated, "That without our being always ſuperior to any nation on the ſeas, not only our trade, but even our very exiſtence as a free and independent nation, muſt be loſt," was well underſtood; though in ſome other points the government ſeemed not ſufficiently to have known their true commercial intereſts †.

This account is in ſubſtance as follows:

"I. From Spain came wines, figs, raiſins, dates, liquorice, oil, grain (probably for dyers), ſoap, wax, iron, wool, wadmot, kid-ſkins, ſaffron, and quick-ſilver; all which (ſays our author) are tranſported to Bruges, (the then great emporium of Flanders,) by her haven of Sluys, where are ſo many fair and

* Anderſon. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. x. p. 391.

† Anderſon's Orig. of Commerce, vol. i. p. 258.

large

A New & Accurate
MAP,
of
EUROPE,
from the Sieur Robert's
ATLAS,
with Improvements
NORTHERN OCEAN
WESTERN OCEAN
Arctic Circle
Iceland
Faro Is.
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
Western Isles
IRELAND
Dublin
English Channel
BAY OF BISCAY
FRANCE
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Lisbon
Madrid
Minorca
Majorca
Sicily
Corsica
Naples
Rome
Venice
Gulf of Venice
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Candia
Cyprus
Sea of Gibraltar
PART OF AFRICA
NORTH SEA
or
GERMAN OCEAN
SWEDEN
Stockholm
Bergen
Gulf of Finland
Petersburg
Reval
Riga
Wiborg
Abo
Christianstad
Drontheim
Hamburgh
Amsterdam
Paris
Orleans
Nantes
Rochelle
Bourdeaux
Lyons
Geneva
Turin
Milan
Genoa
Florence
Leipsic
Dresden
Prague
Vienna
Presburg
Buda
Belgrade
Cracow
Warsaw
Konigsberg
Dantzick
Memel
Mitau
Wilna
Smolensko
Moscow
Novogorod
Tver
Torzock
Twere
Wolgda
Caliz
Chlynov
Kasgrod
Kasan
Viatka
Permia
Pomerania
Archangel
Kenrol
White Sea
Warsuga
Kandalax
Kola
Pistosi R.
Petzora R.
Obi R.
Mezen
Sortenskoi
Cardyn
Tobolsk
Tara
Tumen
Jaick R.
Moksansk
Wornesk
Kobemask
Kemenoi
Kudiack
Azof
Astrachan
Gurjew
CASPIAN SEA
Derbent
Trebizond
Erzerum
Smyrna
Constantinople
Scutari
Adrianople
Gallipoli
Negropont
Salonichi
Adena
Aleppo
Damascus
Nazareth
Jerusalem
Gaza
Alexandria
Rosetta
Grand Cairo
Tripoli
Tunis
Algiers
Bona
Tripoli
Fez
Morocco
Mequinez
Salle
Gibraltar
Tangier
Ceuta
Malta
Cape Bona
Cape Spartivento
Cape Finisterre
Cape St. Vincent
Cape Ortugal
Cape Creus
Cape Matapan
Cape Malea
Cape Carbonara
Cape Blanco
Cape Bojador
Cape Nun
Cape Verd
Cape Gardafui
Cape Guardafui
Cape Comorin
Cape Negro
Cape Bon
Cape Tenaro
Cape Passaro
Cape Spada
Cape Corse
Cape Mesurata
Cape Sicie
Cape Sigeum
Cape Tarifa
Cape Trafalgar
Cape Palos
Cape Martin
Cape Gelidonia
Cape Carthage
Cape Matapan
Cape Malea
Cape Carbonara
Cape Blanco
Cape Bojador
Cape Nun
Cape Verd
Cape Gardafui
Cape Guardafui
Cape Comorin
Cape Negro
Cape Bon
Cape Tenaro
Cape Passaro
Cape Spada
Cape Corse
Cape Mesurata
Cape Sicie
Cape Sigeum
Cape Tarifa
Cape Trafalgar
Cape Palos
Cape Martin
Cape Gelidonia
Cape Carthage
Meridian of London
Equator
Tropic of Cancer
Ecliptic
Longitude West from London
Longitude East from London
J. Gibson Sculp.

large ſhips: but then (ſays our poet) they muſt all paſs between Dover and Calais.

"II. From Flanders the Spaniſh ſhips lade homewards fine cloth of Ypres and of Courtray, of all colours, much fuſtian, and alſo linen cloth. Thus (ſays he), if we be maſter at ſea, both Spain and Flanders, who depend ſo much mutually on each other, muſt neceſſarily keep meaſures with us. And if England ſhould think fit to deny to Flanders her wool and tin, and ſhould alſo prevent the Spaniſh wool (which they work up with Engliſh wool) from getting to Flanders, the laſt named ſmall country would be ſoon ſtarved.

"III. Portugal is our friend, it ſends much merchandize into England, and our people reſort thither for trade. They have wines, oils, wax, grain, figs, raiſins, dates, honey, Cordovan leather, hides, &c. all which are carried in great quantity to Flanders (which our author here juſtly terms the then ſtaple of all Chriſtendom); and as Portugal is counted changeable, they are in our power whilſt we are maſters of the Narrow Seas.

"IV. Brittany ſupplies Flanders with ſalt, wines, linen, and canvas. The Bretons, eſpecially thoſe of St. Maloe's (whom their dukes, who were generally friends to England, could ſeldom keep under due ſubjection), having been great ſea-robbers, and often done much hurt on our coaſts, landing, killing, and burning, &c. to our ſhame: whereas, would we keep well the Narrow Seas, they durſt not be our foes.

"V. Scotland's commodities are wool, woolfells, and hides; their wool is ſent to Flanders to be draped, though not ſo good as the Engliſh wool with which it is there worked up. The Scots muſt paſs by the Engliſh coaſt in their way to Flanders; and therefore may be eaſily intercepted. Scotland brings from Flanders ſmall mercery, (which in thoſe times meant many kinds of ſmall wares, &c.) and haberdaſhery wares in great quantities. Moreover, one half of the Scottiſh ſhips are generally laden home from Flanders with cart-wheels and wheel-barrows.

"VI. The Eaſterlings, Pruſſia, and Germany, ſend beer and bacon into Flanders, oſmond, copper, bow-ſtaves, ſteel, wax, peltry, pitch and tar, oak-boards, Cologne-thread, wool-cards, fuſtians, canvas and buckram. And they bring back from Flanders, ſilver plate and wedges of ſilver (which come to Flanders in great plenty from Bohemia and Hungary); alſo woollen cloth of all colours. They alſo (ſays our author) venture greatly unto the bay (of Biſcay) for ſalt, ſo neceſſary for them. All which, &c. they could not do, without our premiſſion, if we kept the Narrow Seas."

"VII. Genoa reſorts to England in her huge ſhips named carracks, bringing many commodities, as cloth of gold, ſilk, paper, much woad, wool (of Spain probably), oil, cotton, roch-alum, and gold coin; and they bring back from us wool, and woollen cloth made with our own wool. They alſo often go from England to Flanders, where their chief ſtaple is: ſo that the Genoeſe we have likewiſe in our power."

"VIII. The Venetians and Florentines, in their great gallies, bring all ſort of ſpices and grocery wares, ſweet wines, and a great variety of ſmall wares and trifles, drugs, ſugar, &c. and from us they carry home wool, cloth, tin, and our gold coins. They alſo deal much in uſury both in England and Flanders. — (This ſhews the ballance in thoſe times was againſt us with the Italian republics.)

"IX. To the Brabant marts (which we call fairs), we ſend Engliſh cloth, and bring back mercery, haberdaſhery, and grocery.

"To thoſe marts repair the Engliſh, French, Catalans, Lombards, Genoeſe, Scots, Spaniards, and the Iriſh who live there, and deal in great quantities of hides, &c." But he adds (as he ſays on good authority) "The Engliſh buy more goods at thoſe marts than all other nations do all together: wherefore (ſays he) let us keep the ſea well, and they muſt be our friends." And here he laments the neglect of our ſhipping for the guard of the ſea.

"X. Brabant, Holland, and Zealand, afforded little merchandize properly of their own, but madder and woad for dyers, garlic, onions, and ſalt-fiſh; for the other rich merchandize which the Engliſh buy at the ſaid marts come in carts over-land from Burgundy, Cologne, &c.

"XI. Ireland's commodities are hides and fiſh, (as ſalmon, herrings, and hake), wool, linen cloth and ſkins of wild beaſts." (Here we may remark the antiquity of a linen manufacture in Ireland.) "To keep Ireland in obedience to us is of great importance, and cannot be done without our being maſters at ſea. And the like may be ſaid, as to Calais."

By an act of parliament paſſed anno 1463, in the third year of Edward IV. cap. iv. we find the following liſt of foreign manufactures prohibited to be imported into England: woollen caps, woollen cloths, laces, corſes, ribbons, fringes of ſilk and of thread, laces of thread, ſilk, twined ſilk in any wiſe, embroidered laces of gold and of ſilk, gold ſaddles, ſtirrups, or any harneſs pertaining to ſaddles, ſpurs, boſſes for bridles, hand-irons, grid-irons, locks, hammers, pincers, fire-tongs, dripping-pans, dice, tennis balls, points, purſes, globes, girdles, harneſs for girdles of iron, latten, ſteel, tin, or alkemine, any thing wrought of any tawed leather, furs, buſkins, ſhoes, galoches, or corks, knives, daggers, wood-knives, bodkins, ſheers for taylors, ſciſſars, razors, cheſſmen, playing-cards, combs, pattens, pack-needles, painted ware, forcers, caſkets, rings of copper or of latten gilt, chafing-diſhes, hanging-candleſticks, chafing-balls, ſacring-bells, rings for curtains, ladles, ſcummers, counterfeit baſons, ewers, hats, bruſhes, wool-cards, black iron-thread commonly called and named white wire, upon forfeiture of the ſame; one moiety to the king, the other to the informer. Iriſh manufactures are, however, excepted; as alſo ſuch as ſhould be taken by ſea or by wreck. Magiſtrates of cities and towns are hereby authorized to ſearch for defective and unlawful wares, which ſhall be forfeited; excepting, however, the liberty of the dean of the free chapel of St. Martin's le Grand, in London, and its precincts. The above catalogue of merchandize may ſhew what manufactures were at that time brought to any perfection in England."

The fiſhing trade of England, for exportation, muſt have been conſiderable at this period, for in the twenty ſecond year of king Edward IV. anno 1482, we find no fewer than four ſtatutes for the well packing, in caſks, ſalmon, herrings, eels, &c. and other barrelled fiſh. Theſe are ſome of the earlieſt ſtatutes for packing fiſh; yet there are ſundry

dry

dry older laws for the preſervation of the fry of ſalmon and lampreys in the rivers Thames and Medway; but theſe are only for home conſumption.

By an act of parliament of the firſt year of Richard III. we find the quality and dimenſions of all kinds of Engliſh woollen cloths regulated in the following manner.

"1. That no broad-cloth be put to ſale, or exported, till it be fully watered.

"2. The dimenſions of all kinds of cloths were directed to be as follow, viz.

"3. Broad-cloths ſhall be at length twenty-four yards (and to every yard an inch); breadth, eight quarters within the liſts.

"4. Half-cloths, twelve yards long, and not to exceed ſixteen yards; and breadth as above.

"5. Straits, two yards long; and breadth, one yard within the liſts.

"6. Kerſeys eighteen yards long; and breadth, one yard and a nail within the liſts.

"7. No ſetting, drawing, or tentering, of thoſe cloths, after watering.

"8. None ſhall ſet, caſt, or put on ſaid cloths, flocks or other deceitful thing.

"9. Nor any chalk on white cloths.

"10. Nor ſheerman ſheer or cancel any cloths till fully watered.

"11. Tenters ſhall not be kept within doors, but alone in open places.

"12. No cloth ſhall be dyed with cork or orchel.

"13. The cloth and liſts ſhall be dyed of one colour.

"Excepting out of this act cloth of bay, and alſo cloths made in Winton and Sarum, uſually joined with bay; and alſo plonkets, jackens, celeſtines, packery-whites, veſſes, cogware, worſteds, florences, baſtards, kendals, ſayling ware, with cremil liſts and friſe ware, ſo as in other reſpects they be fair and legally made*."

In the laſt year of the ſaid king Richard III. we have a commiſſion of his, appointing the firſt conſul for Engliſh merchants in foreign parts, together with the ſalary allotted him, in the following words:

"We, underſtanding that the city of Piſa is a very proper place for the reſidence of our merchants, and being aſſured of the fidelity and probity of Laurentio Strozzi, a merchant of Florence, have and do, at the requeſt of our merchants already frequenting Piſa, and of ſuch as are to reſort thither, appoint him to be Conſul and Preſident of all our merchants at Piſa and parts adjacent; allowing him for his trouble herein the fourth part of one per cent. on all goods of Engliſhmen imported to, or exported from thence†."

Henry VII. made it the chief glory of his reign to raiſe, cheriſh, and ſupport the induſtrious commons, who, ceaſing to live in an abject, deſpicable dependence on the great, ſought to avail themſelves of the riſing arts and flowing commerce which England began at this time to enjoy. The ſupport of agriculture was one of the meaſures which this great prince had chiefly at heart, becauſe it encouraged the yeomanry, the ſtrength and nerves of the Engliſh ſtate, and its great barrier againſt the encroachments of the barons. He perceived evidently, that the power of the latter, troubleſome to the peace of the land, grew weak in proportion as the villains, who by their induſtry could make themſelves free men, grew ſtrong, which always happened according as commerce and agriculture prevailed: but the late civil wars had in ſome reſpects ruined agriculture almoſt to the depopulation of the ſtate, and an infinite quantity of arable lands were now turned into paſture.

But this vaſt uſe of paſturage had one great advantage in it, which was the encouragement of incloſures; for it does not appear that it was then much the practice to incloſe arable ground. The great art therefore was to encourage thoſe incloſures without diſcouraging the practice to incloſe arable land, and thus to prevent depopulating paſturages. This was done by an ordinance paſſed in the parliament of 1490, enacting "That all houſes of huſbandry that were uſed and occupied with twenty acres of ground, and upwards, ſhould be manured and kept up for ever, together with a competent proportion of land to be uſed and occupied with it." This act, as lord Bacon juſtly obſerves, in a manner forced the occupiers of ſuch houſes as are deſcribed in the ſame, to raiſe themſelves above the degree of cottagers or villains, and to become men of property and ſubſtance: it had, likewiſe, a farther tendency, that it raiſed a ſeminary for infantry, or foot-ſoldiers, and therefore prevented England from being obliged, like France and Italy, to hire infantry from other nations.

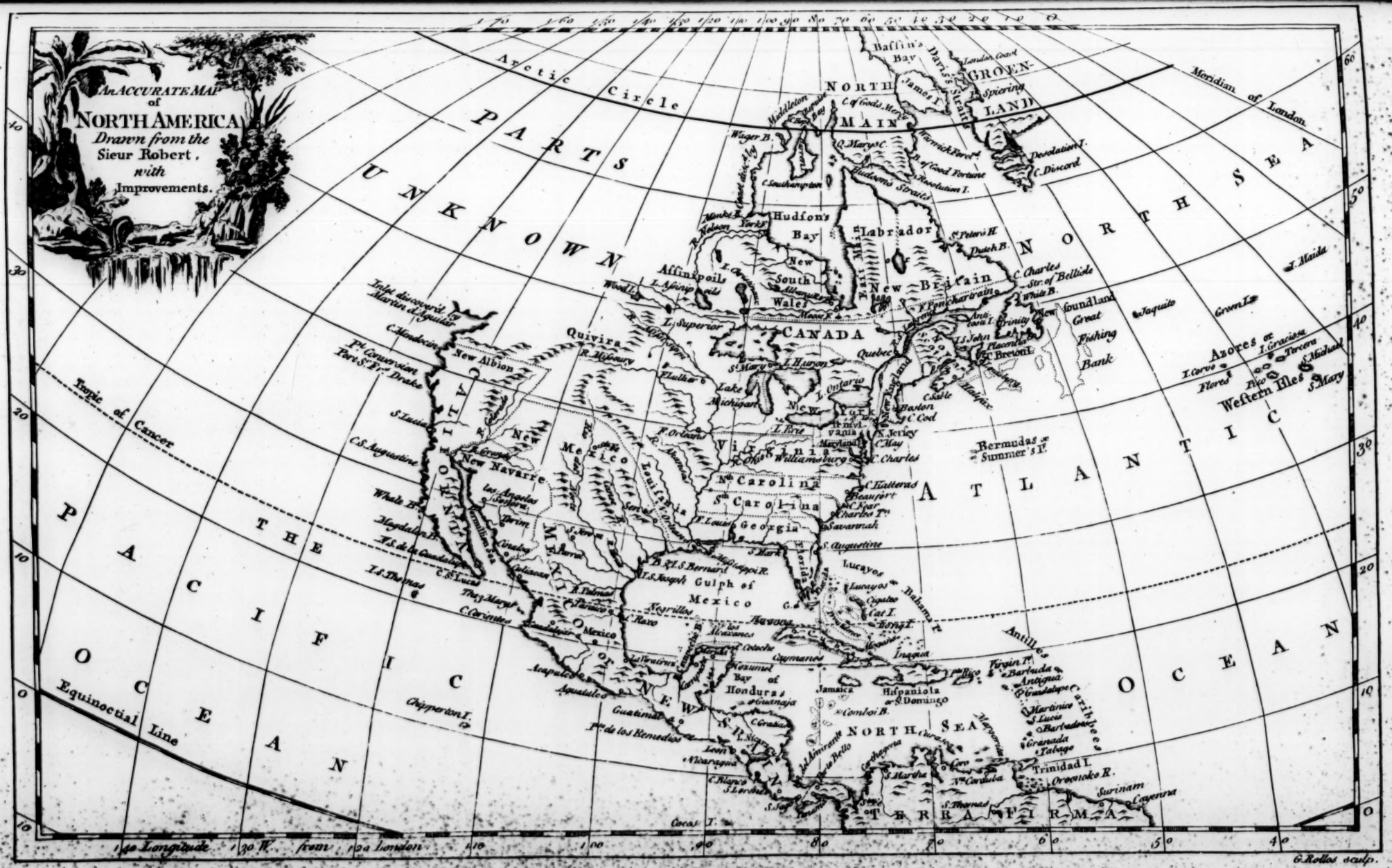
But perhaps Henry did not in any reſpect ſhew a more maſterly ſtroke of policy, than he did in an act paſſed in this parliament, for the encouraging national power at the expence of national luxury. The Venetians, the Genoeſe, the Spaniards, and the Portugueſe, not forgetting the Bretons, had, for ſome ages, been the carriers of all Europe by ſea; the Engliſh had, indeed, cultivated navigation and commerce, but upon principles more convenient than ſtable; for they had in a manner naturalized all England to foreigners who ſhould reſort thereunto; and when foreigners ſettled here, bringing with them the ſpirit of commerce and induſtry, and their ſons becoming Engliſhmen, it was perhaps, right policy; but the vaſt alteration now introduced in the ſyſtem of power and property, all over Europe, joined to the dreadful effects which the civil wars in England had been attended with, prevented foreigners from ſettling in the kingdom, though not from reſorting to it: the money therefore given as freight for imported commodities, was ſo much loſs to the nation without any retribution, but the increaſe of luxury. But Henry formed a noble plan of making a public emolument from private luxury; an act therefore paſſed, "That no Gaſcoign or Guyon wine, or Thouloufe wood, ſhould be brought into this realm but by Engliſh ſhips, and Engliſh maſters and mariners; nor any perſon ſhall freight in a ſtranger's ſhip, to be brought into this realm, or carried forth, if he may have ſufficient freight in the ſame port in a denizen's ſhip."

The benefit of commerce thus provided for, manufactures came next under conſideration. In this Henry's chief care was to encourage the woollen, that ſtaple commodity of this kingdom. The firſt ſtep towards this was to repreſs the extravagant prices into which the great perſons, and, by their

* Anderſon, vol. i. p. 299. Statutes at Large, 1 Rich. III.

† Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii. p. 261.

example,


An ACCURATE MAP of NORTH AMERICA Drawn from the Sieur Robert, with Improvements.
Arctic Circle
Meridian of London
PARTS UNKNOWN
NORTH MAIN
GROEN-LAND
Baffin's Bay
Davis's Straits
James I.
Spiering
Middleton
Wager B.
Q. Mary's C.
Warwick Foreland
B. of Good Fortune
Hudsons Straits
Resolution I.
Desolation I.
C. Discord
C. Southampton
Hudson's Bay
Labrador
New South Wales
New Britain
St. Peters H.
Dutch B.
C. Charles
Str. of Bellids
White B.
Newfoundland
Great Fishing Bank
Jaquite
Green I.
I. Maida
Azores or Western Isles
I. Corvo
Flores
Pico
Tercera
St. Michael
St. Mary
Assinipoils
L. Superior
CANADA
Quebec
L. Huron
L. Ontario
Lake Michigan
New England
Halifax
C. Sable
Boston
C. Cod
Penn-sylvania
New Jersey
Maryland
C. May
Virginia
Williamsburg
C. Charles
Bermudas or Summer's I.
N. Carolina
C. Hatteras
S. Carolina
Beaufort
Charles Town
Georgia
Savannah
St. Augustine
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Quivira
New Albion
New Mexico
New Navarre
Los Angelos
Port Monterey
Port St. Francis
Drake
Inlet discovered by Martin d'Aguilar
C. Mendocino
Tropic of Cancer
C. S. Augustine
St. Lucas
Whale B.
Magdalen B.
Is. de la Guadalupe
Is. Thomas
C. St. Lucas
Port St. Barnard
Port St. Joseph
Gulph of Mexico
Lucayos
Bahama I.
Cat I.
Long I.
Antilles
Mexico
Acapulco
Chipperton I.
Equinoctial Line
PACIFIC OCEAN
Bay of Honduras
Jamaica
Hispaniola
St. Domingo
Comboi B.
Caribbees
Virgin Is.
Barbuda
Antigua
Guadalupe
Martinico
St. Lucia
Barbadoes
Granada
Tabago
Trinidad I.
Orenoko R.
Surinam
Cayenna
TERRA FIRMA
NORTH SEA
Cocos I.
Longitude from London
6. Rollos sculp.

BRITISH
9 JA 65
MUSEUM

An Accurate Map
of
SOUTH AMERICA,
Drawn from the
Sieur Robert,
Geog.r to the French King
with Improvements.
THE PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GREAT SOUTH SEA
SOUTHERN OCEAN
TERRA FIRMA
AMAZONS
BRASIL
PERU
PARAGUAY
CHILI
PATAGONIA
Equinoctial Line
Tropic of Capricorn
Meridian of London
Longit. W. from London.
Longit. E. from London.
C. Rollos sculp.

BRITISH
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MUSE

example, the lower ſort, had run for cloaths, in which curioſity ſupplied the place of uſe, and which tended more to the encouragement of luxury, than the conſumption of manufacture; an act therefore was paſſed, impoſing a penalty of forty ſhillings upon any perſon who ſhall ſell by retale a broad yard of the fineſt ſcarlet in grain for above ſixteen ſhillings; or other grained cloth of the fineſt makings for above eleven ſhillings. A like act paſſed with regard to hatters and cappers, by which, under the ſame forfeiture, the price of the beſt hat was fixed at twenty pence; and that of the beſt cap at two ſhillings and eight pence.

Henry VII. alſo made it his buſineſs to take advantage of the jarring intereſts which prevailed on the continent, for improving the trade and commerce of his own kingdom: with this view he granted ſafe-conducts to all merchants, in particular thoſe of France, to come and trade with England, and to buy up her woollen goods, tin, lead, and her other native commodities, by paying the accuſtomed duties to the crown.

In a treaty he made with Philip archduke of Auſtria, governor of the Low Countries, towards the latter end of his reign, we meet with the following remarkable articles.

"It is agreed, that the fiſhers belonging to either prince may ſecurely any where ſail the ſea, and fiſh without any impediment, licence, or ſafe-conduct." It is likewiſe provided, "That the trading ſubjects of neither prince ſhall import into the harbours or dominions of either, any commodities or merchandize belonging to the enemy of that prince." And in the following article it is provided "That, in caſe of a ſhipwreck, if any perſon or any animal, a cat, or a dog, or a cock, ſhould remain alive on board a ſhipwrecked veſſel upon the coaſts of either party, in that caſe the cargo belonging to the ſubjects of either ſhall not be deemed confiſcated, but remain ſafe for a year and a day, till a proper claimant ſhall appear."

But that which diſtinguiſhed this century above all other tranſactions in the commercial way, was the attempt made by Chriſtopher Columbus to diſcover a new world. This fortunate adventurer was the ſon of a mechanic of Genoa, a wool-comber as is ſaid; he had obſerved the improvements which the Portugueſe had made in their diſcoveries towards the Eaſt Indies, and he had been projecting ſome diſcoveries towards the Weſt. Having digeſted his conjectures and reaſons why this was feaſible, he laid them before his natural ſovereign, the ſtate of Genoa. Being rejected there, he applied to the king of Portugal, whoſe miniſters, as he diſcovered, wanted to cheat him. He then went into Spain, from whence he diſpatched his brother Bartholomew, a man of the ſame turn of genius with himſelf, into England, with a commiſſion to lay his ſchemes before Henry. Bartholemew meeting with great misfortunes on his voyage, had ſuch difficulties to be introduced to Henry, that his brother Chriſtopher, deſpairing of ſucceſs in England, applied to the court of Spain. In the mean while Bartholomew, having publiſhed a ſpecimen of his genius in a Map of the World, which he projected, had admittance to Henry, who was not at all averſe to commune with him, and actually entered into an agreement about employing his brother Chriſtopher in the propoſed diſcovery: But Henry's frugal caution, his deſire to be fully informed, and to be himſelf maſter of the ſubject, and the affairs of ſtate which employed his head, ſeem to have occaſioned ſuch a delay in the execution, that Chriſtopher Columbus actually agreed with the court of Spain; and in Auguſt, ſet out upon thoſe diſcoveries which he made, and which (whether for the happineſs or detriment of mankind, we ſhall not determine) are now ſo greatly improved.

Henry, however, let few opportunities ſlip of encouraging the adventuring ſpirit of diſcovery, as the ſureſt means of upholding that taſte for commerce, which was to aſſure treaſure to his ſubjects and himſelf. On the fifth of March, 1497, he granted a licence to John Cabot, a Venetian, and Ludovic, Sebaſtian, and Sancho, his ſons, to ſail with five ſhips, under Engliſh colours, for diſcovering new iſlands or countries. Henry ſeems, when he granted this licence, not to have been himſelf engaged in the expence of fitting out theſe ſhips, for there is no limitation either as to their burden or number of ſeamen who were to go on board. Fabian ſays, that Cabot promiſed to diſcover a very rich iſland; and we are told by other writers, that the king afterwards was an adventurer himſelf, by cauſing a ſhip to be fitted out at Briſtol, to which the London merchants added three or four more; but this expedition did not take place till next year; and Cabot's ſcheme ſeems to have been to find out a north-weſt paſſage to the Indies, which he actually attempted, and, after making ſeveral valuable diſcoveries, he ſailed down to Cape Florida, and returned richly laden to England, where he was knighted by Henry. It is obſervable that Henry, in the licence he gives for this expedition, provides that Cabot ſhould, beſides the ordinary cuſtoms and tolls, pay the crown a fifth of all his nett gains. Thus Cabot in effect was the firſt that diſcovered the continent of America; for neither Americus or Columbus knew any thing of it at this time.

Upon Cabot's return, and report of the diſcoveries he had made on the continent of America, from whence he brought with him three ſavages, Henry was more than ever prompted to improve theſe beginnings: he knighted Cabot as a reward for his labours and ſucceſs, and invited ſeveral merchants and others to enter into engagements with the crown for peopling and cultivating, under the royal patent, the diſcoveries which had been or might be made.

At the ſame time he confirmed a treaty with the city of Riga, very advantageous to the Engliſh nation; for by this treaty the citizens of Riga were obliged to cancel a debt of ten thouſand ſix hundred nobles, which was due to them from the crown of England, upon condition that Henry ſhould reſtore them to the liberty of trading to his coaſts. Henry likewiſe this year revived his treaties of commerce, upon very advantageous terms, with the ſubjects of the archduke.

Not long after the return of Cabot from his American expedition, letters patent were granted by Henry to James Elliot and Thomas Aſhurſt, two merchants of Briſtol, and John Gonzales and Franciſco Fernandez, two ſubjects of the crown of Portugal, to ſail with as many ſhips, and of what burden they pleaſed, under Engliſh colours, for making new diſcoveries: but there is in this charter an expreſs proviſion that they ſhall not enter upon any

lands or territories poſſeſſed by the king of Portugal, or any of Henry's allies. It may be likewiſe proper to obſerve, that the contractors had power to puniſh all outrages committed by their crews and coloniſts, and particularly all rapes of women, inhabitants of the diſcovered countries. By another article, it is provided that no native of England ſhall, for forty years, preſume to trade to any country diſcovered by the ſaid undertakers, without the king's and their ſpecial leave: if, when the forty years are expired, any ſuch trade ſhould be carried on without the licence as aforeſaid, the contraveners are to forfeit ſhip and cargo, one half to the king, and the other half to the proprietors. It is farther provided, that every maſter of a ſhip ſhall have liberty of importing from the ſaid diſcovered countries four hogſheads duty free; a quarter-maſter two, and a ſailor one hogſhead, for their own uſe.

In the year 1505, the twentieth of this king's reign, we find the firſt charter granted for incorporating and eſtabliſhing "the merchants trading in woollen cloth of all kinds to the Netherlands, by the ſtyle of the Fellowſhip of Merchants Adventurers of England." By this charter they had authority given them to hold courts and marts at Calais, provided that they exacted no more than ten marks of any merchant whatever for his freedom in this fellowſhip for trading to Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Zealand, &c. and alſo enjoining all merchants adventurers to come into the freedom of this fellowſhip.

We ſhall now cloſe this article with an obſervation of the rate of living in theſe times, compared with that in our days. The Chronicon Pretioſum ſays, that hay was, in the year 1505, eight ſhillings per load, but that it had been uſually five ſhillings per load; yet the year following it was at ten and twelve ſhillings per load. This ſeems nearly to correſpond with the proportion of wheat, &c. in thoſe days to the ſame in our own times, viz ſtill nearly about one to five; for by the preceding plentiful ſeaſons (ſays Stowe, ſub anno 1499), wheat was ſo low as four ſhillings (i. e. ſix ſhillings of our money) per quarter; bay-ſalt about two ſhillings per quarter; and a tun of Gaſcon wine, two pounds: ſo that ſuppoſing, very probably, the mean or moderate price of wheat to be now eight ſhillings per quarter, or twelve ſhillings of modern money, this brings it to the proportion of three one-third to one in our days, forty ſhillings per quarter being (if every other neceſſary were as cheap) about the moderate price of wheat at our time.

Engraved for
MORTIMER's
History of England.

S. Wale delin.t

C. Grignion Sculp.

HENRY VIII.

BRITISH
9 JA 65
MUSE

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

FROM

The Acceſſion of King HENRY VIII. to the Union of the Two Kingdoms of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND, under JAMES I.

PART IX.

HENRY VIII. The ſecond King of ENGLAND of the Line of TUDOR. A. D. 1509.

FEW princes have made a more conſiderable figure in hiſtory, than the monarch whoſe remarkable reign we are now entering upon: he aſcended the throne with every advantage that nature and fortune could poſſibly give him. Amiable in his perſon and addreſs, in the flower of youth, bleſſed with uncommon talents, and poſſeſſed of immenſe treaſures, he ſaw himſelf, at eighteen years of age, at the head of a flouriſhing kingdom, where the arts and ſciences wanted only a liberal benefactor to promote their progreſs; and the public tranquility being ſecured by an honourable peace and by powerful alliances, his people had already formed great expectations from his diſtinguiſhed abilities, not doubting that he would ſo employ his great wealth as to make the pleaſing arts of peace univerſally ſucceſsful, and, by rewarding ingenuity and induſtry, free them from the cruel oppreſſions they had ſuffered in the preceding reign, to gratify the odious paſſion of avarice, one of the moſt deteſtable that can poſſeſs the mind of a great prince. In fact, they were not diſappointed; for the young monarch was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than he ſhewed himſelf the reverſe of his father, by a liberality of temper which bordered on profuſion; but was fundamentally beneficial to his ſubjects, though, in particular inſtances, his generoſity was miſapplied.

His education, by order of his father, before the death of his brother Arthur, was certainly in a great meaſure eccleſiaſtic; from whence ſome have concluded, that the king intended, as Arthur was married, and there was no proſpect of his ſucceeding to the crown, to have brought him up for the church: this circumſtance is very immaterial, and not worthy the attention that has been paid it, much leſs the diſputes it has occaſioned; it is certain, however, that he very early imbibed a taſte for polite learning, and for theology in particular, which he cultivated ever after with peculiar attention, beſtowing the cloſeſt application, whenever he had leiſure from public affairs, on this particular ſcience: and whoever examines his conduct with candour, will find that to this turn of mind is to be aſcribed all his public meaſures with reſpect to religion, and not to his quarrel with the pope concerning his divorce from Catherine of Arragon, which, after all the pains that has been taken to repreſent it as the firſt cauſe of his ſhaking off the papal yoke, will appear, to the impartial, no other than a favourable opportunity which the king readily embraced, to carry into execution a reformation which the hiſtory of former reigns had ſhewn him the neceſſity of, and which a prince of his political abilities could not read but with abhorrence, and an ardent deſire to free his people from the cruel impoſitions of a foreign eccleſiaſtical tyrant. This being premiſed, we purſue the thread of our hiſtory.

After the interment of Henry VII. with uncommon funeral pomp, in the ſtately mauſoleum he had erected in his life-time, in his own chapel in Weſtminſter abbey, the firſt prudent action which did honour to the judgment of the young monarch,

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was his continuing his father's miniſters and counſellors in their offices. The board was compoſed of the following perſons, William Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury and lord-chancellor of England; Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, ſecretary and lord privy-ſeal; Thomas Howard, earl of Surry, lord-treaſurer, ſon of the duke of Norfolk, ſlain in the battle of Boſworth-field, fighting for Richard III. George Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, lord-ſteward of the king's houſhold; Thomas Ruthal, doctor of laws; ſir Edward Poynings, knight of the Garter, comptroller, whoſe name is ſtill famous for a ſtatute of his in Ireland, in the former reign; ſir Charles Somerſet, lord Herbert of Gower, Chepſtow, and Ragland, lord-chamberlain; ſir Thomas Lovel, maſter of the wards and conſtable of the Tower; ſir Henry Wyat; ſir Henry Marney, afterwards lord Marney; ſir Thomas Darcy, afterwards lord Darcy. Theſe the lord Herbert, in his Hiſtory of Henry VIII. tells us were ſelected out of thoſe the late king had moſt truſted, by the counteſs of Richmond, grand-mother to the young monarch. But though Henry, as being little experienced in the ways of government, was pleaſed to make uſe at firſt of thoſe who had been at the head of affairs in his father's life-time, yet it is to be obſerved, that when theſe grew over-bearing and inſolent, preſuming too much on the king's youth and inexperience in affairs of government, he ſoon convinced them that by continuing his father's ſervants he did not intend to make himſelf ſo many maſters, and diſmiſſed them with the ſame good policy that he at firſt continued them.

The late king, on his death-bed, had ſigned a general amneſty, but with ſome exceptions: this was publiſhed ſoon after his interment, but, to the great joy and ſatisfaction of the people, Dudley and Empſon, the two grand inſtruments of oppreſſion in the late reign were excluded, and a proclamation was iſſued, inviting the people to prefer complaints againſt them; ſo that in a ſhort time there appeared ſufficient evidence of their grievous extortions, and they were ſummoned to attend the privy-council, when Empſon made a defence, wherein he threw the whole blame upon the late king, inſiſting that they had only obeyed his orders. Though this was true in fact, yet it was not conſidered, even in theſe early days of liberty, as any extenuation of their offence; but the letter of the law not expreſsly condemning them as felons for this ſpecies of extortion, the council were obliged to commit them to the Tower, and determine on a freſh accuſation, which was that of a treaſonable conſpiracy againſt the new king, upon which they were tried and condemned, but without ſuch ſufficient evidence of their crime as the law, in ſuch caſes, requires: indeed, the whole foundation of a charge which was ſwelled into high-treaſon appears by the teſtimony of the beſt hiſtorians to have been this, "That, conſcious of the popular odium they had incurred by their unjuſt proceedings, they had ſummoned their friends, when they found the late king was on the his death-bed, to conſult them on the neceſſary meaſures to be taken to ſecure them from the public reſentment." Theſe meaſures were conſtrued into a conſpiracy to ſeize the perſon of the new king, and to take up arms in defence of themſelves and their party. On the ſuppoſition of this abſurd and improbable conſpiracy they were condemned to die; but their execution was delayed till the following year, 1510, when the executors of the late king having diſcovered ſome very flagrant acts of oppreſſion, made reſtitution to the injured parties; and theſe tranſactions being made public, the people were ſo incenſed againſt them, that the king ordered their immediate execution.

The ſeizing of theſe wicked miniſters, and the proceedings againſt them, fully engaged the attention of the common people; but the court had a more important queſtion to canvas, which required the matureſt deliberation, and the moſt able advice. This was no leſs than "Whether the king ſhould conſummate his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, to whom he was ſolemnly contracted?" But it muſt be obſerved, that the king, when prince of Wales, at the age of fourteen, had proteſted againſt any conſent on his part to this contract, made for him by his father in his nonage; and this proteſtation was made in the preſence of ſufficient witneſſes, but was kept a profound ſecret for many years after the period we are now conſidering: it is neceſſary to mention it here, becauſe it appears probable that Henry VII. whoſe motive to this contract was avarice, had ſome ſcruples concerning the legality of the contract in point of proximity.

The council which decided this grand queſtion conſiſted of the late king's miniſters and counſellors, and amongſt theſe was Fox, biſhop of Winchester, a zealous prelate, violently bigotted to the papal authority: his opinion greatly contributed to determine the king and council in favour of Catherine; for when Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, urged that a man's marrying his brother's widow was contrary to the Levitical law, and that the pope's diſpenſation, though obtained, was invalid, as being inſufficient to cancel a poſitive law of God; Fox, who regarded only the political convenience attending this match, oppoſed to this argument the unlimited authority of Chriſt's vicar, and told the king, that it ought to ſatisfy his conſcience that the pope had granted the diſpenſation. To this idle ſophiſtry he added ſome arguments founded in ſound policy, and which ſhewed him an able ſtateſman: he repreſented the danger of forcing Ferdinand into a league with France, and the two monarchs joining to reſent the affront offered to the king of Arragon by ſending back his daughter, after ſhe had been ſo long affianced to Henry; and, what is very remakable, which we ſhall have occaſion to mention again, when we come to the proceedings for the divorce, the biſhop, after enlarging on the amiable qualities of Catherine, aſſured the king, that there was no doubt of her being ſtill a virgin, for that ſhe had offered to ſubmit to the uſual deciſion of a jury of matrons, for the confirmation of this point. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, finding that the king and council inclined to the opinion of the biſhop of Winchester, gave up the point reſpecting the validity of the diſpenſation, and the king ſoon after conſummated this marriage, which afterwards engaged the attention of all the courts of Europe *.

* The council determined this weighty affair on the third of June, 1509; they were married the ſeventh, and crowned the twenty-fourth of the ſame month. On this occaſion the king created ſir Edward Howard ſtandard-bearer of England.

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As Henry was very young, newly married, and fond of pleaſure, he gave little attention to the affairs of government; and the nation enjoying a profound peace, the internal policy of the ſtate was well preſerved by the vigilance and experience of the ancient miniſters and of the council; while the king ſpent his whole time in ſuch pleaſures and amuſements as were then in vogue; and to procure him theſe, no coſt was ſpared. This the biſhop of Wincheſter could not bear, without complaining to the earl of Surry, the lord high-treaſurer, and expoſtulating with him on his great change of conduct; whereas in the late reign he was reckoned more parſimonious than the king himſelf, he now readily gave into his new maſter's extravagancies, and encouraged him in all his profuſion. The prudent prelate finding his remonſtrances ineffectual, that his murmurings gave diſguſt, and judging that his diſmiſſion would ſoon follow, artfully contrived to preſerve his intereſt at court, when his credit ſhould be totally loſt, and perſonal attendance withdrawn: for this purpoſe he introduced at court the famous Dr. Thomas Wooliey, as almoner to the king's houſhold; a place which the biſhop ſtill had credit to procure him, eſpecially as he could plead his former ſervices; for having recommended him, in the late reign to ſir Thomas Lovel, in the ſame capacity, he was by his means employed in negociating the marriage of Henry VII. and Margaret, ducheſs of Savoy, upon which occaſion, though he gave a convincing proof of his talent, he was not however, conſidered as yet in any other light than that of a riſing churchman.

This young clergyman, ſet up by the biſhop of Wincheſter as a proper ſpy to watch the motions of the earl of Surry, who had brought on the prelate's diſgrace, afterwards made as conſpicuous a figure in the eyes of Europe, as Henry himſelf.

The moſt remarkable public events during the firſt year of this reign were the renewal of the treaties concluded between Henry VII. and the king of Scotland, and between the emperor Maximilian and the king of England, which were ratified and confirmed about the middle of this year; about the ſame time, Henry having nominated Chriſtopher Bambridge to the archbiſhopric of York, that prelate went to Rome to ſolicit the pope's confirmation of his election, where the king continued him in the character of his ambaſſador, to watch the motions of pope Julius II. a pontiff of a daring and enterpriſing genius, who was on the point of entering into a confederacy with the moſt powerful princes of Europe, with a view to recover ſome dominions which the republic of Venice had ſeized from the Eccleſiaſtic State, in the time of his predeceſſors.

The emperor Maximilian, Lewis XII. king of France, and duke of Milan, Ferdinand king of Arragon and Naples, and the duke of Ferrara, had all much the ſame complaints and the ſame pretexts to engage them in a league againſt the Venetians, who by force and policy had increaſed their domains at the expence of each of theſe princes, and were now become ſo formidable that no one power in Europe durſt attack them ſeparately: each therefore, with a view to recover what he pretended was his juſt right, and to add to it the ſpoils of conqueſt, engaged ſecretly to aſſiſt the reſt; and this ſhameful confederacy was ratified by treaties ſigned at Cambray, from whence it became cuſtomary in hiſtory to call this infamous piece of treachery, perfidy, and cowardice, the famous League of Cambray. The better to deceive the unſuſpecting republic, it was pretended that the congreſs at Cambray was only held for ſettling a difference amicably between the emperor, as guardian to Charles of Auſtria, and the duke of Gueldres; but as this artifice ſoon loſt its effect, a treaty of perpetual peace was ſigned and publiſhed, between the pope, Lewis XII. the emperor, and Ferdinand; and this was declared to be the end of the congreſs; while at the ſame time, the ſecret treaty againſt the Venetians was ſigned, and, in a very ſhort time after, ſuddenly carried into execution. For juſt before the death of Henry VII. namely in the beginning of April, 1509, Lewis took the field with a powerful army, and, entering the territories of the republic on the ſide of Milan, in a ſhort ſpace of time made himſelf maſter of Cremona and five other capital cities, after having routed the army of the Venetians, undiſciplined, and collected in haſte, under the command of count Petigliano: this ſucceſs of the French ſo intimidated the towns ſituated on the Iſtria, which the republic had taken from the empire, that they ſubmitted to Maximilian: at the ſame time the pope's army fell upon la Romagna, and reduced its cities to the obedience of the holy ſee: the duke of Ferrara recovered Rovigo; and Ferdinand paid off an old debt by recovering the five maritime towns in the kingdom of Naples, which had been mortgaged to the Venetians, who in one campaign were diſpoſſeſſed of their extenſive territories, and reduced to the ſingle city of Venice and its dependencies. It is true Ferdinand alone had not tried his ſtrength againſt them, but when they were ſo reduced by the other confederates as to be obliged to ſue to the pope for pardon and peace, they were obliged to offer Ferdinand the five maritime towns, in order to draw him off from the league.

Lewis having accompliſhed his views, withdrew his army and returned to France, only ſending off a detachment to ſupport the emperor, who had not men enough to garriſon the places that had ſubmitted to him: in the mean time the Venetians made their peace with the pope; and the emperor having made an unſucceſsful attempt on Padua, he retired to Germany, and ſent home the French general; by which conduct the republic enjoyed a ſhort truce, and had time to continue their negociations with his holineſs, already grown jealous of the union between the emperor and the king of France, and apprehending more danger to the eccleſiaſtical territories from theſe powerful princes than from the once flouriſhing republic of Venice, and imagining there was a private treaty between them to get poſſeſſion of all Italy, he formed the project of breaking the league of Cambray, of diſuniting the powers engaged in it, of forming an alliance with the Venetians on certain conditions, of engaging the king of England in his intereſts, and of fomenting a quarrel between the emperor and the king of France.

Whilſt Julius was imployed in forming theſe projects, the parliament of England aſſembled, on the twenty-firſt of January, 1510, when the firſt care of the commons was to repreſent ſeveral grievances, occaſioned by the rigour of ſome ſtatutes in force, which gave too great a power to the miniſters of the crown to oppreſs the people,

even under the protection of the law: these were so mitigated and explained in this parliament, as to prevent all abuses of them by future ministers. During this session of parliament, Lewis sent ambassadors to London, to renew the treaties made with the late king, which the young monarch and his ministers had neglected, though, by the tenor of the treaty of Estaples, on the death of Henry VII. it was his successor's business to apply for the renewal of this treaty. Lewis overlooked this omission, and fearing, as Henry was a young and sprightly prince, he might be engaged in some enterprize against his dominions, either by the persuasions of the pope or the emperor, he ordered his ambassadors to conclude a new treaty with him, without mentioning former treaties: by the present it was agreed, "that the peace between the two king's should last till the death of one of them; that it should be ratified by the parliament of England and the states general of France; and that the pope's approbation should be obtained, with a sentence of excommunication against the first violator of the treaty*."

In the mean the pope was maturating his plan, first against Lewis, and afterwards against the emperor, in case he should not bring him over to his party: his first care was to endeavour to excite all the states of Europe against France; and, in order to engage our young monarch in his favour, he bestowed on him this year a most singular mark of apostolical favour: he sent him a consecrated golden rose, which the popes used to present only to their most favourite princes; and Ferdinand having at length taken the pope's party, proposed an artful treaty of alliance with his son-in-law, the king of England, which he had reason to expect would, by its consequences, draw him into a war against France; for in this treaty which was concluded and signed at London on the twenty-fourth of May, 1510, it was expressly stipulated, "That in case either Henry or Ferdinand should be attacked by any prince whatever, the other should be obliged to declare war against him, though he should then be his ally: and that if either was attacked by the king of France, the other should be obliged to take the field against him in person."

This treaty reflects great dishonour on the ministers of Henry, who had just concluded a new treaty with Lewis, which secured their master from any attacks from France, consequently there could be no necessity for providing for a danger there was no reason to apprehend, by a treaty wholly in favour of Ferdinand, and likely to engage the nation in an unnecessary foreign quarrel; but the English court at this period was wholly taken up with pleasure and amusement, which would not admit of leisure to deliberate and weigh every article of a treaty.

In the midst of the general dissipation of the court, when each was vying with another in the magnificence of carousals, Wolsey was privately forming the plan of his future grandeur. He already began to attract the king's favour, and was this year promoted to the deanery of Lincoln, and to this was added a present of a country-house, which had fallen to the king by the confiscation of the estate of Empson, lately beheaded: but it certainly is an error to rank Wolsey amongst the ministry at this period †, for it is no where asserted, that he was even of the king's council; nor is it probable that if Wolsey had been in power, he would have made so bad a use of his political abilities, as to have given his consent to so weak a treaty as that concluded with Ferdinand, the consequences of which will soon appear, as we must return to the affairs of Italy, which are intimately interwoven with those of England, throughout the major part of this reign.

The pope's plan being ripe for execution, he quarrelled with Lewis XII. on the most frivolous pretext, by disposing of a vacant bishopric in Provence, without asking the king's consent. Lewis complained of this proceeding: the pope insisting strenuously upon his apostolical authority, and Lewis standing up as stifly for his independence, this produced an open rupture; the pope now openly declared the league he had entered into with the Venetians, and sent his orders to the duke of Ferrara to renounce the league of Cambray and join with him. But the duke refused to comply with his commands, and continued steady to the king of France; this gave Julius a handle to interdict him and confiscate his duchy: and, that his intention might be the better known, he refused the tribute which the duke offered, as usual, for the fief of Ferrara, held of the see of Rome.

Ferdinand, in order to support the pope's interest, to whom he had united himself, used all his endeavours at this time to draw Henry from his alliance with Lewis, who all this time never suspected the Arragonian prince, but concluded, from the repeated assurances of his ambassador, that he still firmly adhered to the treaty of Cambray.

While Ferdinand was thus working in secret, the pope stirred up a new enemy against France, by engaging the bishop of Sion, who was in great credit with the Swiss, to set them at variance with Lewis, by demanding an augmentation of their subsidy: on Lewis's refusal, and entering into an alliance with the Grisons, their enemies, they immediately fell into the bishop of Sion's measures, and, in a diet at Lucerne, resolved to declare for the pope, and to send an army into the duchy of Milan.

The pope carried on these negociations with so much privacy and expedition, that Lewis, when he found the papal army was in the field, imagined it was designed to act solely against the duke of Ferrara, and therefore he only sent orders to his general, Chaumont, governor of Milan, to support the duke in case of an attack: but soon after, the Venetian fleet, in conjunction with the pope's forces, making an unsuccessful attempt to surprize Genoa, his eyes were immediately opened to the grand designs that were forming against him by Julius, in conjunction with Ferdinand and the Venetians, and therefore lost no time in sending fresh instructions to the governor of Milan. Chaumont received his new orders very seasonably, for hearing that the pope was arrived at Bologna, and intended to lay siege to Ferrara as soon as the reinforcements he expected should arrive, he resolved to surprize him, and accordingly departed from Milan, at the head of a powerful army, and, if he had not suffered himself to be amused by treating with the pope's envoys, in all probability he would

* It was signed at London, on the twenty-third of March, 1510.

† See Smollett's History, Hen. VIII.

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have put an end to all the projects of this enterprizing pontiff; but, while he was busy in hearing proposals, some Venetian troops had time to throw themselves into the castle, and Chaumont not being prepared for a regular siege, was obliged to retreat.

The pope loudly complained of this pretended insult, and ordered his ministers to expatiate largely thereon in every court of Europe, but particularly at London, in order to engage Henry to espouse his cause: he also excommunicated all the French officers; and soon after made a second attempt, in conjunction with the Venetian fleet, upon Genoa, but without success: and the Swiss army, that was to enter the Milanese, under the conduct of the bishop of Sion, finding the passes into that country well defended, and not being paid by the pope according to agreement, dispersed and returned home.

Lewis at last, having tried every means to obtain a reconciliation with the pope, and finding all his proposals were rejected, determined no longer to keep any measures with him; and therefore forming a new alliance with the emperor, he afterwards assembled a synod at Tours, that he might have the sanction of their authority for his future conduct. The synod determined, that Lewis should offer fresh terms of reconciliation to his holiness; and that, in case of a refusal, he might attack him with a safe conscience. This decree obtained, and Julius still refusing to come to an accommodation, Lewis concluded a second treaty with the emperor, whereby it was resolved to summon a general council to meet at Pisa, in order to depose Julius; and for this purpose they gained over nine cardinals, who agreed to call the council in their names.

At the same time the French king published his complaints against Ferdinand of Arragon, for his behaviour in assisting the pope; but Ferdinand defended himself by maintaining, that, in quality of vassal to the see of Rome, he was bound to protect the pope's person and dominions; that he did not consider the disputes between France and the pope, but only firmly adhered to the articles of the treaty of Cambray.

While things were in this situation, Henry of England was revelling in pleasures, which, however, received some little damp in the beginning of the year 1511, by the queen being brought to bed of a son in January, which died the following month; and it was soon after this event that Henry first saw himself under a necessity of attending to the important affair of Italy; and, with an impetuosity of temper equal to his want of judgment and experience, allured by the charms of conquest, he blindly embraced the artful proposals of Ferdinand who, to engage him the more readily to enter into the confederacy against France, promised to assist him in the recovery of Guienne, which had formerly belonged to the crown of England; and while a treaty for this purpose was negociating at London, Henry endeavoured to maintain a good understanding with the king of Scotland, appointing ministers to settle all differences between them; but a singular event gave rise to a fresh disagreement, and finally determined James to support Lewis against the confederates, and to oppose all Henry's measures. The subject of this quarrel between England and Scotland was the taking of a Scots vessel which had committed some acts of piracy in the British Channel, seizing and destroying all Portuguese ships that passed that way, in revenge for the murder of a private person (one John Barton, a Scots merchant), by the Portuguese, an act which that government by no means authorized; and yet James had the imprudence, on account of this transaction, to grant commissions to the son of the deceased (whom he also knighted by the name of sir Andrew Barton), for equipping two large frigates to cruise in the British channel, and obstruct the trade between Portugal and England. The ambassador of Portugal complained loudly of this insult at the court of London; and Henry thereupon ordered out two ships of superior force, under the command of sir Thomas and sir Edward Howard, to fight the Scottish pirate. They met, and an engagement ensued, in which Barton was slain, and his ship taken. The king of Scotland demanded restitution and satisfaction, for what he termed a breach of treaties; but Henry alleging that pirates were not entitled to the law of nations, James in return vowed revenge.

This affair gave Henry a fair opportunity of arraying the militia of the kingdom to prepare against an invasion from Scotland, while in reality he was meditating a war against France. On the other hand, the king of Arragon, afraid to push matters too far at once, represented to Henry his ardent desire to continue the war he was engaged in against the Moors, and desired a succour of a thousand English archers, which were immediately sent him, under the conduct of sir Thomas Darcy. Having received this aid, he plainly discovered his intentions by employing it, and the rest of his forces, against France, and not against the Moors as he had pretended.

At the same time the ambassadors from the Venetians at London, and the archbishop of York, Henry's ambassador at Rome, who had lately obtained a cardinal's hat, so strongly pressed the king and council to engage in the league against France, that at length they prevailed; and Henry, forgetting the ties of honour and equity, renounced his late alliance with France, and impoliticly entered into the selfish views of the pope and Ferdinand. Lewis, though unacquainted with the transactions between the kings of England and Arragon, yet had a suspicion that the pope was secretly forming alliances, and that he had some more extensive plan in view than the conquest of Ferrara; and knowing that he could gain little or nothing by a war with the haughty pontiff, while on the other hand he had much to lose, he determined to attempt once more a reconciliation: to this end he made him some condescending proposals by Chaumont, his general, while he lay before Mirandola; but Julius, knowing how strongly he was supported, rejected them with disdain, and continued the siege till the town surrendered.

The king of France finding his holiness would not listen to any terms of accommodation, ordered Chaumont to lose no farther time in fruitless parleys, but at all events to support the duke of Ferrara. The French general, accordingly, by forced marches, though in the depth of winter, joined the last-mentioned prince. This seasonable activity so disconcerted the pope and Ferdinand, that, though their forces were superior to those of the French, yet they durst not order an attack; and the pope, in order to fix Maximilian on his side,

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put into his hands the important city of Modena, which Chaumont was preparing to beſiege; and from this time the emperor appears to be greatly eſtranged from the cauſe of France. The king of Arragon, however, ſtill diſſembled with Lewis, and would not declare againſt him till he was quite ſure of Henry; and, to gain time, while the ſecret treaty was finiſhing at London, he affected to be well diſpoſed to peace, and propoſed a congreſs at Mantua. All parties having agreed, the congreſs was opened, but with no other view on the part of the allies than to amuſe the French king, whoſe forces were victorious, while they were ſecretly ſtrengthening the confederacy by the acquiſition of Henry. Thus was Lewis overpowered by ſtratagem, at a time when his army, flushed with ſucceſs, and dreaded by the allies, might have made its way through the whole Eccleſiaſtical State, and have reduced the pope to the laſt extremity. At length, however, he ordered the marſhal de Trivulcé, who had ſucceeded Chaumont, lately deceaſed, to fall upon the enemy by ſurprize: Trivulcé accordingly ſurprized and took Concordia, at the very time when, by conſent of the emperor and Ferdinand the ſummons was publiſhed for calling the council of Piſa, in order to depoſe the pope; and afterwards by continual marches he came up with the army of the allies, and offered them battle, but in vain; he then reſolved to approach Bologna, where the pope was in perſon, with a view to engage the inhabitans to riſe in favour of the family of Bentivoglio, who had been formerly ſovereigns of Bologna. The pope on his approach retired to Ravenna, leaving his prime miniſter to take care of the city. He was no ſooner gone than the inhabitants, agreeable to Trivulcé's expectations, raiſed a tumult, obliged the cardinal de Pavia, the pope's agent to fly, and reſtored the government of the city to the Bentivoglios; while this was tranſacting, the army of the allies approached the gates, and finding the pope and the cardinal were fled, they followed the example; and the citizens and peaſants ſallying out, entire ſtripped their camp, which rendered the army unfit for ſervice during that campaign. The cowardly cardinal was ſtabbed by the duke d'Urbino, his nephew; while his holineſs had the ſenſible mortification of returning to Rome, attended only by a few domeſtics, and of ſeeing the placards for holding the council of Piſa, in which his character was ſeverely handled, ſtuck up in all the towns and villages through which he paſſed.

The duke of Ferrara, improving the favourable juncture, eaſily recovered his dominions; and it was generally imagined that Lewis would ſoon become maſter of Rome. Inſtead of this, through ſcruple of conſcience, being urged by the queen not to oppoſe the church too far, he ordered Trivulcé to retire to Milan; and the pope now ſaw himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of propoſing an accommodation to Lewis, who readily agreed to his terms, which were rather thoſe of a conqueror than of a vanquiſhed prince: but while the emperor's conſent (which Lewis inſiſted on) was obtaining to this accommodation, his holineſs received the welcome news that Ferdinand's fleet, deſtined to aſſiſt him, was arrived at Naples, and immediately altered his meaſures, demanding ſuch freſh conceſſions from Lewis, as left him no room to doubt that his whole aim in this negociation was to gain time. This prevarication highly exaſperated the king of France, who immediately ordered his general to ſend ſtrong detachments to Bologna, and firmly to ſupport the Bentivoglios; he alſo added a reinforcement to the emperor's troops in the ſtate of Venice, and took every precaution to prevent a ſurprize by Ferdinand, whom he now regarded as his declared enemy. The pope, on the other hand, having advice that Ferdinand had nearly gained over the king of England, determined to ſummon a general council, in oppoſition to that of Piſa; accordingly he publiſhed a bull for holding a council at the Lateran, at Rome, on the nineteenth of April, 1512, whereas that of Piſa was ſummoned for the firſt of September, 1511; ſo that the ſubſequent council of the Lateran was contrived to annul the proceedings of that held at Piſa.

The affairs of Italy now remained in a very perplexed ſituation: the pope and the Venetians only were at open war with Lewis XII. while Ferdinand and the pope had promiſed ſecretly to aſſiſt each other againſt France, yet waited for the junction of Henry, and in the mean time miſtruſted a ſeparate accommodation with Lewis.

At length Ferdinand, being moſt ſuſpicious of an accommodation between France and the pope, ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of openly avowing his intentions, and accordingly he ſent his whole armament, which he pretended was deſtined for Africa, to Naples, and declared that he would defend the church againſt the inſults of Lewis; and ſoon after Henry promiſed to enter into this unjuſt confederacy; as for the emperor he remained quiet at Inſpruck, neither abſolutely forſaking Lewis his ally, nor yet acting agreeable to treaty againſt the confederates, but ſeemed determined to wait the event, and take part with the moſt powerful. While this was tranſacting, the cardinals who were in oppoſition to the pope, appointed commiſſioners to open the council of Piſa, and though this was only for form ſake, that the appointed day of opening it might be obſerved, yet the pope was ſo enraged at it, that he excommunicated the Florentines and Piſans, and put the cities of Milan and Piſa under an interdict; which only haſtened the actual aſſembly and ſitting of that council for the diſpatch of buſineſs on the fourth of November; and on the eleventh following, Ferdinand having by his ſecret negociations, at length fixed the court of London in the pope's intereſt; it was agreed, that Henry and himſelf ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to the court of France, to demand a ceſſation of all hoſtilities againſt Julius, and to declare in caſe of refuſal, that, as became Chriſtian princes, they would ſupport the cauſe of the church. Lewis having been long prepared for this rupture, returned an anſwer becoming his dignity, and loudly inveighed againſt the perfidious conduct of Henry and Ferdinand; and ſoon after, viz. on the fourth of October, 1511, a league was concluded at Rome by the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians, and ſpaces were left in the league to be filled up by the king of England's miniſter at Rome; but he was ordered not to accede to the treaty at this time, the court of London expecting to obtain ſome ſecret articles from the pope in favour of England; but a circumſtance happened in the interim, which prevented all farther delay, and engaged Henry to ſign the league without waiting for any better terms for his own kingdom: for John d'Albret,

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king of Navarre, being in ſtrict alliance with France, declared for the council of Piſa, which furniſhed the king of Arragon with a pretext for depriving him of his kingdom; and the better to put this deſign in execution, he repreſented to Henry, that this was a favourable opportunity for recovering and reſtoring to the crown of England the province of Guienne, which had formerly belonged to the Engliſh, and he generouſly promiſed to furniſh the neceſſary troops and ammunition, to ſave Henry the expence of tranſporting them from England. Deceived by this offer, and the too common ambition of ſovereigns, the hopes of extending his dominions, the Engliſh monarch entered into the league, which by good policy he ought to have avoided, not only as the peace lately renewed with France was a very advantageous one for England, but as, by diverting the arms of that kingdom and turning them againſt Italy, he was ſecured in the quiet poſſeſſion of his own kingdom, which had been continually expoſed to invaſions from France. The league at Rome being now ratified, in a ſhort time a ſeparate treaty of alliance was ſigned at London between Ferdinand and Henry, in the preamble to which they very indecently and unjuſtly accuſe Lewis "of impiety, and repreſent him as a ſacrilegious perſon, who had violated the peace of the church, and waged a civil war againſt the vicar of Chriſt; and that, having attempted in vain to engage him to deſiſt from his cruel hoſtilities againſt the holy ſee, they had entered into a ſolemn league and alliance for the defence, exaltation, and increaſe of the catholic faith and of the holy Roman church, ſo unjuſtly oppreſſed: and for this purpoſe it was mutually agreed, that they ſhould diſtreſs the king of France by carrying war into Guienne, which ſhould be conquered for the king of England, to whom it juſtly belonged; that they ſhould adhere to the council of Lateran, and oppoſe that of Piſa and all its adherents; that neither king ſhould make peace without conſent of the other; that this treaty ſhould not cancel thoſe which the two princes had formerly concluded; and that it ſhould be ratified in four months *."

In this ſtate, with regard to England, ſtood affairs in the year 1511. Very little of importance then paſſed with relation to domeſtic concerns: Henry was chiefly employed in ſpending the money left him by his father, and in all the parade of magnificence. His favourite ſeat was Greenwich, and his chief companions were William Compton and Charles Brandon (the latter of whom was afterwards the famous duke of Suffolk), ſir Edward Howard, Edward Neville, Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorſet, with Bourchier, earl of Eſſex, and Courtney, earl of Devonſhire.

But before we cloſe the tranſactions of this year, it is neceſſary that we ſhould give ſome account of two expeditions ſet on foot from England, in the beginning of this year. Henry had granted an aſſiſtance of a thouſand archers to Ferdinand, to be employed againſt the Moors, and to be commanded by the lord Darcy, governor of Berwick. He alſo ſent ſir Edward Poynings, with a body of forces conſiſting of fifteen hundred men, who were to be employed by Margaret, ducheſs of Savoy, againſt the duke of Gueldres, in the Low Countries.

The lord Darcy embarking at Plymouth in the month of March, landed ſafe at Cales (or Cadiz), in Spain, where he was received by Ferdinand with great friendſhip and magnificence; but about the time he arrived, that prince had altered the deſtination of his troops, and was bent upon his Italian expedition. The lord Darcy received the declaration of this with no little diſſatisfaction, which communicating itſelf to the Engliſh ſoldiery, occaſioned ſome diſturbances in the town, and about the beginning of Auguſt the troops returned to England.

As to the forces under ſir Edward Poynings, they ſailed from Sandwich about April, and joined the French army at Bois le Duc. A few days after their arrival they had an opportunity of ſhewing their courage in ſeveral encounters and attacks of places; but the enemy keeping themſelves on the defenſive all the time the Engliſh were in that country, the latter, as ſoon as the time limited for their ſervice expired, deſired and obtained leave to return home, which they did about the middle of October, with the loſs of above one hundred men.

On the fourth day of February, 1512, the parliament of England ſat: at the opening of the ſeſſions a very plauſible ſpeech was made in behalf of the king, with regard to the part he had taken in the preſent diſturbances of Europe. Perhaps the members were not inſenſible of the error in politics which he and his council had committed; but as the honour of the nation was now engaged, and as the public entertained a very high opinion of Henry, the commons granted him a handſome ſupply, and the clergy did the ſame.

Thus ſtrengthened, the king, upon the riſing of the parliament, entered into ſerious deliberation with his council, on the beſt methods for proſecuting with vigour the war againſt France; and Silveſter, biſhop of Worceſter, and ſir Robert Wingfield, being ſent as ambaſſadors to the council of Lateran; the next meaſure reſolved upon, was concerning the operations of the approaching campaign, by ſea and land. Sir Edward Howard, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Surry, had, upon ſeveral occaſions, given great proofs of his abilities in the ſea-ſervice, and was therefore appointed lord high admiral of England.

The indenture entered into between the king and the admiral on this occaſion is very particular, and affords us great light as to the manner of fitting out fleets at this time; the reader therefore cannot be diſpleaſed at ſeeing in the note † a part of this indenture, eſpecially as very few hiſtorians have given any particular account of the ſtate of the

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 310, &c.

† I. Beſides three thouſand men, armed for ſea-war, there were to be ſeven hundred ſoldiers, mariners, and gunners, in the ſhip called the Regent. The above three thouſand men conſiſted of the eighteen captains of the Engliſh ſhips, ſeventeen hundred and fifty ſoldiers, and twelve hundred and thirty-two mariners and gunners.

II. The admiral to have, for the maintenance of himſelf in diet, and for wages and reward, ten ſhillings daily pay, during the voyage; and each captain one ſhilling and ſix pence per day, i. e. two ſhillings and ſeven pence of our modern money.

III. The ſoldiers, mariners, and gunners to have per month, or twenty eight days, five ſhillings wages, and five ſhillings more for victuals.

IV. The admiral undertakes to manage his armament for the before-named and following allowance, he receiving three months expence always beforehand. Item, for the coat of

the marine in these days. Indeed, from this year we may properly date the commencement of what may be called an English navy-royal, that is a number of stout ships for war actually belonging to, and permanently kept on foot by, the English crown for natural defence, Henry VIII. being the first English king who effectually pursued this plan, and for that end first established a royal navy-office, with commissioners, &c. nearly as at present: and, according to lord Herbert, the king built, in the preceding year, the largest ship ever known in England before; it was built at Woolwich, which place is said to have had the first or oldest royal dock of any place in England. This is the ship which in the indenture is called the Regent. The next year a magazine and store-house was first erected at Deptford, near London, which has since become a large town. But to return.

Every thing being now in readiness for the expedition, the marquis of Dorset was appointed general of the land forces, and had as officers under him, the three brothers John, Anthony, and Leonard Grey, the lord Thomas Howard, the lords Brooke, Willoughby, Ferrers, and Burford, sir Richard Cornwall, sir Maurice Berkeley, sir Griffith Rice or ap Rice, and many other persons of great distinction and courage.

But here I must observe, that Ferdinand acted with his usual policy and deceit; for when he first proposed the affair of Guienne to Henry, he promised to furnish him with troops and ammunition for the conquest; but after he found that Henry greedily swallowed the bait, he contrived in the late treaty to change these proposals, by agreeing to furnish only his quota of troops, and to provide forty transports and ammunition, provisions, &c. at a moderate price.

The fleet was got ready with such expedition, that in May following it put to sea, and landed the troops in the province of Guipuscoa in the middle of June. The English admiral, in his return, made some successful descents on the coast of Brittany; and Henry learning that Lewis had fitted out a powerful fleet, sent a reinforcement to Howard. Soon after the French fleet sailed from Brest, and met the English in the Channel, when a general engagement ensued, the decision of which was prevented by a most rash and desperate action of one of the captains of the French fleet, named Porsmoguere, who, being grappled by the great English ship the Regent*, and finding himself overpowered, madly set fire to his powder-room, which blew up both ships, by which every person on board them perished, to the amount of sixteen hundred. This dismal catastrophe so affected both parties, that the engagement ceased; the French retiring to Brest, and the English remaining in the Channel.

The marquis of Dorset being ignorant of Ferdinand's intentions, was surprized to find, that, instead of pursuing the conquest of Guienne, that prince gave such instructions to his general, the duke d'Alva, as plainly shewed his whole aim was to conquer Navarre for himself; for the Spanish general, instead of joining the English army, which was encamped near Fontarabia, with a design to besiege Bayonne in conjunction with Ferdinand's forces, as had been agreed, kept moving about the frontiers of Navarre; and Ferdinand sent to the English general, to acquaint him, that as the king of Navarre was supported by France, he thought it would not be adviseable to attack Bayonne till they had taken some measures about Navarre, because, while they were carrying on the siege, the king of Navarre might call in the French, and, by encamping between the mountains of Navarre and the sea, prevent all supplies of provisions passing to the camp before Bayonne: on these considerations he said he judged it necessary to try to gain the king of Navarre to their party, before they undertook the siege. The English general, not suspecting any deceit, readily agreed to these proposals, and sent an English officer to the king of Navarre, to desire him to join the allies; while Ferdinand, who knew his attachment to France, sent him a summons to join them, couched in such terms as, he was well convinced, would only be treated at best with great coldness; however, his answer was very moderate, having resolved to observe a strict neutrality. But Ferdinand, not content with this, insisted on his declaring in their favour, or delivering up four capital places as a security that he would not act against them. This proposal was rejected with the contempt it merited, and in the mean time a French army approached the frontiers of Bearn, which obliged the marquis of Dorset to remonstrate to Ferdinand, that the time expended in treating with the king of Navarre had given the French leisure to approach and defend their frontiers; and insisted, that he should declare if he would attack Guienne agreeable to the treaty of London, Ferdinand replied, that, in the present posture of affairs, he could not send his army to the siege of Bayonne, and leave his own dominions defenceless and a prey to the incursions

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every captain and soldier, four shillings; and of every mariner and gunner, one shilling and eight pence.

V. For the dead shares of the said eighteen English ships the admiral was to have as follows, viz.

	Tons burden.		Dead shares.
For the Regent, being	1000	four pilots	50
the Mary Rose	500	——	34½
the Peter Pomegranate	400	——	28
John Hopton's ship	400	Dead shares needless to be mentioned.	
the Nicholas Rude	400		
the Mary George	300		

The rest of the eighteen ships were,

One of	240 tons	Two of	140 tons
One of	200	Three of	120
Three of	160	One of	100
One of	180	One of	70

Moreover, for re-victualling and watering the said eighteen ships (they are here nineteen) the admiral was allowed two crayers, viz. one of sixty-five tons, and the other of fifty-five; in the former, twelve mariners and a boy, in the latter, ten and a boy, besides their commanders; each of the masters and mariners to have ten shillings per month (as before) for wages and victuals.

VI. All the soldiers and sailors to have six pence per day for conduct money, allowing a day's journey to be twelve miles only.

And forasmuch as our sovereign lord, at his own costs and charges, victualleth the said army and navy, the said admiral shall therefore reserve for the king one half of all gains and winnings of the war, which he and the fleet, or any of them, shall fortune to obtain in the voyage, either on land or water; and also all prisoners, being chieftains; and one ship royal of two hundred tons or upwards, with the ordnance and apparel of every prize to be taken by them. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 326, 327.

This English fleet was, by agreement, to guard the seas from the Channel to the Streight's Mouth of Gibraltar; and king Ferdinand's fleet was to do the like in the Mediterranean. It was about this time that ships began to be reckoned by guns and tonnage jointly, gunners being now the first time mentioned in the Fœdera.

* Commanded by sir Thomas Knevet.

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of the French and of the ſubjects of the king of Navarre; that it was more for their joint intereſt to paſs through Navarre and ſecure three or four conſiderable places, in order to prevent the enemy making uſe of that kingdom againſt him; he therefore requeſted that the Engliſh would advance and join the duke d'Alva; that his army ſhould make the vanguard, and be expoſed to the greateſt danger; that in the mean while the ſiege of Bayonne could not be ſaid to be retarded, but rather haſtened by the ſecureſt means, for that the king of Navarre only wanted to be hard preſſed, in order to ſave appearances, when he ſhould enter into the league. To this the Engliſh general replied, that he had no inſtructions to act offenſively againſt the king of Navarre; that the duke d'Alva might march his army through that prince's dominions, and take poſſeſſion of his towns, if he thought proper; but that he ſhould remain where he was. Ferdinand ſtill perſiſted in his deſign, and while he was endeavouring to bring over the Engliſh general to join his army, he ordered d'Alva to inveſt Pampeluna, the capital of Navarre, which ſoon ſurrendered, and the king took refuge in France, where he entered into an offenſive and defenſive treaty of alliance with Lewis, to whom, however, he was obliged to make ſeveral conceſſions, and in particular to cede to him the town of Salvatierra and all Bearn. After the ſurrender of Pampeluna, Ferdinand, inſtead of ſending d'Alva to join the marquis of Dorſet, ordered him to purſue his conqueſts, ſo that the Engliſh army ſerved as an army of obſervation, intimidating the French from attempting to ſuccour Navarre, while the Spaniſh general ſubdued the greateſt part of that kingdom without moleſtation.

In the mean time Ferdinand artfully diſpatched a meſſenger to London, to amuſe Henry with a different repreſentation of the ſtate of affairs, and to requeſt him to order the Engliſh to join his army. Before this order, which Ferdinand obtained from Henry, could reach the marquis of Dorſet, the duke d'Alva had taken St. Jean de Pied de Port, and then Ferdinand, content with his acquiſitions, made a ſhew of joining the Engliſh army, and propoſed to march directly to the ſiege of Bayonne; but that able general, the marquis of Dorſet, now refuſed in his turn, alleging that it was become impracticable, as the French had gained time to entrench themſelves between Bayonne and Salvatierra; and even the garriſon of Bayonne muſt, during theſe delays, have provided themſelves with every thing neceſſary for a long ſiege; beſides, the ſituation of the French was ſuch, that he muſt hazard the loſs of all his army by croſſing the river Bidaſſoa. Ferdinand was apprized of all theſe obſtacles, but was willing, if poſſible, to throw all the blame on the marquis, who at laſt was highly incenſed at his conduct, and, perceiving his army daily diminiſhed through ſickneſs and ſcarcity of proviſion, he demanded tranſports to convey them to England; theſe were granted by Ferdinand with an appearance of diſcontent, but as he had gained his point in ſubduing Navarre, which he now annexed to the crown of Spain, it is not to be doubted that he ſecretly rejoiced at the voluntary retreat of the Engliſh army.

Before the embarkation took place, the marquis was taken ill, and was ſucceeded in command by lord Howard, who received an order from court for the Engliſh army to remain all the winter where it was, and to obey Ferdinand in all his directions; but theſe now produced a mutiny in the army, which inſiſted on embarking; and when they arrived in England, the king was at firſt greatly incenſed againſt the marquis of Dorſet; but when the proceedings of the whole campaign came to be fairly ſtated, he too plainly perceived that Ferdinand had ſhamefully impoſed upon him and his impolitic miniſters; and of this he was more fully convinced towards the end of the year, when he ſaw that prince in full poſſeſſion of Navarre, and pretending to maintain himſelf in it by virtue of a bull from the pope, who had excommunicated John d'Albret, king of Navarre, for adhering to the council of Piſa, and had declared a right of poſſeſſion in favour of the conqueror. Henry, though undeceived by theſe meaſures, was forced in his turn to diſſemble, being apprehenſive that Ferdinand would make his peace with Lewis.

While Ferdinand was making himſelf maſter of Navarre, the confederate army, conſiſting of the pope's forces, thoſe of the Venetians, and a detachment of Ferdinand's, under the command of the vice-roy of Naples, undertook the ſiege of Bologna, at the pope's expreſs deſire, contrary to the ſentiments of the vice-roy and of the general of the Venetian army: but Gaſton de Foix, duke of Nemours, governor of Milan, coming to the relief of the place with a powerful force, the allies were obliged to raiſe the ſiege: and, in a few days after, the ſame general defeated the Venetian army, and at length totally routed that of the allies; but it coſt him his life, for he was ſlain in purſuing the vanquiſhed too warmly, after he had gained a complete victory.

After his death, la Paliſſe took the command of the army, and made himſelf maſter of Ravenna; upon which all the towns belonging to the pope in la Romagna voluntarily ſurrendered to the cardinal de St. Severin, who was legate in the French army from the council of Piſa, now removed to Milan. This rapid ſucceſs of the French threw the cardinals of the pope's party at Rome into ſuch conſternation, that they publicly petitioned Julius to make peace with France; but the pope probably knew that the affairs of France were on the decline, and that the council of Piſa would have little or no weight when that of the Lateran was opened, for he perſiſted in refuſing to offer any terms of accommodation, and only made his forces advance to prevent the French marching to Rome, which they might eaſily have done, if la Paliſſe had not judged it more for his maſter's intereſt to oppoſe the progreſs of the Swiſs, who, encouraged by the cardinal of Sion, had entered the duchy of Milan with ſixteen thouſand men; this engaged la Paliſſe to fly to the aſſiſtance of that country; leaving only a ſmall detachment, under the conduct of St. Severin, to defend his new conqueſts in la Romagna. In proportion as the French army retreated from the pope's dominions, his holineſs aſſumed his accuſtomed haughtineſs and implacability, and he now reſolved to open the council of Lateran, and to refuſe every offer of peace: he next proceeded to excommunicate Lewis, and laid France under an interdict; his pretence for this ſevere ſentence was the detention of his legate at Milan, where, though a priſoner, his authority ſo far prevailed, that the inhabitants of that city refuſed

fuſed to acknowlege the authority of the council removed there from Piſa. In the abſence of la Paliſſe all the towns of la Romagna once more ſubmitted to the pope; Ferdinand was become maſter of Navarre; and Lewis was obliged to have an army in Bearn, in order to prevent the Engliſh invading Guienne; beſides this, the emperor was ſecretly agreeing to withdraw from France a body of German troops, lent to Lewis for the defence of the Milaneſe: thus the affairs of Lewis grew every day more deſperate, and la Paliſſe, finding himſelf too weak to defend the duchy of Milan againſt the Swiſs army, after the emperor had recalled his troops, was obliged to ſend for the remainder of his army, which he had left under the command of the cardinal St. Severin for the defence of la Romagna.

The Swiſs army having obtained the emperor's permiſſion, marched to Trent, and thus entered the duchy of Milan by an indirect road, which the French did not ſuſpect, as the emperor was in alliance with Lewis; by this means they avoided all the paſſes which la Paliſſe had ſtrongly guarded, and having joined the Venetians, they marched directly to Milan, which totally diſconcerted the meaſures of the French general, who, not being ſtrong enough to give battle to the united army of the Swiſs and Venetians, was forced to retire into the fortified towns, and there wait for relief from France; which not arriving as he expected, he found it was in vain to attempt the defence of that country, and therefore retreated with his army to France: upon this the council of Piſa was once more removed to Lyons, the prelates that compoſed it following the motions of la Paliſſe, for their own ſecurity.

After the retreat of the French, the whole duchy of Milan ſurrendered to the Venetian and Swiſs army, except Parma, Placentia, and Reggio, which were ceded to the pope; and Alexander Bentivoglio once more abandoned Bologna to the mercy of his holineſs, who, by this revolution, in a ſhort ſpace of time ſaw his affairs totally retrieved, by the French being entirely driven out of Italy: but, for the completion of his wiſhes, there ſtill remained the following changes to take place; the reſtoration of the Sforzas to the duchy of Milan, the expulſion of the duke of Ferrara, the reſtoration of the Medici at Florence, and the driving the Germans and Spaniards out of Italy. For this end he procured a congreſs of the allies to be held at Mantua, where it was agreed to reſtore Sforza to Milan, and to re-eſtabliſh the houſe of Medici at Florence. In conſequence of this agreement, the army of the allies approached Florence, and compelled the inhabitants to admit the Medici as citizens, but not as governors; but the cardinal de Medici entering the city, by virtue of the new agreement, while the army of the allies were at the gates, he took that opportunity of raiſing a ſedition in his favour, by means of which the gates were opened to the allied army, and the government was veſted in the houſe of Medici as before their baniſhment.

Having gained theſe points, Julius, flushed with ſucceſs, determined to loſe no time in accompliſhing the reſt: for this end a ſecond meeting of the allies was held at Rome, but he could obtain nothing of the Venetians, who would not act againſt the duke of Ferrara, becauſe he was ſupported by Ferdinand. He then endeavoured to bring about an accommodation between the emperor and the Venetians; but in this he was likewiſe unſucceſsful, owing to the hard terms propoſed by the emperor: and when he found there was no other method of completing his ambitious views, and probably that one of theſe powers might recal the French into Italy, he entered into an unjuſt league, offenſive and defenſive, with the emperor againſt the Venetians. The emperor, on his part, engaged to become a principal in the treaty formerly made at Rome, between Ferdinand, the pope, Henry of England, and the Venetians, who were by this treaty to be excluded from the former; he alſo promiſed to renounce the authority of the council of Piſa, and to abandon the duke of Ferrara and the family of Bentivoglio. This treaty being ratified, the biſhop of Gurck, the emperor's miniſter, renounced, in the next aſſembly of the Lateran council, the authority of that of Piſa, and annulled all the former proceedings of his maſter in its ſupport.

To return to the affairs of England. It is remarkable, that in all theſe revolutions in Italy, and in the ſeveral negociations conſequent thereupon, the principals in the league at Rome ſeemed wholly to forget that Henry was of their party, ſo that he was merely conſidered as a neceſſary agent to carry on the deſigns of the pope and Ferdinand; yet, though he was not ſo much as mentioned in any of the tranſactions, after the emperor and the pope had concluded their treaty, they, in conjunction with Ferdinand, once more formed a ſcheme for impoſing on the youth and inexperience of the Engliſh monarch, and, through the corruption or weakneſs of his miniſtry, ſucceeded a ſecond time. It was repreſented to him, that, having driven the French from Italy, they now intended to unite their forces and turn them againſt France, promiſing to give Henry all proper aſſiſtance to recover Guienne and Normandy. In conſequence of theſe offers Henry ſent ambaſſadors to Bruſſels, with full powers to enter into a league with the pope, the emperor, Ferdinand, and Charles of Auſtria, ſovereign of the Netherlands, againſt the king of France: and the parliament being aſſembled in November, readily granted a ſubſidy for the ſupport of this confederacy; while the pope, the better to enable the king to carry his arms into France with expedition, ſent over a plenary indulgence to all his ſubjects who ſhould voluntarily aſſiſt him with their perſons or eſtates.

Henry, that he might be able to proſecute this war without being interrupted by his neighbour, the king of Scotland, ſent ambaſſadors to his court, with aſſurances that he would on his part inviolably adhere to the treaty of peace ſubſiſting between them: but the affair of Barton, and the detention of his ſhips, had deeply affected James, who only waited a proper opportunity to reſent it, and the intended expedition againſt France ſeemed to offer him a favourable one, ſince England would be drained of men and money for this impolitic enterprize: accordingly he ſecretly treated with Lewis, and agreed to make an incurſion into England as ſoon as the Engliſh ſhould land in France; and, by way of preparing matters for a rupture, he equipped a fleet, which he ſent over to the continent, under colour of paying a compliment to the queen of France; but it was diſabled, and ſome of the ſhips loſt, in a ſtorm. But when Henry ſoon after declared war againſt Lewis, the ſecret was divulged; for a treaty was ſuddenly ſigned between France and Scotland, which had been long concerted. Upon

on this Henry ſent ambaſſadors to Scotland, under pretence of ſettling all differences between the two crowns, but in reality to obſerve the preparations that were making by the king of Scotland to aſſiſt Lewis, and alſo to procure a copy of the treaty with France: which they effected*; and then Henry, finding a war with Scotland was inevitable, gave a commiſſion to the earl of Surry to levy an army in the North of England, and to act againſt the Scots, if they attempted to enter England with an armed force.

Of all the allies concerned in the confederacy againſt France, the king of England alone had ſerious views upon that kingdom: the pope's ſole aim was to deſtroy the council of Piſa, to ſeize on the poſſeſſions of the duke of Ferrara, and in proceſs of time to drive the emperor out of Venice, with whom he was allied only from the motives of intereſt; his only deſign therefore, with reſpect to France, was to find her employment at home: the king of Arragon wanted only to ſecure Navarre: the emperor, who was naturally covetous, was endeavouring to ſell his friendſhip to the higheſt bidder, as occaſion offered: the Venetians were endeavouring to put an end to a deſtructive war, on the beſt terms they could obtain from the emperor by the ſtrength of money: conſequently, while Henry was making ready for his expedition, theſe allies were ſeparately contriving the means of accompliſhing their particular views, without any regard to his meditated conqueſt of Guienne and Normandy.

The firſt proof of this treachery was given by the emperor, who, early in the year 1513, propoſed a new league with France, offering to aſſiſt Lewis in recovering the duchy of Milan, if that prince would aid him againſt the Venetians; he likewiſe demanded the ſecond daughter of Lewis for Charles of Auſtria, his grand-ſon; but to this propoſal, terms were annexed that were ſo inconſiſtent and incompatible with the intereſt of France, that they argued both extreme weakneſs and arrogance in Maximilian, and were treated with that indignation they juſtly merited: but they had one good effect in favour of Lewis, for the Venetians, who earneſtly deſired an union with France, liſtened to terms of accommodation as ſoon as they found the emperor was attempting to be before-hand with them. While the treaty was negociating between France and the Venetians, the grand promoter of the confederacy, pope Julius II. died in the midſt of his preparations againſt the duke of Ferrara, and by his death gave a new turn to the ſyſtem of affairs in Europe, as will be ſeen in the ſequel.

He was ſucceeded by the cardinal John de Medici, the ſame who, in the preceding year, had reſtored his family to the government of Florence: he aſſumed the name of Leo X. and, though while a cardinal he had diſapproved of ſeveral of the violent meaſures taken by Julius, yet he ſeemed now determined to purſue his plan with regard to the affairs of Italy. He was doubly intereſted to keep the French from returning into that country, not only on account of the eccleſiaſtical dominions, but for the ſecurity of the houſe of Medici; and he was equally incenſed againſt the council of Piſa. In this ſituation of affairs, all the allies animated Henry to purſue the war againſt France; and, the better to perſuade him of the ſincerity of their friendſhip, they entered into a new treaty at Mechlin. This treaty was chriſtened by the name of the Holy League againſt France, and we have a copy of it in Mr. Rymer's Collection †, containing in ſubſtance as follows:

"I. The firſt article of the confederation made between the pope, the emperor, and the kings of England and Arragon, againſt Lewis XII. was to be friends of the friends, and enemies of the enemies, &c. to give mutual aid, at the charges of the demandant.

"II. To denounce war, after thirty days after the date hereof, and within two months to invade him, viz. the pope in Provence or Dauphiné, the emperor in ſome other fit place, the king of England in Aquitaine or Guienne, Picardy or Normandy, the king of Arragon in Bearne, Languedoc, and Aquitaine: not to deſiſt from any hoſtility, or make any truce, without common conſent.

"III. That the ſubjects of the confederates ſerve not the enemy, under pain of loſing life and goods.

"IV. That the emperor (if he hath not yet done it) ſhall recal the authority by him given to the ſchiſmatical cardinals and their conventicle, and within a month after the date of this, ſignifying his pleaſure, ſhall void and nullify all their proceedings and acts in the ſame.

"V. The pope ſhall, at the requeſt of the confederates, fulminate his eccleſiaſtical cenſures againſt all that oppoſe this league.

"VI. The king of England ſhall give the emperor (towards the great charges he ſhall be at) one hundred thouſand crowns.

"VII. Yet the emperor, by this treaty, will not engage his grand-child Charles (now under his tuition) into this war with Lewis."

Lewis, as a counterpoiſe to this league, entered into alliance with the Venetians, and immediately ſent an army into Italy, under the command of la Tremouille, on whoſe approach Sforza abandoned Milan, and left the duchy open to the French army, who took poſſeſſion without oppoſition; and, much about the ſame time, Alviano, the Venetian general, took ſeveral conſiderable places, and the French intereſt prevailing at Genoa, Lewis was again put in poſſeſſion of that government. But a quick revolution ſucceeded this ſhort ſucceſs; for Tremouille being repulſed at the ſiege of Novarra, and afterwards totally defeated by the Swiſs, Sforza returned to Milan, and the French loſt Genoa; and, to add to their misfortunes, the Venetian general was defeated, and the ſtate, terrified by theſe two accidents, referred themſelves to the pope, imploring his protection of their affairs.

By this time every thing was ready in England for the expedition to France, and Henry's eyes were at laſt opened to the many impoſitions that

* It was expreſſed in the treaty ratified by both kings, "That whereas before the kings of Scotland and France were obliged to aſſiſt one another, in oppoſition to the Engliſh, or ſuch as ſhould offer to invert the hereditary right or ſucceſſion to their reſpective crowns, they became now bound to aid and aſſiſt one another, and even in perſon if occaſion ſhould require it, againſt all who may live and die; that is, the king of Scotland, rather than his allies, the king of France and the duke of Gueldres, ſhould periſh, undertook, in conjunction with them, to make war againſt the pope and all Italy, the emperor and all Germany, the king of England and his formidable dominions of England and Ireland, the king of Arragon and all Spain, the governeſs of the Netherlands and all Holland, Brabant, Flanders, &c. the ſtate of Venice, the cantons of Switzerland, &c." The original is preſerved in the Public Regiſter Office in Edinburgh.

† Vol. xiii. p. 354.

had been practiſed on him, not only by foreigners but his own miniſters: the aſpiring genius of Wolſey, who had lately been advanced to the dignity of a privy-counſellor, where he ſoon diſcovered his great talents for public affairs, put the biſhop of Wincheſter, who had placed him about the royal perſon, upon ſeizing this opportunity to inſtruct his creature in the method of ſecuring the king's favour, and of increaſing his confidence in him, by which the good biſhop hoped to obtain the advancement of Wolſey, and the removal of the king's favourites. This was ſoon after effected; for Wolſey, having gained the eſteem of the king, by complying with all his foibles, and by humouring him in his paſſions, he took the liberty of remonſtrating to him on the ill conduct of affairs; and fully convinced Henry how greatly he had been abuſed, both at home and abroad. The king finding that an able miniſter was wanting, to recover his affairs, rightly judged that the propereſt perſon for this office was the man who had been capable of diſcovering to him the inſufficiency of his former council: accordingly from this hour Wolſey was entruſted with the adminiſtration of public affairs; and for the following ſeventeen years managed all the king's buſineſs, both at home and abroad; with what ſucceſs, will be ſeen in the courſe of the hiſtory.

The firſt hoſtilities againſt France commenced at ſea. Admiral Howard having attacked ſome French gallies, under the command of Pregent, an able ſea officer in the ſervice of Lewis, during the engagement, the admiral's ſhip having grappled Pregent's galley, he boarded her ſword in hand, and threw the French into great confuſion; but unfortunately the galley having diſengaged herſelf from the Engliſh, the admiral was left on board with a few attendants, and in the confuſion was knocked overboard with a handſpike, and killed, before it was known who he was. The loſs of the admiral ſo intimidated the Engliſh, that they immediately tacked about, and bore away for their own coaſt. The French, encouraged by the ſucceſs of this action, and being joined by ſome ſhips from Breſt to reinforce them, approached the coaſt of England, and made a deſcent, but in a ſmall body, in Suſſex, where they did ſome trifling damage, and then retired to their fleet. Henry appointed the late admiral's brother, ſir Thomas Howard, to ſucceed him in the command of his fleet.

Shortly after, Henry came to the knowlege of a truce which Ferdinand had entered into with Lewis for one year, and to which his good father-in-law had made him a party, without giving him the leaſt intimation of ſuch an unexpected meaſure. Upon this Henry ſent an ambaſſador to upbraid him for his perfidious conduct, and to inſiſt on his fulfilling the treaty of Mechlin. Ferdinand ſtill pleaded his integrity, urged the neceſſity of his affairs, which had forced him into this truce, deſired Henry to agree to it, and promiſed to fulfil all his engagements at the expiration of this truce: but Henry had now a miniſter that was not to be amuſed in this manner: and ſhortly after, the emperor having ſent the king of England a frivolous excuſe for not obſerving his part of the treaty, this year it was reſolved that England ſhould carry the war into France alone; and thus Ferdinand equally betrayed Lewis and Henry, for the former, truſting to the truce, had ſent his beſt troops into Italy, and left his own dominions expoſed to the invaſion from England.

Reſolved not to loſe the fruits of the great preparations which had been made for the French expedition, and which were now nearly completed, Henry, on the ſecond of May this year, iſſued a commiſſion for a general muſter of the army. The marquis of Dorſet was made lieutenant-general under Henry himſelf; the earl of Shrewſbury was appointed to command the firſt column; the lord Mountjoy, William Atclyff, and Miles Gerard, were ordered to take up tranſports, which were to rendezvous at the ports of Dover, Sandwich, Winchelſea, Haſtings, and Rye; and laſtly, queen Catherine was appointed guardian of the kingdom during Henry's abſence: her commiſſion for this purpoſe was very ample, having command given her over all the troops in England, and a power, in conjunction with five noblemen, of taking up money upon loan, and giving ſecurity for the ſums to be employed for raiſing and maintaining forces*.

The ſea was now open and ſafe for Henry and his army: it was, however, warmly debated in the council, how far it was proper for the king to expoſe his own perſon in the expedition; but his vanity getting the better of all other conſiderations, he determined to hazard every thing in purſuit of what he called glory, the council conſented, and the laſt orders were given for the tranſports to put to ſea. At the ſame time Henry, willing to oblige his favourite, Charles Brandon, who had greatly endeared himſelf to his royal maſter by his ſweetneſs of temper and many perſonal accompliſhments, and who, though with all the appearance of ſeeking pleaſure only, indulged a noble ambition, gave him a very high poſt in his army, created him viſcount Liſle †, and raiſed him next year to the dignity of duke of Suffolk. Wolſey, though already jealous of the leaſt competitorſhip in Henry's eſteem, yet was ſo won by the captivating frankneſs of this young courtier, that, inſtead of oppoſing, he cloſed with Henry's bent towards him, and found a conveniency in his ſovereign's having ſuch a friend, with whom he could amuſe himſelf during thoſe hours which might have elſe been uneaſy to the miniſter, and it was reſolved that both of them ſhould attend the king in his French expedition; Wolſey in the character of almoner of the houſhold.

Nothing now remained but to provide for the peace of the kingdom, in caſe of the worſt event, by putting the unfortunate earl of Suffolk, ſtill a priſoner in the Tower, to death. His brother Richard de la Pole was at that time in the French ſervice, which has made ſome hiſtorians conjecture, that Henry put the earl to death in reſentment for his brother's ſerving againſt him; but it is more probable that the king was determined to prevent the ſucceſſion of the crown falling to the houſe of York, in caſe of his own death during this expedition: and if we believe the French writers, it

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 368, 369, &c.

† On the fifteenth of May, 1513. His uncle, William Brandon, ſtandard-bearer to Henry VII. at Boſworth-field, was ſlain by king Richard III. himſelf. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 299.

was

was in conſequence of Henry VII's dying commands to his ſon. However this might be, it is certain that Henry was inexorable to all entreaties in the earl's favour, who loſt his head upon Tower-hill on the twenty-ninth of April.

About the beginning of June this year, two diviſions of the Engliſh troops were embarked, and ſafely landed at Calais, where they remained till the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, when an order came from court for their marching towards Terouenne, a town of Artois, ſituated on the Lys, ſix miles from St. Omer's. The place was at this time ſtrongly fortified, and had in it a garriſon of between two and three thouſand men, under Telegni, ſeneſchal of Rouvergne, and Anthony de Crequy. Upon the approach of the Engliſh army, on the twenty-ſecond day of June, within cannon-ſhot of the place, the enemy's artillery played ſo furiouſly upon them, that the baron Carew, maſter of the ordnance, was killed by the lord Herbert's ſide. The Engliſh, however, ſat down within a mile of the town; the earl of Shrewſbury on the north-weſt and the lord Herbert on the eaſt. By this diſpoſition they inveſted the place ſo as to cut off the garriſon from all relief, and to maintain their poſts till they were reinforced. And here it will not be improper to take a review of the number of theſe forces, and the names of their commanders, who were ſent from England to prepare the way for Henry.

The firſt diviſion conſiſted of eight thouſand men, and was commanded by George Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, and Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, attended by Thomas Docwra, lord-prior of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, Robert Radcliff, lord Fitz Walter, the lord Haſtings, the lord Cobham, and ſir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light-horſe. The ſecond diviſion was headed by the lord Herbert*, lord-chamberlain of the houſhold, under whom ſerved Piercy, earl of Northumberland, the earls of Kent and Wiltſhire, the lords Audley and Delewar, the barons Carew and Curſon, with many other knights and gentlemen. This diviſion conſiſted of ſix thouſand men.

About the thirtieth of June Henry ſet ſail in perſon for Calais, with about four hundred ſhips in his company, commanded by Hopton, gentleman-porter to the bed-chamber, for the lord-admiral, Thomas Howard, was then employed in the North againſt the Scots. Upon his arrival at Calais he was complimented by the ambaſſadors of the emperor, the ducheſs of Savoy, and the duke of Brunſwick. The troops which Henry brought over with him, and which formed the third diviſion of his army, conſiſted of about twelve thouſand men; the vanguard was commanded by Charles Brandon, viſcount Liſle, and Henry Bourchier, earl of Eſſex; the centre by the king himſelf, under whom ſerved Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, ſir Edward Poynings, and ſir Henry Guilford as ſtandard-bearer. As to the rear-guard it ſeemed rather for parade than uſe, being chiefly compoſed of retainers belonging to the two great churchmen who waited upon Henry in this expedition, Fox, the old biſhop of Wincheſter, and the riſing favourite, Wolſey. The Engliſh army had alſo a noble train of artillery, among which the French hiſtorians mention a very fine ſet of cannon called the Twelve Apoſtles. The king, conſidering how far the river Thames was expoſed to inſults from foreign enemies, gave orders before his departure for erecting a platform of cannon at Graveſend, and another oppoſite to it on the Eſſex ſhore, where Tilbury Fort now ſtands.

Henry remained ſome days at Calais, attending the ſucceſs of the ſiege of Terouenne, under the earl of Shrewſbury and lord Herbert. Theſe generals ſent advice that the duke of Longueville was on his march to relieve the place, upon which Henry haſtened to the ſiege, and arrived before the town on the fourth of Auguſt. A few days after the emperor deſired a conference with the king, between Aire and Terouenne, after which Maximilian ſerved in the Engliſh camp as a volunteer, and even ſubmitted to receive pay for his ſervice, his avaricious and ſelfiſh views leading him to any means, however deſpicable, to compaſs his deſigns. The duke of Longueville approaching Terouenne, the king paſſed the Lys with the main body of his army, and an engagement enſued, which was but of ſhort duration, for the French, without any motive to be aſſigned for their conduct, made a precipitate retreat, particularly the cavalry, which gave occaſion to the calling this ſkirmiſh the Battle of the Spurs†. The principal officers, endeavouring in vain to rally their forces, choſe to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war than follow this ſhameful example. After the battle, the beſieged, deſpairing of ſuccours, ſurrendered at diſcretion, and, on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, the king entered the city, attended by the emperor and his illuſtrious priſoners, the duke Longueville, the chevalier Bayard, and other French officers of diſtinction. By ſome ſecret agreement between the king and the emperor, to whom Henry ſeems deſtined to be the eternal dupe, the city was delivered into the hands of the latter, who ordered it to be razed to the foundation; which ſhews that he did not ſubmit to ſerve as a volunteer in the Engliſh army, but in hopes of an ample reward; and it is more than probable, that the flattering Henry's vanity at his firſt appearance in the field, by doing him this ſignal honour, procured him the ceſſion of Terouenne, to the ſurprize of every one.

The next place Henry reſolved to attack was Tournay, which at this time was in a weak and defenceleſs ſtate; and while the preparations were making for this ſiege, the king went to Liſle to pay a viſit to Margaret of Auſtria, who governed the Low Countries. He ſtaid with her three days, and then joined his army on its march to Tournay; and ſoon after the emperor left the king, upon ſome diſguſt; ſo that what moſt hiſtorians have aſſerted, that the ſiege of Tournay was undertaken through the emperor's intrigues ſeems entirely groundleſs, eſpecially as Tournay appeared to be an eaſy conqueſt, the garriſon being thin and ill provided; whereas Boulogne, which they imagined he would have attacked, if he had conſidered his own intereſts

* Charles Somerſet, natural ſon by Joan Hill, of Henry duke of Somerſet (who loſt his life in 3 Edward IV.) married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William Herbert, earl of Huntington, by reaſon whereof he bore the title of lord Herbert, and as ſuch had ſummons to parliament, 1 Henry VII. 3 Henry VIII. He was lord chamberlain to Henry VII. and continued in the ſame office to king Henry VIII. From him are deſcended the preſent Somerſets, dukes of Beaufort.

† Becauſe the French made more uſe of their ſpurs than their ſwords. Rapin. It is alſo called the Battle of Guinegaſte. It was gained on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, 1513.

before

before thoſe of the emperor, was well fortified and had a ſtrong garriſon. Tournay ſurrendered in a few days after the king appeared before it; and on the fifteenth of September the king entered the city, having granted very favourable terms to the inhabitants. It being reſolved in a council of war to keep this place, the king appointed ſir Edward Poynings governor, and gave him a ſtrong garriſon: and, ſome time after, he gave the adminiſtration of the biſhopric to Wolſey, the French prelate having refuſed to ſwear fealty to him.

The day after the king entered Tournay, Margaret of Auſtria, attended by the archduke Charles, her nephew, for whom ſhe held the government of the Netherlands, paid a viſit to the Engliſh monarch, to congratulate him on the ſucceſs of his arms. For ſeveral days the king entertained his gueſts with the diverſions of thoſe times, as tilts, tournaments, running at the ring, &c. and, amidſt all theſe amuſements, a treaty was ſet on foot between Henry and the emperor, on the part of his grand-ſon Charles: by this treaty, which the king ſigned at Liſle, the emperor agreed "to keep a ſtrong force in Artois and Hainault, for the joint defence of Tournay and of the Low Countries during the winter; and Henry, on his part, agreed to pay for the maintenance of theſe troops the ſum of two hundred thouſand crowns. It was alſo agreed, that Henry ſhould carry the war into Guienne, Normandy, or Picardy, before the firſt of June, 1514, and that the emperor ſhould attack ſome other province of France: and that, before the fifteenth of May in the ſame year, the emperor, Margaret, Charles, the king and queen of England, and the princeſs Mary of England, ſhould meet at Calais, to celebrate the nuptials of the archduke with the princeſs Mary, purſuant to the treaty concluded by the emperor and the late king of England."

Having thus ſettled the operations of the enſuing year, the king prepared to return to England. In the mean time Ferdinand, thinking his credit was ſtill good with the king, ſent an ambaſſador to him, with propoſals for a new treaty: but he was no longer attended to; for, on the ſeventeenth of October, the king left Liſle, and, on the twenty-fourth of the ſame month, arrived ſafely in England, highly ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of his firſt campaign.

It is now neceſſary to take a view of the tranſactions of Lewis, in oppoſition to the dangers he was threatened with from every quarter. The misfortunes of the campaign in Italy, joined to the progreſs of the Engliſh arms, and an invaſion of the Swiſs, threw his affairs into ſo deſperate a ſituation, that he was obliged to compound with the Swiſs army, already entered into Burgundy, for the ſum of four hundred thouſand crowns, and to think of a reconciliatioh with the pope; as the firſt ſtep towards which he renounced the council of Piſa, which was now grown very thin; and Leo X. not having any perſonal enmity to him, this meaſure ſoon effected a reconciliation. This renunciation was ſolemnly made in the tenth ſeſſion of the council of Lateran, in the month of December, 1513, and effectually took away all pretext from the kings of England and Arragon for levying war againſt him. The pope, being reconciled to Lewis, wrote a letter to Henry, wherein he referred to one he had ſent him on his acceſſion to the pontificate, exhorting him to peace, which exhortation was now ſtrongly urged and enforced, as Henry had avowedly taken up arms for the defence and ſupport of the church, which he had happily accompliſhed by his victories, and therefore it was reaſonable he ſhould lay down his arms. This ſecond letter effectually undeceived Henry, who had been ſo long blind to his own intereſt; he now plainly ſaw that all the allies, himſelf excepted, having accompliſhed the particular deſigns for which they had engaged him in a war with France, were now determined to leave the whole weight of it upon him; the conſequence of which was, that Henry from that inſtant formed a reſolution to conclude a peace with France, without ſo much as conſulting his perfidious allies.

The king's foreign affairs being thus happily ſettled, his next care was to put an end to the war with Scotland, which, during his abſence, had declared itſelf againſt England, under pretence of an ancient alliance with France, which obliged that nation to aſſiſt France whenever the king of England ſhould invade that country. The war with England was carried in the Scottiſh parliament by a great majority, but not without a warm and ſenſible oppoſition from thoſe who had the true intereſt of their country at heart; but the French intereſt, and their money prevailed. However, to preſerve ſome form of decency, James wrote Henry a letter, which was delivered to him at the ſiege of Terouenne: it contained complaints of ſundry grievances, demanding immediate redreſs, and threatening a declaration of war if he did not deſiſt from his deſigns againſt France. Henry's anſwer was delayed, on account of the ſiege, till the twelfth of Auguſt, and it is probable that he ſaw from the contents of James's letter, that it was mere matter of form, and that no anſwer that could be given would divert the king of Scotland from taking this favourable opportunity of invading England, for which he had been making ſuch conſiderable preparations before the king paſſed over to France. Henry, in his anſwer, warmly reproached the king of Scotland for entering into a war with England on ſo frivolous a pretext as that of aſſiſting France; he ſet before him the fate of the king of Navarre, who had juſt been deprived of his dominions for engaging unneceſſarily in the quarrels of France; at the ſame time aſſuring him, that he had received ſuch early intelligence of his baſe deſigns, that he had taken care to provide for the ſecurity of England againſt all his attempts, before he quitted it; and he concluded with vowing revenge on every occaſion.

It is plain that James had no ſerious intention of accommodating his differences with Henry by means of the letter he wrote him; for, without waiting for an anſwer, he took the field in Auguſt, and entered Northumberland at the head of ſixty thouſand men. The firſt place he took of any note was Norham caſtle, which ſurrendered to him after a ſiege of ſix days. The earl of Surry, purſuant to the king's commiſſion before he went to France, had levied an army of twenty thouſand men, and was then in Yorkſhire; with this army he immediately marched to meet the Scots, and on the fourth of September, having advanced near enough, he ſent to offer battle to the king of Scotland, who anſwered the herald, that he would accept it in three days. The herald, on his return, reported, that the king of Scotland was encamped in a very advantageous

advantageous ſituation on the ridge of Mount Cheviot; that there was but one narrow field by which to approach him, and that all the ordnance were placed at the foot of the hill to defend this paſs. On this repreſentation, the earl of Surry changed his reſolution, and determined not to give the Scots battle till they ſhould quit this ſituation. The Engliſh army not appearing on the day appointed, the king held a council of war, in which an old nobleman adviſed him to retire to Scotland with his booty, telling him that he had done enough to fulfil his engagements with France; and that it was not prudent to hazard a battle with the Engliſh in their own country; and that, in ſerving France, Scotland was not to be neglected merely to pleaſe the French ambaſſador, who wanted others to undertake hazardous enterprizes to relieve his maſter from his preſent difficulties. This prudent advice was over-ruled, and the king determined to take the firſt favourable opportunity of giving battle to the Engliſh. In the mean time the earl of Surry, in order to draw the king from his advantageous poſt, marched his forces along a river which ſeparated the two armies, and made a feint to enter Scotland by way of Carliſle, the river leading to that city. James, obſerving this motion, ſet fire to his camp, and marched his troops along the oppoſite ſide of the river: the wind happening to drive the ſmoke directly in the faces the Scots, the earl of Surry took advantage of this happy circumſtance, and forded the river almoſt unperceived, which obliged the king of Scotland to draw up his army in great confuſion, and poſſeſs himſelf as faſt as poſſible of a place called Floddon Field: to add to the earl of Surry's good fortune, king James's army was greatly leſſened by deſertion; for many, diſliking the removal of the camp, and approving the advice given by ſome of the nobles, and by the queen, of returning to Scotland, had abſolutely followed it, with the forces under their command; of this number were the earls of Angus and Hume †. In this ſituation the earl of Surry attacked him, and, after a very ſharp and well-fought battle, the Engliſh army gained the victory; but as the battle continued till night, and the ſlaughter was very great on both ſides *, the Engliſh were not ſenſible of their ſucceſs till the next morning, when they found themſelves maſters of the field. The circumſtances of this battle are variouſly reported, the event alone remains indiſputable; for which reaſon we ſhall only add, that on all hands it is acknowleged that king James fought with great bravery, and often refuſed to retire when preſſed to it on account of his perſonal danger: whether he fell in the battle, or was ſlain afterwards by treachery, ſtill remains undecided; however, a dead body, ſuppoſed to be that of the late Scottiſh king, was found, and conveyed to London in a leaden coffin, where it remained for ſome time unburied, till Henry had obtained permiſſion from the pope to have the funeral rites performed, his holineſs having excommunicated him for taking part with France, in oppoſition to the church. James IV. had made a will before he took the field, in conſequence of which, on his demiſe, his queen Margaret was made regent during the minority of his eldeſt ſon, who was but two years old when his father loſt his life. He was immediately acknowleged king, by the name of James V. and the queen-mother, who was Henry of England's ſiſter, wrote a letter to her brother, on his return from France, to deſire him not to purſue the war during her regency; in conſequence of which the king ordered the earl of Surry to withdraw his forces, and the affairs of Scotland gave him no farther trouble at this time.

It has already been obſerved, that Henry, towards the cloſe of the year 1513, had taken a reſolution to enter into a treaty of peace with France, and as the remainder of this year affords nothing worthy of notice in England, the time being paſſed away in continual rejoicings and amuſements, on account of the king's late victories, it will be proper to conſider the ſtate of affairs abroad, that we may form a better idea of the peace with France, which took place in the following year.

After Lewis was reconciled to the pope, and had procured him to write a letter to the king of England, recommending an accommodation with France, renewed the negociation which had been begun at Liſle with the emperor, concerning the marriage of his daughter Renée with Charles of Auſtria. This gave the pope freſh uneaſineſs, as by this treaty Milan muſt have fallen into the hands of the French; and therefore he joined with the Swiſs in labouring to ſettle the family of the Sforzas in that duchy. The chief aim of the Venetians was to obtain an honourable peace with the emperor, which they deſpaired of, in this caſe, without the aſſiſtance of France, which was not to be expected, unleſs they agreed to aſſiſt Lewis in recovering Genoa and the duchy of Milan. The emperor, on his part, had no inclination for peace, the war having been carried on to his advantage againſt the Venetians at the expence of his allies: and as for Ferdinand, it was his deſire to embroil the affairs of Italy as much as poſſible, that he might thereby remain in quiet poſſeſſion of Navarre: with this view he was conſtantly changing ſides, and, to gain time, equally deceiving all parties. His truce with France being expired, he renewed it for another year: and the pope, alarmed at the negociation between the emperor and Lewis, endeavoured to reconcile the latter with the Swiſs, and the emperor with the Venetians, that the French might not get footing again in Italy; but all his attempts proved unſucceſsful, for, after a long negociation, the Venetians and the emperor choſe him arbiter of their diſputes, and he pronounced a proviſional decree, "that a truce ſhould immediately

† Smollet ſays the Scottiſh army was diminiſhed near one half, and that the Engliſh were now ſuperior in number; but his whole account of this tranſaction widely differs from all other hiſtorians, whether Engliſh or Scottiſh.

* Hall ſays, there were fifteen hundred Engliſh, and twelve thouſand Scots ſlain, fol. 43. According to Buchanan, there fell above five thouſand Scots. In this battle the vanguard was led by the lord Thomas Howard, who had with him the lords Clifford, Conyers, Latimer, Scrope of Upſale, Lumley, Ogle; ſir Nicholas Appleyard, ſir William Sidney, ſir William Gaſcoyne, ſir Stephen Bull, ſir Henry Shirburne, &c. The right wing was commanded by ſir Edmund Howard, and the left by ſir Marmaduke Conſtable. The rear was brought up by the earl of Surry himſelf, who was attended by the lord Scrope of Bolton, ſir Philip Tilney, ſir George Darcy, ſir Thomas Berkeley, ſir John Stanley, ſir John Willoughby, &c. the lord Dacres, and ſir Edward Stanley, with their horſe, being appointed as a reſerve On the Scots ſide there fell one archbiſhop, two biſhops, four abbots, twelve earls, and ſeventeen barons, with eight or ten thouſand common ſoldiers. See a deſcription of the battle in my lord Herbert, p. 18. Hall, fol. 38, &c. Stowe, p. 492.

take place: that the emperor ſhould, by way of depoſit or ſecurity, till the final deciſion of their diſpute, put in his hands the town of Vincenza; and that the Venetians ſhould do the ſame with reſpect to Crema, and ſhould pay the emperor fifty thouſand ducats: but that this proviſional agreement ſhould be null, if not ratified by both parties:" and the Venetians not ratifying it, the agreement was accordingly annulled. Nearly in this ſituation the affairs of the belligerant powers remained till the campaign of 1514.

On the third of January, this year, the parliament of England aſſembled, in which nothing of importance was tranſacted, except that the king created ſeveral peers; and amongſt the reſt he created the earl of Surry duke of Norfolk, thereby reſtoring him, for his good ſervices, to the title which his father had loſt with his life, in the defence of Richard III. at the battle of Boſworth *: by this change Thomas Howard, ſon and heir of the new duke, became earl of Surry. Charles Brandon, viſcount Liſle, was now created duke of Suffolk; and Charles Somerſet, lord Herbert, earl of Worceſter: Margaret of York, daughter of the duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. obtained at the ſame time the title of counteſs of Saliſbury, as heireſs to the earl of Warwick, her brother, beheaded by Henry VII †. Wolſey was, during this ſeſſion, promoted to the biſhopric of Lincoln by the pope, and admitted to retain the adminiſtration of the biſhopric of Tournay: ſo ſenſible was the pope of the value of ſuch a friend in the Engliſh court.

In the mean time the negociation with France was in great forwardneſs; but was carried on with great ſecrecy, no perſon being made acquainted with it but Wolſey; and the whole tranſaction was managed, on the part of Lewis, by the duke of Longueville, who was taken priſoner at the Battle of the Spurs, and who had a ſecret commiſſion appointing him the king of France's ambaſſador extraordinary on this occaſion. As ſoon as all the preliminaries were ſettled, Lewis ſent over two public ambaſſadors, and a ceſſation of hoſtilities immediately took place, and, after ſome little obſtructions, three definitive treaties were ſigned on the ſeventh day of Auguſt.

The firſt treaty ſtipulated,

"That the peace ſhould ſubſiſt till the demiſe of one of the parties; and that the ſucceſſor ſhould give notice to the ſurvivor, within twelve months, if he intended to renew the treaty.

"That all impoſitions laid on the merchandize of the ſubjects of either crown within the preceding fifty-two years, ſhould be aboliſhed.

"That rebellious ſubjects ſhould not be harboured or protected by either party.

"That the peace ſhould not be deemed violated by any private tumults or diſorders that might ariſe on either ſide.

"That each ſhould defend the dominions of the other when attacked, at the expence of the crown that ſhould demand aſſiſtance, provided the attack ſhould be made in conſequence of this treaty, in which Scotland was included, on condition no hoſtilities were committed by that kingdom againſt England after the twenty-fifth of November."

The ſecond treaty was a contract of marriage between Lewis and the princeſs Mary, Henry's ſiſter, who had been ſolemnly contracted to Charles of Auſtria, but that prince not appearing at Calais at the time appointed for the ſolemnization of the marriage, by the treaty of Liſle, Henry now thought proper to give her to Lewis, who had lately buried his queen. It was agreed by this treaty,

"That the marriage between Lewis and the princeſs Mary ſhould be contracted by proxies, in ten days after the ſigning of the treaty.

"That the princeſs ſhould be conducted to Abbeville at the expence of the king of England; and that Lewis ſhould conſummate the marriage in four days after her arrival.

"That the princeſs Mary's dower ſhould be four hundred thouſand crowns, one half of which ſhould be laid out in jewels; and in caſe of recovery, that Lewis ſhould only be obliged to reſtore the jewels: the other half was to be paid by acquittal of ſo much of the ſum of one million of crowns which Lewis agreed to pay to Henry by the third treaty, in which he acknowleged,

"That, by the treaty of Eſtaples, Charles VIII. was bound to pay to Henry VII. or his ſucceſſors, the ſum of ſeven hundred and forty-five thouſand crowns, and that he was obliged to pay the arrears of that ſum.

"Alſo that Charles, duke of Orleans, his father, by an obligation dated in March, 1444. appeared to be indebted to Margaret, ducheſs of Somerſet, grand-mother to Henry VIII. wherefore theſe two ſums remaining ſtill unpaid, by this treaty Lewis bound himſelf to pay to the king of England, or his ſucceſſors, a million of crowns, by half yearly payments till the whole was diſcharged ‡."

Thus the war between France and England was ended on very advantageous terms for Henry, who had ſuffered himſelf to be drawn into it by the ſuperior policy of his allies. Before the ſecond treaty was ſigned, it was judged neceſſary for the princeſs to declare, in preſence of two notaries, that ſhe had been betrothed to Charles of Auſtria without her conſent; that Charles, on his part, had failed in the performance of his promiſe to be contracted to her by proxy, as ſoon as ſhe attained the age of fourteen; and that his counſellors and confederates had lately inſpired him with enmity againſt her brother, the king of England; on which accounts ſhe deemed the intended marriage with him null and void, and that ſhe was at full liberty to marry the king of France: which marriage was accordingly conſummated at Abbeville, in the month of October, without ſo much as demanding a diſpenſation from the pope to abſolve the princeſs from her former contract.

* For his memorable victory over the Scots at Floddon, he had a ſpecial grant from the king, to himſelf and the heirs male of his body, of an honourable augmentation to his arms; namely, to bear on the bend thereof the upper half of a red lyon (painted as the arms of Scotland are) pierced through the mouth with an arrow. He was created duke of Norfolk, Feb. 1, 1514. His father derived his deſcent (by the heirs male of Mowbray, and Seagrave) from Thomas Brotherton, ſon to king Edward I. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 268.

† She was wife to ſir Richard Pole, deſcended from an antient ſtock of that name ſome where in Wales. This ſir Richard was made chief-gentleman of the bed-chamber to prince Arthur, and knight of the moſt noble order of the garter. He had four ſons by the lady Margaret; Henry, afterwards lord Montague, Geffrey, Arthur, and Reginald, the famous cardinal Pole, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and one of the three that preſided at the council of Trent.

‡ Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 423—439.

While

While Wolſey was engaged in this important negociation, cardinal Bambridge, archbiſhop of York, was poiſoned at Rome, by Rinaldo de Modena, his chaplain, in revenge for a blow he had given him. Notice was ſent to the king of his death by cardinal Julius de Medici, afterwards pope Clement VII. acquainting him at the ſame time, that he had prevailed on the pope to keep the ſee of York vacant till the king's pleaſure was known. Upon this the king demanded the archbiſhopric for Wolſey, which was readily granted. The remainder of this year affords little matter of any conſequence, except the intrigues of the emperor and Ferdinand, who laboured to the laſt to prevent the peace between England and France, and to obſtruct its good effects. As to domeſtic affairs, the king enjoyed perfect tranquility, and ſpent his time in his uſual diverſions.

On the firſt day of the following year, 1515, died Lewis XII. leaving behind him the glorious character of Father of his Country. But the death of this prince made no alteration in Henry's affairs, for the count d'Angouleſme, who ſucceeded him by the name of Francis I. plainly diſcovered his intention of purſuing the plan of his predeceſſor, by adding to his other titles that of duke of Milan. By this event Lewis's young queen was left miſtreſs of her perſon, and accordingly ſhe took care to prevent any future diſpoſal of it to anſwer political ends, for ſhe privately married Charles Brandon, the newly created duke of Suffolk. Her affection for this accompliſhed nobleman was ſo well known, even before her marriage with Lewis, that when ſhe went over to France, the count d'Angouleſme took care to have her narrowly watched, leſt ſhe ſhould give the king an heir to his excluſion. Henry, ſuſpecting her deſign, wrote to her, in February, not to diſpoſe of herſelf without his conſent; but the queen, truſting to her intereſt with her brother, thought proper to give her hand to her beloved Brandon, and to write to the king what ſhe had done, taking the whole blame to herſelf: and though Henry was diſpleaſed at firſt, in a ſhort time he was reconciled, and they returned to the Engliſh court.

As England was now free from all foreign and domeſtic diſputes, the parliament, which met on the fifth of February this year, was wholly employed in enacting ſome wholeſome and beneficial laws reſpecting the civil and commercial intereſts of the nation, of which in their proper place.

About the middle of March this year, Francis I. ſent inſtructions to his ambaſſador at London to renew the alliance with Henry, as alſo the bond for a million of crowns ſigned by Lewis. And in the month of May king Ferdinand ſent an ambaſſador to London, to propoſe the renewal of his alliance with Henry, and to court his friendſhip; but Henry had been ſo often deceived by him, that the ambaſſador was received very coldly, and probably would never have ſucceeded in his negociations, had not Wolſey been brought to favour his maſter's intereſt, and to bring about a reconciliation, which he effected in the month of October.

While theſe things were tranſacting at home, Charles, archduke of Auſtria, had aſſumed the government of the Low Countries, and had made a treaty with Francis I. which a little alarmed Henry, who had reaſon to fear his reſenting the diſpoſal of the princeſs Mary to another, when ſhe had been contracted to him in his minority: the king therefore ſent two ambaſſadors to Bruſſels to palliate his conduct, and ſolicit the friendſhip of Charles; but they were very ill received, and no notice was taken of the ſubject of their embaſſy for ſeveral months: the young archduke prudently declined entering into any party, till he ſaw more of the intentions of the other powers, and particularly of Francis I. who began to make preparations for carrying on a new war in Italy. Indeed, as ſoon as he aſcended the throne, he declared that he would expel the Sforzas from the duchy of Milan, and annex that duchy to the crown of France. As he was a prince poſſeſſed of equal valour and ambition, the eyes of all parties were turned upon him, and Ferdinand began to prepare for the defence of Naples and Navarre: but he might have been relieved from his fears for the preſent, by a renewal of the truce which Francis propoſed to him, on condition that he would remain neuter in the affairs of Milan; however, Ferdinand was ſo accuſtomed to deceive others, that he could not rely on Francis, and therefore rejected his propoſal, and made uſe of it to engage the emperor and the Swiſs to join with him in the defence of Milan; thereby to divert Francis from any thoughts of turning his arms againſt Navarre, whilſt he ſaw himſelf likely to be ſo ſtrongly oppoſed in his attempt to recover Milan, that it was neceſſary to employ all his ſtrength in that quarter. The emperor readily entered into a league with Ferdinand, and the Swiſs were at laſt prevailed upon, though with much difficulty, for the French had a party amongſt them; but the allies agreeing to pay them thirty thouſand ducats monthly, they ſigned the treaty in conjunction with Ferdinand, the emperor, and Sforza, duke of Milan.

Ferdinand having gained this point, engaged them to attack Francis in his own kingdom, as the ſhorteſt way to divert him from any attempts on Milan; and he promiſed on his part, to make a diverſion on the ſide of Fontarabia, while they ſhould attack Burgundy: as for the emperor, he was to continue the war in the Venetian territories, to prevent their aſſiſting Francis. The ſole aim of Ferdinand in this confederacy being, at all events, to ſecure Navarre, he no ſooner learned that Francis was marching his forces towards the Alps, in order to enter the duchy of Milan, than he diſbanded the army he had raiſed for the defence of Navarre, leaving Milan to the care of the Swiſs; and ſo very deceitful was he in this, as in all his other treaties of alliance, that even his army in Italy, under the command of the vice roy of Naples, had no orders to aſſiſt the Swiſs, while on the other hand, the emperor and the pope, who had been included in the league, remained totally inactive, and the Swiſs were left alone to ſuſtain the burden of the war, in the ſame manner as Henry had been ſerved a few years before.

Francis having ſucceſsfully marched his army through a defile between mount Viſo and mount Cenis, which, being deemed an impracticable paſs, had been left unguarded, the Swiſs retired precipitately to Milan, and the French advanced to the ſame city: a negociation was then ſet on foot for engaging the Swiſs to withdraw their forces, in conſideration of a certain ſum of money offered them by Francis; but a reinforcement of fifteen thouſand of their countrymen arriving, it

was

was reſolved, by the advice of cardinal Sion, to attack the French, who were encamped at Marignano, and little expected them. This reſolution coſt them dear, for they loſt ten thouſand men in the action, and were totally defeated; the remainder of the army returned home, and Francis made himſelf maſter of the duchy of Milan: as to Maximilian Sforza, the late duke, he had ſhut himſelf up in the citadel of Milan, which he was obliged to ſurrender on capitulation, and agree to retire to France, there to reſide as a private gentleman. In the mean time Octavian Fregoſa had reduced Genoa to the obedience of France, and inſtead of a doge declared himſelf governor for the king his maſter.

The popes, when they chanced to make leagues or undertake wars that did not proſper, could always find a way to extricate themſelves in quality of head of the church and vicar of Jeſus Chriſt. Leo X. had been in hopes that Francis would never be able to enter Italy, and joined in the league againſt him ſo privately, that Francis knew nothing of it till he came to Verceil; but his holineſs no ſooner received tidings of the victory of Marignano, than he made propoſals of reconciliation to Francis; and though the pontiff's behaviour had been ſuch that he deſerved no favour from that victorious prince, yet he obtained however advantages which he could ſcarcely have expected, had he even been his friend from the beginning.

As the Scots had been comprehended in the renewal of the late treaty between Francis and Henry, it will be proper to attend the hiſtory of that people, ſo far as it is connected with that of England. James IV. who was ſlain in the battle of Floddon, had left one only ſon his ſucceſſor, who was not as yet two years of age; but, ſoon after his death, his queen was delivered of a poſthumous child. She had been by his will declared regent of the kingdom, and the ſurviving nobility had ſubmitted to her authority, which, however, was but of ſhort duration; for giving her hand to Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, the party which oppoſed that nobleman, headed by the earl of Hume, perſuaded the ſtates to beſtow the regency on John Stuart, duke of Albany, ſon of Alexander, duke of Albany, brother to James III. who, having died in France, where he took refuge ‡, left his title to this ſon, a young nobleman of great abilities, and warmly devoted to the intereſts of Lewis XII. who had diſtinguiſhed him with many marks of favour and regard. Lewis XII. dying during theſe tranſactions, Francis I. his ſucceſſor, having great reaſons not to diſoblige the king of England, who violently oppoſed the election of the duke of Albany, would not ſuffer that nobleman to depart till he had compleated his treaty with Henry, ſo that he did not arrive in Scotland before the eighth of May this year; and the firſt act of his government upon record, was on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month, when, as regent and protector of Scotland, he confirmed the acceſſion of the Scots to the late treaty between France and England †.

Francis I. from the inſtant of his acceſſion to the crown of France, had formed the deſign of getting Tournay out of the hands of the Engliſh; for this purpoſe he had made ſome overtures to Henry, but the Engliſh monarch demanding ſome places in exchange which Francis thought above an equivalent, the negociation was dropped. The truth is, that Wolſey, fearful, if this compromiſe ſhould take place, he ſhould loſe the valuable adminiſtration of that biſhopric, had perſuaded Henry, who was wholly governed by his advice, to ſtand upon ſuch terms as the miniſter knew muſt fruſtrate the deſign: and by his inſtigation, twelve hundred carpenters and maſons were ſent over this year, with three hundred other labourers, for making ſome additional works to the town; and orders were tranſmitted to the lord Mountjoy, the governor, to be in a particular manner upon his guard to prevent a ſurprize, which Wolſey affected to fear on the part of the French king.

Francis, nettled at this proceeding, perſuaded the pope (Leo X.) who durſt not diſoblige him, to reinſtate Guillard, the former biſhop of Tournay, in that ſee; a bull was accordingly iſſued for that purpoſe, and obtained before Wolſey knew any thing of the matter. This mandate gave great offence both to Henry and his favourite, who thus ſaw himſelf deprived of a very lucrative office: but Francis, who had never an intention to break entirely with Wolſey, whoſe friendſhip was ſo neceſſary to him about Henry's perſon, endeavoured to appeaſe the powerful prelate by promiſing to exert his utmoſt efforts to procure him a cardinal's hat, which he knew to be the principal object of his ambition.

Wolſey before this had made ſeveral advances to obtain that honour: upon the death of cardinal Bambridge, archbiſhop of York, he had employed Adrian de Caſtello, who was biſhop of Bath, and collector for the pope in England, to be his agent in this affair; but de Caſtello, inſtead of promoting, had betrayed Wolſey's intereſt, which when the latter knew, he was ſo exaſperated, that he threw Polydore Virgil, the hiſtorian, who was ſubcollector in England to Caſtello, into the Tower, from whence he was with great difficulty afterwards releaſed, though not till Wolſey had obtained the cardinal's hat, which Francis at this time actually procured him *; but the haughty prelate looked upon the favour as due to his merit, and, inſtead of ſhewing himſelf grateful to Francis, he ſtill retained an implacable hatred againſt him, on account of the affair of Tournay, and did all he could, not only to exaſperate Henry, but to promote a general league in Europe againſt him.

Henry's cabinet-council was at this time compoſed of Wolſey; Fox, the old biſhop of Wincheſter; the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk; and Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury: the four latter, though extremely devoted to the king, made the intereſt of their country the governing principle of all their councils, and were deſirous that the king might huſband both his treaſure and his reputation. As Francis had hitherto behaved with ſeeming good faith towards England, they ſaw no reaſon for indulging ſo bitter a ſpirit againſt France, and accordingly oppoſed the cardinal in the council, when he was labouring to prove that it was the intereſt of England to humble the French monarch: at the ſame time they adviſed the king rather to turn his arms againſt Scotland, where the French

‡ See p. 120. of this volume.
† Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 508, 511.
* In September. Hall, fol. 57. He was cardinal by the title of Sanctæ Cæciliæ trans Tiberim; or, Sancti Ciriaci in termis. Rymer's Fœd. vol. xiii. p. 529, 530.

party,

party, under the duke of Albany, prevailed over the intereſt of his ſiſter.

Wolſey, impatient of controul, and holding it for a maxim, "that thoſe who were not with, muſt be againſt him," reſented this oppoſition ſo much, that he never ceaſed till he had alienated the king's favour and countenance from the honeſt counſellors, who were not long before they perceived the change, nor much at a loſs to divine the cauſe: they for ſome time, however, kept their ſentiments to themſelves; but at laſt old Wincheſter's patience forſook him, at beholding a creature of his own rearing, over-top himſelf and every one at court, and ſought leave to retire to his biſhopric, which was eaſily granted him: however, before he left the council-board, he told the king in his blunt way, "that he hoped he would not ſuffer the ſervant to be greater than the maſter." "Fear not, my good lord biſhop (replied Henry), it ſhall be my care that ſubjects ſhall obey, and not command." An anſwer which ſtung Fox to the quick, who now haſtened his departure for his dioceſe. He was followed in his reſignation by the duke of Norfolk, who likewiſe withdrew from a court where he perceived he was looked upon as little better than a cypher. The duke of Suffolk ſoon after applying for the remiſſion of a large ſum of money he had borrowed from the crown, to ſupport the great figure he had made in France, was violently oppoſed in his ſuit by Wolſey, upon which he alſo retired from court.

But there yet remained a formidable rival at the council-board, who muſt be removed before Wolſey could completely carry his point; this was Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, a prelate of approved diſintereſtedneſs and prudence, who had never indeed entered into any court intrigu s, but, being poſſeſſed of the great-ſeal as chancellor, he was often uneaſy to Wolſey; but the latter not daring to puſh at him in a violent manner, compaſſed his ends in another way, and managed ſo as to oblige Warham to reſign the great ſeal.

Since his promotion to the dignity of cardinal he had become more vain, proud, and imperious than ever; but the chief ſtreſs of his arrogance was levelled againſt Warham: to mortify whom, he this year got himſelf appointed legate a latere from the pope, which gave him precedency in the province of the archbiſhop of Canterbury; and being thus empowered to have the legatine croſs borne before him, he cauſed that of York to be alſo carried erect along with it. We have ſpoken elſewhere of the conteſt between the two ſees, which, after having cauſed violent quarrels, could not be decided but by the king's expreſs commands to the archbiſhops of York not to have the croſs carried before them in the other province; but Wolſey, who thought himſelf much above his predeceſſors, prepared to revive the conteſt in contempt of theſe prohibitions, and made ſuch other encroachments upon the archbiſhop in his eccleſiaſtical capacity, as left him little better than a cypher at court. Warham, who was of a peaceable temper, ſeeing the moſt valuable rights and privileges of his primacy trampled upon by this inſolent miniſter, and knowing that if he ſhould attempt to oppoſe him, he ſhould not ſucceed, by reaſon of the abſolute ſway the other had over the king, he reſigned the great-ſeal into Henry's hands, who, two days after, committed it to the cuſtody of Wolſey, whom he enabled to ſupport his increaſing dignity with continual benefactions of prebends, wardſhips, and other perquiſites. Beſides the revenues of his archiepiſcopal ſee, and the office of chancellor, he farmed at a low rate the biſhoprics of Bath, Worceſter, and Hereford, poſſeſſed by Italians, who were allowed to reſide abroad, and who were glad to purchaſe this indulgence by parting with a conſiderable ſhare of their profits.

Wolſey being now rid of every check upon his conduct, purſued his favourite project of being revenged upon Francis I. by ſetting the king his maſter at variance with him, and cauſing him to enter into a league againſt France. Having properly prepared Henry by repeated inſinuations of the danger of letting France grow too powerful, he privately acquainted the emperor Maximilian, that it would not be difficult to diſengage his maſter from his connexion with Francis; and in the mean time he perſuaded Henry to renew the alliance between Spain and England, notwithſtanding the treachery and deceit with which Ferdinand of Arragon had formerly behaved.

As to Maximilian, he was overjoyed at this propoſal: he had for ſome time been apprehenſive that the balance of power muſt be ruined in Italy by the ſucceſs of Francis, unleſs he could raiſe him up a competitor for the duchy of Milan; the preſent conjuncture appeared moſt favourable to his project, and he diſpatched an ambaſſador to London, to ſolicit ſuccours for Francis Sforza, who now reſided in Germany, and had borne the title of duke of Milan ever ſince the captivity of his elder brother.

Notwithſtanding all the arrogance of Wolſey, he ſaw many difficulties offer themſelves to the carrying on his deſigns; but he obviated them all by that politic diſſimulation which ſerved him ſo effectually through the whole courſe of his adminiſtration: he deſired Henry not to rely wholly on his advice, but to ſummon a general council, and take the opinions of the ableſt ſtateſmen of the kingdom; at the ſame time he was ſure that his ſovereign was already ſo prepoſſeſſed by the force of the arguments he had laid before him, that any oppoſition to his plan would only end in the confuſion of thoſe who ſhould ſet themſelves up againſt it.

A general council being ſummoned on this occaſion, Wolſey opened the aſſembly with a long and laboured ſpeech, in which he very roundly gave his opinion for a breach with France, and expatiated on the reaſons which Henry had to be diſſatisfied with that court; he in particular dwelt upon the protection which Francis had afforded to the duke of Albany, who, by French intereſt, had wreſted the government of Scotland from a princeſs of the Engliſh blood; and, after many florid arguments, concluded with obſerving, that the daily ſucceſſes of Francis, and the continual accretion of his power, were alone ſufficient reaſons for England to interpoſe to check the progreſs of thoſe arms, which, in a ſhort time, ſhe might expect to ſee turned againſt herſelf. There was a ſtrong oppoſition made to this belligerant ſcheme, drawn from the ſacred nature of public faith, and of the engagements between Henry and Francis: but the biſhop of Durham and ſome other new counſellors, introduced by the cardinal, declared themſelves to be ſtrongly of his opinion.

At laſt, the debate being over, Henry declared himſelf in favour of his miniſter's ſentiments, but, in order to follow a middle courſe, added, "that he did not mean to plunge England into a war, but to raiſe work for France by ſupporting the Sforza family;" as, in all probability, had been ſuggeſted to him by his favourite and director. Agreeable to theſe views he empowered Richard Pace, his ambaſſador at the court of the emperor Maximilian, to treat with that ſovereign and the duke of Milan on this ſubject, and in the mean time ſupplied them with a large ſum of money.

Sforza was not ungrateful for this inſtance of Wolſey's friendſhip, as appears from an authentic note of hand given to Wolſey by Michael de Abbatis, ſecretary to the duke of Milan, for a penſion of ten thouſand ducats to the cardinal, as ſoon as his maſter ſhould recover poſſeſſion of his duchy*.

I muſt now, before we cloſe the year 1515, briefly mention the affairs of Scotland, which likewiſe engaged the government's attention. We have already obſerved, that Alexander, duke of Albany, arrived in Scotland in the beginning of the year, where he found the kingdom involved in civil diſcord and diſſention, which the king of England carefully fomented. As uncle to the infant James V. he aſſumed the title of Protector of the Scottiſh realm, and, by the connivance of the pope, filled the benefices with his own creatures.

The duke of Albany, though of Scottiſh extraction, was a ſtranger to Scotland, being born in the time of his father's baniſhment, nor could he ſo much as ſpeak the country language: in this ſituation he was under a neceſſity to be guided by the counſels of others, natives of the kingdom; and he adopted thoſe of Hepburn, biſhop of Murray, a paſſionate and factious prelate, who having a diſpute about his dioceſe with Fermor, archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, who was ſupported by the earl of Hume, he repreſented this nobleman ſo diſadvantageouſly to the regent, that the latter treated him with manifeſt ſigns of coldneſs, and even contempt.

Hume, being naturally proud and haughty, was ſtung to the quick with Albany's behaviour, and reſolved to let him ſee that he was not a perſon to be affronted with impunity: he directly reconciled himſelf to the queen dowager, and perſuading her that the king her ſon was in danger, adviſed her to carry him over privately to England, and to throw both herſelf and the young monarch upon the protection of Henry. The queen, alarmed for the ſafety of her ſon, gave into the advice of Hume, and had actually got as far as Stirling with the infant king on their way ſouthward, when Albany, having received intelligence of their deſign, ſuddenly ſurprized them both: however, he ſhewed ſo much regard for the queen of Scotland, as to leave her at liberty to retire into England, which ſhe did this year, with her huſband the earl of Angus; but the perſon of the young monarch was by Albany delivered to the care of noblemen of the greateſt diſtinction and neareſt relation to the crown. As for Hume, he, with the earl of Arran, a nobleman allied to his family, made his eſcape into England; whereupon the regent ſent ambaſſadors to Henry, to juſtify his conduct; and at the ſame time ſo artfully treated with the fugitives, that he prevailed with them to return into Scotland. In the mean time the queen of Scotland was delivered of a daughter at Harbottle caſtle, in Northumberland, who was chriſtened by the name of Margaret.

The beginning of the year 1516 was diſtinguiſhed by the death of the famous Ferdinand, king of Arragon, by which event the crown of Spain of courſe devolved upon prince Charles, whoſe mother Juanna remained ſtill unfit for government. Wolſey, to his great mortification, now ſaw his meaſures broke, for engaging all Europe in a war with France; for a diviſion happening in the councils of the young prince of Spain, and a diſpute about the regency of Caſtile during his minority, de Chievres, his governor, who had a great aſcendant over him, and always inclined to the French party, perſuaded Charles to take no manner of concern in the affairs of Europe until thoſe of his own territories were ſettled. Nothing remarkable paſſed in England in the beginning of the year 1516, except the birth of a princeſs, of whom the queen was delivered on the eighteenth day of February, at Greenwich, and who was afterwards the infamous queen Mary.

It was not without reaſon that Maximilian had readily embraced the opportunity offered him by cardinal Wolſey, of making war upon France: there was no more likelihood of his being able to keep his conqueſts in the ſtate of Venice, ſince Francis I. was become maſter of the Milaneſe, and had joined forces with the Venetians; nor could he expect any farther aſſiſtance from the pope, who had lately made his peace with the French king; he therefore found he ſhould be obliged to act alone in Italy: but firſt he tried to cajole Henry, by offering to inveſt him with the duchy of Milan, and then to reſign the imperial diadem in his favour, and put him in poſſeſſion of the empire. At the ſame time he delivered to Pace, Henry's ambaſſador at his court, a plan for executing his project, in which it was propoſed, "that the king of England ſhould croſs the ſea with two thouſand horſe and four thouſand archers, and march through the Low Countries to Triers, where Maximilian was to meet him, with the electors and other German princes, and the reſignation of the empire was to be accompliſhed, and the inveſtiture of Milan granted. An army, raiſed in the empire, was to be there aſſembled, ready to enter France on that ſide, on being joined by one thouſand Engliſh horſe and three thouſand archers, under the duke of Suffolk, or ſome other general of equal quality; whilſt Henry, with a thouſand horſe and as many archers, and another body of German troops, ſhould paſs through the Auſtrian territories, and the country of the Griſons, to the lake of Coma, and ſo to Milan; from whence, matters being thus ſettled, Maximilian was to attend him to Rome, where he ſhould be crowned emperor †."

Whatever ambition Henry had in his nature, he had too good a judgment to accept of this glaring propoſal: he was by this time perfectly well acquainted with Maximilian, and therefore, thanking him for his offer, he deſired he would defer the execution of his ſcheme to a more favourable opportunity, and in the mean time gratified him with a ſum of money, which was the real object of the

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 525.

† Fiddes, p. 120, 124.

emperor's

emperor's purſuit, who was ſo eager for driving the French out of Italy, that he employed this money in raiſing an army of about twenty thouſand Germans and Swiſs, with which, in the month of March, he entered the ſtate of Venice, while the Venetians, aſſiſted by a body of French troops, commanded by Lautrec, were beſieging Breſcia. Upon his approach the French and Venetians raiſed the ſiege, and, after making a ſhew of oppoſing his paſſage of the rivers Mincio, Oglio, and Adda, retired to Milan to avoid a battle. Then the emperor approached Milan without much difficulty; but thirteen thouſand Swiſs arriving at the ſame time, on the other ſide of the town, to the aſſiſtance of the French, Maximilian ſaw his enterprize was impracticable; and having reaſon, from ſome intercepted letters, to apprehend a conſpiracy was formed for ſeizing his perſon, he decamped with great precipitation, and repaſſed the Adda. The French, puſhing the Imperialiſts in their retreat, cut off numbers of them, while ſtill greater numbers were daily deſerting. Maximilian, abandoning all his conqueſts, retired with the utmoſt expedition into the Trentin, and the French in a few days took Breſcia. All this happened before the twenty-ſeventh of May, when the ambaſſador Pace ſent advice of the ſucceſſes of the French; but their career was then ſtopped, being repulſed with loſs in ſeveral attacks upon Verona, and forced to raiſe the ſiege of that place upon the approach of count William de Roquendolf, one of Maximilian's generals.

Whilſt the emperor was endeavouring to embroil the French affairs, Francis was forming a new project for the conqueſt of Naples, and tried to render the pope propitious to his undertaking; but Leo wiſhed for nothing ſo eagerly as the expulſion of the French from Italy, and, forgetting all his obligations to Francis, laboured to make the beſt of the preſent poſture of affairs, and, while he amuſed the king of France with vague negociations, exerted all his endeavours in private to traverſe his deſigns.

Maximilian ſtill ſeemed determined to purſue the war, and make another expedition into Italy. It was with this view, and in the hopes of getting more money from England, that he ſent the cardinal of Sion thither, to apologize for his late retreat from the Milaneſe, and to propoſe a new alliance. The cardinal acted his part ſo well, that he once more brought Henry to truſt his court; and, on the twentieth of October this year, the plan of a new treaty was formed for the defence of holy church, and for reſtraining the unbounded ambition of certain princes. The young king of Spain and his mother were parties in this treaty, as were likewiſe the cantons of Switzerland. The heads of the treaty now concluded were as follow:

"I. That the confederates ſhould defend one another, and bring aid by land, at their own coſt, being required, within one month after complaint againſt the enemy.

"II. If the enemy have not port-towns, &c. then the war ſhould alſo be made by ſea by them both, and the fleet ſupplied if it be diminiſhed, &c.

"III. That no peace ſhall be made with the enemy, or truce, but by mutual conſent.

"IV. Place alſo was left for other princes whatſoever, to come into this league within eight months, by conſent of all the confederates.

"V. That pope Leo X. ſhall be comprized in this league, if he will excommunicate the perſons and ſtates that ſhall moleſt the confederates, and that he enter within ſix months.

"VI. That the Swiſs ſhall be admitted if they will, ſo that they bind themſelves not to ſerve under any other princes, and on that condition to have penſions."

This laſt article ſeems to have had no effect, ſince the king of France made, about the ſame time, a league with the whole Helvetic body (ſtyled the Treaty of Perpetual Peace), in which, upon augmenting their penſions, the Swiſs engaged never to aſſiſt any potentate againſt France.

As nothing in this league pointed directly againſt France, Francis took great care not to puſh Henry into any open breach; he even, on the fifth day of November, this year, punctually paid fifty thouſand crowns, as ſtipulated by the late treaty with England; and now perceiving the inſincerity of the pope, he dropped all thoughts of the conqueſt of Naples, and applied himſelf to gain over Charles, the young king of Spain. This latter, wiſely reſolving, if poſſible, in the infant ſtate of his government, to live well with all, ſo as to be ſure of the aſſiſtance of the one ſtate, if he ſhould be attacked by the other, agreed to open conferences at Noyon, de Boiſi acting for the king of France, and de Chievres for the king of Spain. Each of thoſe miniſters had been tutor to his maſter, and was zealous for his intereſt. The conferences laſted thirteen days, and ended in a treaty, by which it was agreed, That Charles ſhould marry mademoiſelle Louiſa, the daughter of Francis, inſtead of madame Renée, the late king's daughter; and that he ſhould pay one hundred thouſand crowns a year for the board of the young lady, who was but a year old, until ſhe was marriageable. In conſideration of this, Francis was to reſign to Charles all his pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples. By another article it was agreed, that Charles ſhould, within ſix months, reſign the kingdom of Navarre to Henry d'Albret, ſon of John d'Albret and Catherine, king and queen of Navarre, who had been diſpoſſeſſed by Ferdinand; and in caſe he ſhould not perform this article, Francis ſhould be allowed to aſſiſt the king of Navarre *.

Soon after, the emperor, that mean, mercenary, timid, and inconſtant prince, weary of his league with England, that brought him in no money, and afraid that Francis might interrupt his grandſon Charles's journey into Spain, and thereby defeat the whole ſcheme of his ſucceſſion, did, towards the end of this year, agree that a congreſs ſhould be held at Bruges, and a treaty of peace with France was ſigned by his miniſters at Cambray, in March following, by which, for the conſideration of two hundred thouſand ducats, Maximilian delivered up Verona into the hands of the French general, who immediately reſtored it to the Venetians.

The Engliſh court was not much alarmed at the treaty of Noyon: the diſcerning Wolſey plainly ſaw that Charles, by this treaty, meant nothing more than to gain time, by granting Francis whatever he could deſire, for fear of being hindered by him from going to take poſſeſſion of his dominions:

* Mezerai. Guicciardin. Lord Herbert.

but

but the conduct of Maximilian was of a much more ſerious nature to England, and the cardinal now ſaw his whole ſyſtem of politics daſhed in pieces by a ſingle blow. The emperor had, by his treaty with France, ſhut himſelf out of Italy, the promiſing alliance againſt France was vaniſhed into ſmoke, and the great ſums Henry had advanced appeared to have been uſeleſly ſquandered: in a word, England was obliged for ſome time to taſte the ſweets of peace, that moſt deſireable of all ſtates to a trading and a maritime power, ſuch as ſhe at this time began to be.

But it fared not ſo well with her ſiſter kingdom, Scotland, where the Humes ſtill continued to foment diſturbances; and Henry, at their inſtigation, had, in the beginning of this year, wrote to the Scottiſh parliament, deſiring that they would ſend back the duke of Albany to France, becauſe it was not proper that the young king ſhould be in the power of his preſumptive heir; and he threatened, in caſe they ſhould refuſe to comply with this propoſal, that he would take other meaſures for the preſervation of his nephew. The parliament, in anſwer to this letter from Henry, ſent a memorial, or, as they ſtyle it, "a refuſal to the king of England, touching his advice to remove the duke of Albany from the government of the young king of Scotland," ſealed with the ſeals of the chief nobility of the kingdom. In this paper, after ſome reaſoning with Henry touching the nature of his demands, they tell him, that "the duke had been elected regent without one diſſenting voice in all their parliament, whoſe ordinances and elections were not to be impugned by any perſon whatſoever*."

The Humes finding their ſcheme fruſtrated by the noble reſolution of the parliament, perſuaded Hamilton, earl of Arran, to claim the regency, as kinſman to the king, and in the mean time they levied troops to ſupport his pretenſions. The duke of Albany being informed of this conſpiracy, marched againſt the earl of Arran, and in a few days reduced his caſtle of Hamilton; then the Humes, pulling off the maſk, made themſelves maſters of Dunbar, which they demoliſhed; but being defeated and taken in fight, they were brought to trial, and loſt their lives and eſtates as traitors to their country. The regent having thus eſtabliſhed his authority, acted with ſo much prudence that he preſerved the affections of the Scots, and gained the eſteem of Henry and his miniſter, notwithſtanding all that the party of the queen dowager could do to hinder it; and, on the laſt day of December, 1516, Henry agreed to a truce with Scotland for one year.

The year 1517 affords very little buſineſs for the hiſtorian's pen in relation to affairs in England, which now enjoyed a profound peace, ſave that a ſedition was raiſed by the London apprentices, on account of the great number of foreign tradeſmen that had ſettled in England, on the great encouragement which cardinal Wolſey, who may truly be ſtyled the father of revived learning in this country, gave to men of learning and abilities in the polite and mechanic arts. As thoſe foreigners, at their firſt ſettlement, generally excelled the Engliſh in dexterity and application to their buſineſs, the ſhopkeepers and the lower ſet of artificers complained that their cuſtomers fell off, and that greater encouragement was given to foreigners than to the natives. From murmurings they came to acts of outrage, and many ſtrangers were inſulted and beaten upon the ſtreets, until the government was obliged to interfere by iſſuing an order for all tradeſmen to keep their apprentices and ſervants within doors from ſeven at night till nine in the morning: but the latter ſo ill brooked this reſtraint, that, on the evening of the thirtieth of April, they gathered in great numbers, broke open ſeveral priſons, ſet criminals at liberty, and pulled down the houſes of foreigners. But they were ſuppreſſed in a few days, and many of them condemned to death: one Lincoln, a broker, their ringleader, with a few others, were actually executed; but all the reſt, amounting to above four thouſand, were pardoned at the interceſſion and by the advice of cardinal Wolſey.

This year England was viſited with a return of that moſt dreadful epidemical diſeaſe, the ſweating ſickneſs. The effects were very ſudden, for it proved fatal in three hours after the patient was affected. When it firſt began, Henry's court was extremely ſplendid and numerous, on account of the queen of Scotland's being in London upon a viſit to her brother; but the dreadful havock which the ſickneſs made, ſoon thinned it: that princeſs retired to Berwick with her huſband; the law-terms were adjourned; and Henry, to keep as much as he could the infection from his family, reduced his officers and domeſtics to a very ſmall number. It was computed, that in ſome towns half, and in others one third of the inhabitants, died of this dreadful diſtemper.

In the mean while Maximilian, finding his late conduct in Italy had reduced him very low in the eſteem of the Engliſh court, ſought to revive Henry's ambition by keeping him in hopes of the imperial dignity: what abſurdities will not ambition and avarice lead men into! Though Henry had at firſt affected to decline this honour, it made an impreſſion upon his mind; and now that the emperor had come into the Low Countries, to viſit his grandſon Charles, he diſpatched the earl of Worceſter and Dr. Cuthbert Tunſtal to treat with Maximilian, and propoſe an interview; but when they came to preſs the point of reſignation home to Maximilian, he ſhuffled in ſuch a manner that the ambaſſadors plainly perceived that he had no deſign to part with the imperial crown, and that his propoſal was no other than a plot to draw more money from the king their maſter. Of this they gave Henry notice, and Wolſey now diſſuaded him from having any farther concern with Maximilian, or from the leaſt truſting him, unleſs he ſhould, by his actions, give ſome previous earneſt of his ſincerity; and, above all, he wiſely and honeſtly put the king in mind of his father's maxim, "that the leſſer dominion is always ſwallowed up in the greater," and that the dignity of an emperor of Germany muſt do great prejudice to the great figure which England then made.

And, indeed, it muſt be confeſſed, that Henry, through the management of the cardinal, was at this time in very high reputation all over Europe, as appears from the many letters, and other inſtruments, upon our public records, ſent to the government of England during this pacific year, in parti-

* Rymer's Fœd. vol. xiii. p. 550, 551.

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cular an application from the pope and the whole college of cardinals, imploring a ſubſidy againſt the Turks, who had juſt defeated the ſultan of the Mamelucks* in Egypt, and who, they obſerved, would certainly turn their arms next againſt the Chriſtians; though it afterwards appeared, that the ſole deſign of pope Leo was to enrich himſelf and his family with the ſpoils of Chriſtendom.

This pontiff had, in the preceding year, made uſe of the intereſt and arms of Francis I. to ſtrip Francis Maria de la Rovera of the duchy of Urbino, which he beſtowed on Laurentio de Medici, one of his own nephews; but Rovera, in this year, by the help of the Spaniſh forces, recovered his duchy: though Francis I. being afraid of loſing Milan by the intrigues of the pope, not only ſupplied his holineſs with troops for the war of Urbino, but likewiſe offered Catherine, heireſs of the houſe of Boulogne, in marriage to Laurentio de Medici, who eſpouſed her accordingly. The pope was ſo well pleaſed with the match, that he indulged Francis with a tenth upon his clergy, on pretence of maintaining the war againſt the Infidels.

At the ſame time, to indemnify himſelf for the mortification he had ſuffered by Rovera's ſucceſs, he availed himſelf of the friendſhip he now entertained with all the princes of Europe, each of which vied with one another in giving his holineſs proofs of their eſteem: the ſeaſon was to be improved, and the progreſs of the Turks gave a plauſible handle for beginning the operations, and laying all the Chriſtian world under an immenſe tax.

It was ſtill taught and believed for a good while, that the pope, out of the inexhauſtible treaſure of the church, ariſing from the merits of Chriſt, and works of ſupererogation of the ſaints, had a power of diſtributing indulgencies on certain conditions preſcribed by him, to the greateſt and moſt profligate of ſinners, for a plenary remiſſion of ſin (as it is practiſed at this day in Portugal, &c.) Theſe indulgences were ſuppoſed at firſt to reach only to relaxation of penances or eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. Urban II. in the beginning of the XIth century, was the firſt that granted a full remiſſion of all ſins, to thoſe who ſhould take up arms for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Infidels; which cuſtom was kept up by his ſucceſſors, ſome of whom extended the benefit of their indulgences to ſuch perſons who, being unwilling or unable to go, maintained a ſoldier in their room. At length theſe ſpiritual favours were diſtributed to thoſe who took the field againſt the enemies of holy church, or heretics. Great ſums were raiſed by this means, but ſeldom applied to the ends for which they were intended. Leo X. reſolved to follow ſo good precedents, the benefit whereof was to extend even to the dead, whoſe ſouls, upon payment of ſo much money, were immediately redeemed out of purgatory. People had likewiſe the liberty of eating eggs and white meats on faſt days, and of chuſing their confeſſor, and the like. Guicciardini ſays, that the powers for releaſing ſouls out of purgatory were openly played for in taverns.

The order of Dominicans, as being moſt in favour with the lower rank of people, were made the brokers of this ſcandalous commerce; each friar or agent was entruſted with a ſet of indulgencies of all prices, of all denominations, in all caſes, and for all ſins; and the better to collect the money ariſing from this market, all Chriſtendom was divided into different departments, in each of which a certain number of thoſe prieſts were commiſſioned to recommend and enforce the utility of indulgences.

But Leo had, in ſome meaſure, already defeated his own intention; the great encouragement he had given to learning, had awakened curioſity in thoſe whoſe profeſſion it was to be ſcholars, and the flagrant practices of his agents had diſpoſed many of the common people againſt him: nevertheleſs, ſuch was the authority of the ſee of Rome at this time all over Europe, that it is hard to ſay where this evil would have ſtopped, had it not been for Martin Luther, an Auguſtin friar, profeſſor of divinity at Wirtemberg in Saxony, a man of great parts, learning, and ſpirit, who, full of zeal againſt theſe abuſes and novelties, roſe up to expoſe and refute them. He confined himſelf to his ſubject in his firſt writings, but having occaſion afterwards to enquire into the grounds and pretences upon which ſuch indulgences were founded, he began to call in queſtion ſome of the received notions about penance, purgatory, and the papal authority: this he did in ninety-five problematical theſes, which he ſent this year to Albert of Brandenburgh, archbiſhop of Mentz, which he offered to maintain againſt all opponents. Hence aroſe a controverſy, in which other doctrines were diſputed. And this happening at a time when the art of printing had rendered learning more eaſy and general than it had been in former ages, a foundation was laid for one of the moſt remarkable and important revolutions in the human mind that occurs in hiſtory, either ancient or modern; this was no other than the Reformation, an incident which opened the eyes of men to diſcover the cheats and impoſitions of the court of Rome, and, together with the ineſtimable privilege of the freedom of private judgment in religious matters, introduced the no leſs valuable bleſſing of civil and political liberty.

Had any one told Luther at that time, that he would ſubvert the Roman catholic religion in almoſt one half of Europe, he would not have believed it. He went farther than he intended; as is the caſe in all diſputes, and in almoſt all tranſactions. It has been ſaid, and with an air of probability, that the beſt method to have made this zealous reformer change his opinion, would have been to have ſent him a cardinal's hat; but the contempt he was held in by the church of Rome proved fatal to her power; for Luther, ſeeing himſelf upon the brink of a great undertaking, that of a total breach with the court of Rome, and

* The word Mameluck ſignifies in Syriac, a hired ſoldier. Jovius ſays, they were Circaſſian ſlaves, ſold by the Tartars and Podolians to the merchants, and being trained up at Cairo in military exerciſes, were picked out for the ſultan's guard, and preferred to the higheſt poſts, who in 1255, reſolved to obtain the kingdom of Egypt for themſelves. The government was elective, and the ſon could claim no inheritance but his father's perſonal eſtate. Every Mameluck, whoſe number in all was about ſixteen or eighteen thouſand, had a vote in the election, and required a gold ducat of the ſultan, as ſoon as choſen. There were in all of this race ſixteen kings, from the year before-mentioned, to the preſent year 1517, when Tonombeius II. their laſt king, was conquered in the firſt year of his reign, by Selimus I. Thus Egypt became a province of the Turkiſh empire, as it ſtill continues. Heylin, &c. Guicciard.

not receiving aſſurances of protection from any of the German princes, though ſeveral of them had given ear to his doctrine, he endeavoured to reconcile himſelf to the pope, by writing a letter to cardinal Cajetanus, in which he makes an apology for his behaviour, and promiſes to drop his diſpute concerning indulgences, provided ſilence was impoſed upon his adverſaries; but the court of Rome taking the letter as a proof that Luther was intimidated, and would ſoon become tractable, paid no regard to his propoſal of a reconciliation: but at length the controverſy aroſe to ſuch an height, that Leo, though in his own mind he deſpiſed ſuch kind of diſputes, was obliged, as pope, to interfere in defence of the doctrine of indulgences, and of his own right to grant them.

Luther now ſaw that he had no hopes but by declaring open war againſt the pope himſelf. Not to enter into particulars, he firſt appealed to a general council againſt his holineſs; he then proceeded to plead "for reſtoring the cup to the laity; for reforming the diſorders of monaſteries; and for aboliſhing auricular confeſſion." Upon the pope's condemning forty-two of his articles, upon thoſe and other heads, and ordering his books to be burned by the univerſities of Louvaine and Cologne, this bold reformer, in a public aſſembly of the univerſity of Wirtemberg, threw into a fire, made in an open ſquare, all the pope's bulls and decretals.

At length the old elector of Saxony, Frederick ſurnamed the Wiſe, and ſeveral other German princes, with a great body of the people, openly eſpouſed Luther, whoſe writings were thereby diſperſed all over Europe, and in England eſpecially, where the diſpoſitions of the people at this time ſeemed particularly favourable to the great event which ſoon after happened. But it is now time to reſume our relation of civil tranſactions. The ſickneſs, or rather plague, which ſtill continued in England, ſeems, for the moſt part of this year, to have confined Henry to a private life; we ſhall therefore proceed to the more buſy year 1518.

The French king, who had ſtill greatly at heart the recovering of Tournay, thought he could not hope to ſucceed in that deſign, unleſs he could gain Wolſey over to his intereſt; and this was only to be done by indemnifying him for the loſs of the adminiſtration of that biſhopric: accordingly he ſent a gentleman of his bed-chamber over to England in the ſpring of this year, in order to ſound the cardinal on that ſubject. The meſſenger found Wolſey very ready to liſten to the overtures he had to make: the truth is, that this miniſter was heartily tired of his biſhopric, as he found very little regard paid to his adminiſtratorſhip, and conſequently he could draw very little profit from it; and as he had no hopes that Maximilian, who was exceſſively poor, and Charles taken up with ſettling his affairs in Spain, would come up to his price, he reſolved to make the beſt bargain he could with Francis, who agreed to give him a bond for the payment of twelve thouſand crowns annually, during his (the cardinal's) life, in conſideration of the loſs he might ſuſtain by the redelivery of Tournay. This private convention being ſettled, Wolſey on a ſudden changed his ſtrain, and repreſented to Henry, that the reſtoring of Tournay to the crown of France would be the moſt political meaſure he could purſue, inaſmuch as the citizens had, ever ſince it came into the poſſeſſion of England, been contriving how to deliver it up to France, and the keeping it coſt every year an immenſe ſum to the king, while the nation received no return either in power or profit. This argument, however Polydore Virgil and ſome other prejudiced writers may have tried to miſrepreſent the motives of it with regard to the cardinal, was certainly juſt, and founded on ſound policy. Henry ſaw it in this light, and, though it is probable that he might think his favourite had a point to gain in it for his own advantage, yet, as his intereſt and that of the nation happened to coincide, the king aſſented to the propoſal; and admiral Bonivet, with the archbiſhop of Paris, and Villeroy, ſecretary of ſtate, were ſent over by Francis, in the latter part of the ſummer, with a retinue of no fewer than twelve hundred perſons, to open the negociation: at the ſame time they brought a letter, all written by the hand of Francis himſelf, to Henry, with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of his friendſhip, and ſome preſents.

Wolſey had now a commiſſion given him by Henry, for ſettling preliminaries with Villeroy; and the generous offers of Francis had ſuch an effect with the Engliſh miniſter, that in a few days four different treaties were engroſſed.

The firſt related to the marriage between the princeſs Mary and the dauphin, which was to be ſolemnized as ſoon as the young prince ſhould be full fourteen years old, each of the two kings promiſing to pay five hundred thouſand crowns, in caſe it was his fault that the marriage was not completed. Mary's dower was to be three hundred thirty-three thouſand crowns of gold, one half to be paid on the day of marriage, and the other within a year after. The jointure was to be as great as had ever been aſſigned to any queen of France, and particularly to Anne of Brittany, and Mary of England, wives to Lewis XII.

The ſecond treaty was upon the reſtitution of Tournay, for which Francis I. engaged to pay Henry ſix hundred thouſand crowns of thirty-five pence Tournois each, beſides fifty thouſand livres Tournois due to him from the inhabitants. But out of theſe two ſums Francis was to keep back the princeſs Mary's dower. As to the payments, he obliged himſelf to pay fifty thouſand livres upon taking poſſeſſion of the place, and then twenty-five thouſand livres every ſix months, till the whole was paid.

The third treaty concerned the outrages which might be committed for the future againſt the peace by the ſubjects of either king, and contained certain regulations to procure ſpeedy reparation.

By the fourth, the two monarchs agreed upon an interview in the village of Sandinfelt, between Ardres and Guiſnes*.

Theſe treaties being ratified, the princeſs Mary was betrothed to the dauphin in St. Paul's church, at London; and the earl of Worceſter (late the lord Herbert), with Weſt, biſhop of Ely, and a magnificent train, were ſent over to demand the performance of Francis, who ſwore to the obſervance of the treaties, delivered hoſtages for the payment of the money, and, in the name of his ſon, fulfilled the contract of marriage.

* Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 624—679.

During

During theſe tranſactions, which took up the greateſt part of the year, pope Leo, ſtill intent upon the affair of the cruſade (or rather the ſums he propoſed to raiſe by virtue of that holy bubble) appointed cardinal Laurentius Campeius, or Campejo, his legate a latere* to the court of England, with inſtructions to ſolicit Henry's engagement in the general league, or five years truce, amongſt all the princes of Europe, in order to proſecute jointly the war againſt the Infidels; and an authority to demand a tenth of the Engliſh clergy for the ſame ſervice.

Campejo ſet out from Rome in the beginning of May, on his way to England; but Wolſey, having gotten notice of his appointment, ſent one of his confidents to Rome, to complain to the pope of the affront put upon him by the nomination of another legate, while he reſided cardinal in England. Leo being unwilling to diſoblige ſo powerful a favourite, joined Wolſey in the legation with Campejo, and at the ſame time ſent the Engliſh cardinal a commiſſion, veſting him with the ſole right of viſiting Engliſh monaſteries. Campejo arrived in England in July; but when he came to open the points of his embaſſy, Wolſey, who was the pope's enemy in every one of theſe matters, managed it ſo that the Engliſh clergy gave a flat denial to the pope's demand; and as to the project of the league, he repreſented it to Henry in its juſt light, that of a ſtale expedient for ſqueezing from the crown ſubſidies to the ſee of Rome: Henry therefore declined all ſuch engagements. There is in the Collection of Public Acts a bull of Leo X. with extraordinary powers to the two legates, authoriſing them to grant a plenary indulgence to the faithful of both ſexes who ſhould be preſent at the maſs which either of the legates ſhould celebrate in the preſence of the king and queen, or at leaſt at the Benediction, provided they confeſſed their ſins or deſired to confeſs, and were penitent†. Among other circumſtances which this year contributed to Wolſey's greatneſs, we are to mention two new grants conferred on him by the king: by the firſt he is empowered to give letters patent of denization, under the great ſeal, to all who ſhould ſue unto him for the ſame; and by the other he had the following full powers from Henry, which we ſhall give in the words of the patent‡.

"To doo and make out our letters patent, under our great-ſele, from time to time, of all congie d'elires, royal aſſentes, reſtitution of temporalities, as well as archbiſhoprickes, biſhoprickes, monaſteries, abbies, and priors of our foundation, as of all other houſes of religion, beyng for the tyme in oure handes by any other meane, within this our royalme of England, Wales, and the Marches of the ſame, unto ſuch perſon or perſons, as hereafter ſhall, by due order, ſue for ſuch congie d'elires, royal aſſentes, and reſtitutions of temporalities. And alſo that ye, by virtue hereof, from tyme to tyme, doo cauſe to be made out our commiſſions and writtes of Dedimus proteſtatem to ſuch as ye ſhall think convenyent to take the omagies and fealtiſe of all manner of perſons, as well archbuſhops, buſhops, or other, due unto us for our ſaid temporalities; and that all ſuch ſummes of money as from tyme to tyme ſhall be due unto us by reaſon of the ſaid archbuſhoprickes, buſhoprickes, monaſteries, abbeys, priories, and houſes of religion, be always contented and paid to our uſe, in our hanaper of our Chauncerie, unto the clerke of the ſame for the tyme being. And theis our letters ſhall be to you ſufficient warrant and diſcharge in the premiſſes at all tymes hereafter."

Thoſe, with other dignities and powers, now conferred upon the cardinal, gave him double luſtre abroad, and made him reſpected equal to a crowned head; and ſuch was the deference paid him by the court of Rome, who were fearful of doing the leaſt thing to diſoblige him, that, on his application, cardinal Adrian de Caſtello, whom, as was before obſerved, he had gotten removed from the office of pope's collector in England, was now deprived of the cardinalate and of the biſhopric of Bath and Wells, which had been conferred on him, and the adminiſtration of which was now given to Wolſey, in order, as is there ſaid, to enable him the better to ſupport his dignity of cardinal and legate of the holy ſee.

Campejo's negociation, however, was in no wiſe accelerated by theſe conceſſions of the pope to his Engliſh colleague, for all he could obtain was a defenſive alliance in favour of the holy ſee, in caſe it ſhould be attacked by the infidels, to which Henry, about the end of the year, agreed, with room for the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain to enter into the ſame. This cold alliance, however, was far from anſwering the views of his holineſs, who intended to fill his coffers with the money which the more diſtant powers were to advance, to buy off a perſonal attendance upon this expedition; nevertheleſs, he approved and ratified the treaty, and the report of an intended invaſion by the Infidels, immediately vaniſhed.

The genius of the Engliſh was daily taking a new and more pacific turn; it was now cultivating riſing arts, it was improving trade, and encouraging manufactures; and we muſt do cardinal Wolſey the juſtice to ſay, that he made the nobleſt uſe of his power, excepting the vanity that attended it, that any miniſter ever did. His poſt of high-chancellor placed him at the fountain of juſtice, and never was it better adminiſtered; he was particularly careful in puniſhing that moſt deſtructive of all evils, perjury: he was a great protector of the poor, and enforced ſeveral excellent laws for the protection of the mercantile and induſtrious part of the people. We have already obſerved, that he was a great promoter of the arts and ſciences: the learning of the Engliſh was at this time equally uſeleſs and heavy, and their taſte none; Wolſey ſaw this, and had the virtue to attempt to improve the one, and to introduce the other. With this view he ſpared no pains to find out men of literary merit, nor thought any reward too great for ſuch merit. He employed no miniſters but ſuch as were

* There are four ſorts of legates. 1. They whom the pope ſends to preſide at general councils. 2. The pope's perpetual vicars in countries remote from Rome; thus before the Reformation, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was legatus natus apoſtolicæ ſedis. 3. They who for a certain time, and in certain places, are delegated to convene ſynods for reſtoring church diſcipline and other emergencies. 4. The name of legate is given to the pope's extraordinary ambaſſadors to emperors and kings, who are called legati a latere. At preſent none but cardinals have this character.

† Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 609.

‡ Ibid, p. 605.

ſcholars;

ſcholars; and under his adminiſtration the dignities of the law, of the church, and of the ſtate were filled with men whoſe merit was their only recommendation: Dr. Clark and Dr. Knight were, through him, made biſhops; Dr. Taylor was made maſter of the Rolls; Dr. Pace, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate; Dr. Gardiner, who had a very fine turn for letters, was employed in ſeveral ambaſſies; not to mention Cromwell and Moore, who, by his means, roſe to the higheſt offices in the ſtate; with a vaſt number of other promotions, equally juſt and generous.

He this year laid before the king a ſcheme for the advancement of learning, particularly at Oxford, which he propoſed to effect by founding ſeveral lectures for the furtherance of the belles lettres, and by reforming the ſtatutes of that great ſeminary. Henry, whoſe heart was as yet good, had a regard for the proſperity of his people, and gladly lent his countenance and authority to the noble and patriotic views of his favourite. The ſtatutes of the univerſity were put into Wolſey's hands, and he had the new-modelling of them, which was followed by the noble inſtitutions by him erected for the encouragement of learning, the particulars of which we have given us by a late writer of his life, and were as follow.

The firſt was that of theology, whereof one Blackwell, an excellent divine, was the firſt lecturer, of whom honourable mention is made in an epiſtle from the univerſity to the cardinal, wherein they acquaint his eminency, "that they are not able to expreſs the great benefit of his lectures in general, and more particularly the theological." Secondly, civil law; but who was the firſt perſon who read this lecture does not appear. Thirdly, of phyſic; the firſt who diſcharged this province was Thomas Muſgrave, maſter of arts. Fourthly, philoſophy; though we know nothing more concerning the perſon who was firſt appointed to read this lecture than that the initial letters of his name were L. B. Fifthly, for the mathematics, one Richard Crutcher was the firſt reader, of whom we find this character, repreſenting his morals and learing: "Crutcher is a perſon of ſo great probity and goodneſs, that he deſerves a better fortune than is common to mathematicians; and ſo great a maſter of his art, that he merits to be called ſo, by way of eminence and peculiar diſtinction." He was a native of Holland, and educated in the colleges of Wirtemburg and Cologne. Sixthly, for the Greek language, one Calphurnius, a native of Greece, was firſt appointed by the cardinal to this province, who firſt taught the pronunciation of that language in Oxford, as it is now read. Seventhly, for rhetoric and humanity, Clement was the firſt reader, who was ſucceeded by Thomas Luport, concerning whom More writes to his friend Eraſmus, "That he read in both tongues with the greateſt reputation*."

Neither muſt it be forgotten, that Henry, in imitation of the beſt regulated cities in Italy, and at the requeſt of the cardinal, and that of ſeveral other learned men mentioned in the preamble to the patent†, founded the College of Phyſicians, "to check (to uſe the words of the ſaid patent) the boldneſs of thoſe unſkilful men, who profeſs phyſic more out of avarice, than any confidence of a ſafe conſcience;" a ſalutary and undegenerating inſtitution!

At the ſame time that Wolſey was giving proofs of his glorious zeal for learning, he was exerting all the painful talents of a conſummate politician. The peace which Europe now enjoyed was interrupted in the beginning of the year 1519, by the death of the emperor Maximilian ‡, of whole mercenary feeble character the preceding pages have furniſhed ſome lively inſtances. This event neceſſarily induced Wolſey, as an able miniſter, to change his party with regard to France; for, upon the emperor's death, Francis I. declared himſelf a candidate to ſucceed him; a deſign which, had it taken place, muſt have proved very injurious to the intereſts of England: but Wolſey found means to fruſtrate it, through the means of Dr. Pace, the ſhrewdeſt negociator of the court of England, who ſo managed matters, that Charles, king of Spain, grandſon of the deceaſed emperor, was elected by a majority of one voice among the electors ‖.

The election of Charles was a terrible mortification to Francis, and the jealouſy of thoſe two potent princes occaſioned the bloody wars, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the courſe of this reign. In the mean time, as the government of England was now free from the fears of ſeeing a king of France emperor of Germany, Wolſey now renewed the former negociations with Francis, from whom he had received, while the election of an emperor was depending, a commiſſion conſtituting him that prince's procurator, commiſſary, and deputy for ſettling the whole particulars of the approaching interview between him and Henry; but it may be obſerved, that the advances made the cardinal not only by this monarch, but likewiſe by the new emperor, who, ſoon after his election, gave him a penſion of five thouſand ducats upon the biſhopric of Pace, in Caſtile, and two thouſand more upon the biſhopric of Pala, was not ſo much the effect of any perſonal eſteem for the miniſter, as through the fear of loſing the friendſhip of the king his maſter, whom they knew to be entirely governed by him. Francis, on his part, to give Henry a freſh mark of his reſpect, deſired him to ſtand god-father to his ſecond ſon, afterwards king of France by the name of Henry II. Hence we may perceive how happy Henry's ſituation then was, and how glorious his reign might have been, had he wiſely improved it; but, unfortunately for him, by his after-conduct he forfeited all thoſe advantages, and incurred a load of guilt and infamy.

As for Wolſey, all his fine qualities were diſgraced by his inſolence, pride, and rapaciouſneſs:

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* Grove's Wolſey, p 20, 21.

† John Chamber, Thomas Lynacre, Ferdinand de Victoria, Nicholas Halſewell, John Frances, and Robert Yaxley, our phyſicians. Ibid. p. 45, 46.

‡ On the twelfth of January. He was king of the Romans, and called emperor, though never crowned by that title. Some ſay, the reaſon was, becauſe he declined the charge and hazard of going into Italy, to receive the imperial crown at the pope's hands. He ſpent his leiſure hours in poetry, and writing the hiſtory of his own life in Dutch verſe. As knight of the garter, his obſequy was ſolemnly kept in St. Paul's, by our king and the knights of that order. Herbert, p. 34.

‖ There were then but ſeven electors, viz. the archbiſhops of Mentz and Cologne, the count Palatine, the duke of Saxony, the archbiſhop of Treves (or Triers), the marquis of Brandenburgh, and the king of Bohemia. The electorate of Bavaria was erected in 1648, and that of Brunſwick Lunenburg Hanover in 1693.

having

having lately prevailed on the pope to recal Campejo, and to veſt him with the ſole power of legate, he opened a new tribunal called the Legatine Court, wherein he exerciſed very high, if not illegal powers. It was in effect a court of conſcience, that took cognizance of almoſt all the actions of life; and one John Allen, doctor of laws, being appointed judge of this bench, committed the moſt flagrant acts of violence and extortion, on pretence of reforming the manners of the people. He pretended that his juriſdiction reached to all ſuits ariſing from wills, and contracts of marriage, and tried an infinite number of cauſes which properly belonged to other courts; while the king's judges were afraid to oppoſe his encroachments. While his ſubſtitute thus harraſſed the laity, the cardinal himſelf treated the clergy with no leſs rigour and ſeverity: he beſtowed all the benefices of the kingdom upon his favourites, nor durſt any one complain to the king of theſe arbitrary and oppreſſive meaſures, until Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, ventured to inform him of the diſcontents of the people, and the inſolence of his miniſter. And ſhortly after, John London, a prieſt, boldly accuſing the judge of the legate's court of malverſation in his office, the king reſolved to take cognizance of the affair himſelf; and Allen being convicted of numberleſs miſdemeanors, the king ſo reprimanded the cardinal for his choice of ſuch a man, that from thenceforward he became more cautious how he acted.

The cardinal's pomp was equal to his power: he now celebrated maſs with all the ſtate and magnificence of the ſovereign pontiff, being conſtantly ſerved by biſhops, and even earls and dukes preſented him with the water and towel. In his habit he was moſt gorgeous: beſides the richneſs of his veſtments, which in that reſpect were even regal, he wore ſhoes of ſilver gilt, ſet with pearls and precious ſtones: whenever he went abroad, he cauſed two large croſſes (the one for York, and the other as legate) of maſſy ſilver to be carried before him by two tall prieſts; as alſo two pole-axes and two pillars of ſilver gilt, and golden cuſhions; with a train of ſtately horſes, richly capariſoned. Nor was he content with the great power, wealth, and authority he enjoyed in England, while there was one degree of eccleſiaſtical dignity to which he had not yet attained; accordingly he already began to concert meaſures for procuring the papacy, whenever the holy ſee ſhould become vacant, and the king of France had actually promiſed him the votes of fourteen cardinals; but ſince Charles had been elected to the imperial dignity, Wolſey ſeemed to think that prince more capable of advancing him to the papal throne, and began gradually to detach his maſter from the intereſts of France, and engage him in the behalf of the houſe of Auſtria.

The news of the approaching interview between Henry and Francis alarmed Charles V. who feared it might be a means of creating a perſonal friendſhip between the two monarchs, or of producing a league between them to his prejudice. Theſe apprehenſions put him upon endeavouring to gain the cardinal ſo far over to his intereſt as to try his maſter, king Henry, to agree that Charles, in his return from Spain to Flanders, might land in England, and confer with the king before the latter paſſed over to France. The cardinal, who, as we have juſt obſerved, thought it his intereſt to make a friend of Charles, brought Henry to conſent to this propoſal, by obſerving to him, that if Charles landed in the manner propoſed, and went to the court of England, ſuch an action could not be deemed an interview, but merely a viſit to his aunt Catherine, Henry's conſort. The king not only conſented, but agreed to have a formal interview with Charles, after that with the king of France was over. In conſequence of this private agreement, Charles ſet ſail from Corunna, and, about the twenty fifth of May, 1520, landed at Dover, while Henry had proceeded as far as Canterbury, on his road to France, Wolſey having now ſettled every thing relating to the ceremonial of the interview between his maſter and Francis.

Upon the news of the emperor's landing, Wolſey was immediately diſpatched to compliment his imperial majeſty at Dover, where he was next day met by Henry in perſon, who conducted him to Canterbury, whither likewiſe the queen came, to pay her reſpects to her nephew, whom ſhe had never ſeen before. The emperor, during his ſtay, laboured to diſſuade the king of England from his intended interview with Francis; but Henry told him, with an air of frankneſs, that he had gone too far to retract, but, at the ſame time, aſſured him that nothing ſhould paſs between him and Francis to his prejudice. We have nothing beſides that is material to relate concerning this viſit, excepting that Charles renewed the treaty of commerce which had been concluded in 1506, and then took his leave of the Engliſh court.

Henry having made ſome neceſſary reformations in his court, where the licentious behaviour of ſeveral young noblemen had given offence, ſet ſail for France, on the thirty-firſt of May, and landed the ſame evening at Calais *, from whence he proceeded to Guiſnes, a ſmall town near the frontiers. Francis, attended by a like ſplendid retinue, repaired to Ardres, a few miles diſtant, and the two monarchs met, for the firſt time, at a place ſituated between theſe two towns, but ſtill within Henry's French territories, Francis having agreed to pay that compliment to the Engliſh king in conſideration of his having paſſed the ſea in order to come to the interview.

The reader can ſcarcely exceed in his idea of the magnificence of the interview between the two kings; it was ſo ſplendid, that the place where it was held was called the Field of Cloth of Gold. Henry had cauſed a building, three hundred and twenty-eight feet ſquare, to be erected, from which a private gallery reached to the caſtle of Guiſnes;

* He was attended by his own queen, the queen dowager of France (married to the duke of Suffolk), cardinal Wolſey, the archbiſhop of Canterbury; the dukes of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Buckingham; the marquis of Dorſet; the biſhops of Durham, Ely, Armagh, Cheſter, Rocheſter, Exeter, Hereford, and Llandaff; the lord prior of England; the earls of Stafford, Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Shrewſbury, Worceſter, Devonſhire, Kent, Wiltſhire, Derby, Eſſex, and Kildare; the lords Abergavenny, Curſon, Maltravers, Montacute, Herbert, St. John, Roſs, Fitz Walter, Haſtings, Delawar, Mountjoy, Dacres, Ferrers, Cobham, Daubeney, Morley, Lumley, and Howard, with many others, knights, eſquires, and gentry to the number of four thouſand three hundred and thirty-four perſons; and of horſes one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-ſeven, beſides thoſe who attended the queen dowager of France and the duke her huſband, and the cardinal's retinue. See Grove's Wolſey, p. 111. 112.

the parts of this great building were artificially framed in England, and brought over for this purpose. Its outside was covered with painted cloth, so as to have the appearance of fine hewn work, and its inside richly hung with tapestry: in the front was painted a device, being the figure of an English archer, with these words for the motto, CUI ADHÆREO PRÆEST, "he prevails, whom I favour," thereby expressing Henry's situation, as holding in his hands the ballance of power among the politicians of Europe.

Francis at first proposed to lodge in a rich pavilion of cloth of gold; but the wind having thrown it down, he caused a large house, no wise sumptuous, but built of such materials as could be got in haste, to be erected near Ardres. Wolsey was sent thither to him on the fifth of June, to settle every thing for the final ratification of the late treaties between him and Henry. This was done next day, with only two additional articles; "one referring all matters in dispute to the judgment and award of the countess d'Angoulesme (mother to Francis) and cardinal Wolsey; the other, providing, that when the million of crowns, stipulated by the treaty of May, 1513, was satisfied, the king of France should pay one hundred thousand livres Tournois yearly to Henry, till the marriage of the dauphin with the princess Mary of England should be solemnized in the face of the church."

The intelligent reader, who is sensible upon what small incidents the greatest events of life turn, cannot be offended if we subjoin some particulars of this famous interview, which strongly mark the dispositions of the two kings. When Henry, at their first meeting, was reading the draught of the proposed treaty, instead of pronouncing his own titles of "I, Henry, king of France and England," he stopped short, and very handsomely told Francis, that he had almost been hurried into a breach of good manners, and went on with the simple appellation of, "I, king Henry." Francis, charmed with this delicacy, returned him the compliment by an obliging bow; and observing in Henry a frankness of disposition, and a kind of willingness to shake off the restraints of formality, he resolved to hold conversation with him in a more friendly manner.

It had been agreed that Francis should visit the queen of England at Guisnes, while Henry was visiting the queen of France at Ardres; and that neither visit should continue longer than an appointed signal. Both accordingly withdrew to their respective lodgings; and Francis took that opportunity of slipping from all his guards, and going with only two gentlemen and a page to Guisnes, where he found the commanding officer for the day, with two hundred archers, posted on the bridge: the officer knew Francis, who addressed him with an air of frankness: "Gentlemen (said he) you are all my prisoners; and I order you to conduct me to the apartment of my brother the king of England." The officer instantly obeyed, and Henry was astonished on seeing his brother of France enter his chamber single; but instantly recovered himself, and, embracing Francis, "Brother (said he) you have served me as shrewd a turn as ever one man did another; you have instructed me with what confidence to behave towards you: I yield myself your prisoner from this hour." Upon this Henry immediately made Francis a present of a rich collar which he wore about his own neck, to the value of fifty thousand angels: and Francis presented Henry with a bracelet from his own arm of double the value. A conversation then ensued, to the mutual satisfaction of both kings, who laid aside the formalities of state in their ensuing conversations*.

The emperor had daily information from the cardinal, and even from Henry himself, concerning what passed at the interview; but still he was extremely uneasy about the event. Having occasion soon after to come to Gravelines, Henry went, on the tenth of July, with a noble train, to visit him there; and being met on the way by his imperial majesty in person, was entertained with as much magnificence as the place would admit. This meeting gave Francis great disquiet: he ordered la Pluche, one of his ministers at the imperial court, to require Charles's accession to the triple league, in his new quality of emperor; but the latter waved the demand, saying, that as he had already signed it by the name of Charles, he deemed that sufficient; Henry at the same time declaring himself of the like opinion. This left Francis no farther room to doubt of an intimate connection subsisting between his rival and the court of England. The interview between these princes did not last above three days; Henry returning to England about the middle of July, and Charles, after passing some time in Flanders, proceeded to Aix la Chapelle, where he was crowned emperor, on the twenty-third of October, with great solemnity; and, to crown his good fortune, he about this time received an incredible accession of wealth by the bravery and conduct of Hernando Cortez, who subdued the Mexican empire*, by whose treasures both this prince and his successor, Philip II. were afterwards enabled to aspire to universal monarchy.

The posture of affairs in the beginning of the year 1521 seemed to threaten Europe with a fatal war. The violent personal emulation and political jealousy which subsisted between the new emperor and the French king soon broke forth into action. These two princes invaded the dominions of each other with numerous armies; and, after they had gratified their ambition by some petty conquests, and glutted their revenge by committing the most terrible ravages and devastations, they preferred their complaints to the king of England, as the most proper person to decide the difference between them.

Henry, influenced by the cardinal, affected to lay the blame of this rupture upon Francis; nevertheless, professing to observe an exact neutrality, he prevailed on the contending princes to send their ambassadors to Calais, where they should find

† Guicciardin. Lord Herbert.

* Hernando Cortez, undertaker of the expedition to America, going, in the year 1518, with about four hundred foot, and fifteen horse, and seven little field pieces, into many populous but diversly affected kingdoms, did so dexterously behave himself, that playing the part sometimes of an ambassador, and sometimes of a soldier, he availed himself of all. And in conclusion, notwithstanding the opposition of his countrymen and enemies, laid a foundation of a greater dominion than any man before him did. Herbert, p. 34. See Don Ant. de Solis, Hist. of Mexico.

cardinal

cardinal Wolſey, veſted with full powers to act in his (Henry's) name as mediator. Charles willingly embraced this propoſal, becauſe he knew himſelf ſure of the favourite's intereſt; and Francis durſt not reject it, leſt he ſhould furniſh Henry with a colour to declare openly for his enemy: it was therefore agreed, that the plenipotentiaries of the two monarchs, the pope's nuncio, and the cardinal of York, ſhould meet at Calais on the fourth day of Auguſt.

The time appointed for the congreſs of Calais being come, Wolſey repaired thither, attended by a moſt ſplendid retinue of noblemen, prelates, and gentlemen; in the mean time a ſix weeks truce was appointed between the emperor and the king of France*. According to the lord Herbert, the cardinal mediator had given the emperor a hint not to agree, whatever ſeeming advances were made, to any peace with France: it is certain, from the whole tenor of his conduct, that Wolſey entered upon this his high office with very partial ſentiments, and a firm reſolution to make his maſter declare againſt Francis, whom he thought not ſo able to ſerve him in his great deſign of obtaining the papal dignity as the emperor. The conſequence of theſe underhand dealings was, that Charles inſiſted on ſuch high and unreaſonable terms, that Francis abſolutely refuſed to agree to the conditions he offered.

This refuſal furniſhed Wolſey with a pretext to undertake a journey to Bruges, in order to confer perſonally with the emperor, and find out ſome expedient to procure a peace between the two monarchs: accordingly, on the twentieth of Auguſt, he ſet out, attended by four hundred and ſixty horſe, and was met by the emperor himſelf, a mile out of the town of Bruges. Here he concluded a league between Henry and the emperor, againſt France, by which the king of England obliged himſelf, in caſe of Francis's noncompliance with the terms offered him by the emperor, to invade France with an army of forty thouſand men, and to beſtow upon Charles the princeſs Mary, his only child, who had now ſome proſpect of ſucceeding to the throne, notwithſtanding that the emperor had already agreed to eſpouſe the king of France's daughter, and that the Engliſh princeſs was already affianced to the dauphin of France†.

Thus ended this ſecret negociation, for it can be called no other, between Wolſey and Charles, and thus was Henry wrought upon by his miniſter to declare himſelf the enemy of Francis I. without the leaſt provocation, and contrary to all the rules of ſound policy, conſidering the vaſt and continually increaſing power of the emperor, which it was his intereſt to ballance.

Wolſey having now placed matters on ſuch a footing as he thought moſt for his own intereſt, and having nothing more to do in the quality of mediator, he returned to England about the latter end of the year, and preſented Henry a moſt magnificent bull from the pope, conferring upon him the title of Defender of the Faith, in conſideration of a book which Henry had written againſt Luther, and which ſhall be farther taken notice of, in the eccleſiaſtical part of this hiſtory. But it is now now time to take a view of what paſſed in England during this year.

The cardinal had long borne a grudge to the duke of Buckingham, on account of that nobleman having not only made free with his character in public converſation, but having offered him ſome perſonal affronts; in particular it is ſaid, that the duke one day holding the baſon to the king, ſoon after his return from France, the cardinal, when the king had waſhed, dipped his hands in the ſame water, upon which the duke, enraged at his inſolence, threw the water into his ſhoes: the cardinal, ready to burſt with rage, told him, in a threatening tone, that he would ſit upon his ſkirts. The duke, in order to expoſe the cardinal's malice to the king, came the next day to court richly dreſſed, but without any ſkirts to his coat: the king aſking what he meant by appearing in that ſtrange faſhion? he repeated the cardinal's threats, with the occaſion of them, adding, that he thus equipped himſelf to baulk the cardinal of his intention, for that now he could not ſit upon his ſkirts.

This jeſt, however, did the duke no ſervice, for from that inſtant Wolſey vowed his deſtruction. He began by depriving him of his two beſt friends, the earl of Northumberland, his father-in-law, and the earl of Surry, his ſon-in-law; the former of whom he cauſed to be put under arreſt, on account of ſome matter in law concerning a wardſhip; and the latter he ſent into an honourable baniſhment, by making him lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The duke of Buckingham thus ſtanding alone, the cardinal gained over one Knevet, a retainer of the duke's, but who, upon being diſcharged his ſervice for ſome miſdemeanor, was now his mortal enemy: this fellow gave information againſt his maſter, that he ſhould ſay in private company, that, ſhould the king die without iſſue, he would lay claim to the crown, as the deſcendant of Anne of Gloceſter, grand-daughter of Edward III. and that, ſhould he ever aſcend the throne, he would puniſh Wolſey in the moſt exemplary manner; alſo that the ſaid duke correſponded with one Hopkins, a monk in the priory of Hinton, who pretended to the gift of prophecy, and flattered the duke with aſſurances of his ſucceeding to the crown of England.

The cardinal now thought he had gotten ſufficient matter for an accuſation, which he ſo aggravated to the king, that orders we inſtantly iſſued for apprehending the duke, who, on the fifteenth of April, was committed to the Tower, and ſhortly after was arraigned in Weſtminſter-hall, before the duke of Norfolk (who was, for the time, conſtituted lord high-ſteward) of divers points of high-treaſon: the ſubſtance of the charge againſt him was, "that, in the ſecond year of the king's reign, and at divers times before and after, he had imagined and compaſſed the king's death, at London, and at Thornbury, in Gloceſterſhire; and that, in the ſixth year of the king's reign, he went in perſon to the priory of Hinton, and there had conference with the aforeſaid Nicholas Hopkins, who told him that he ſhould be king; and that he had often ſaid to the lord Abergavenny, who had married one of his daughters, that if king Henry died

* The plenipotentiary on the part of the emperor was Galinara, his chancellor, an able politician and complete courtier. The chancellor du Prat, de Silva the firſt preſident, and the marſhal de Chabannes acted for the king of France; while Genutio, biſhop of Aſcotio and nuncio from the pope, appeared in behalf of his holineſs. Hall, Rymer.

† Lord Herbert. Fiddes.

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without iſſue, he would make ſure of the rule of the realm, in ſpite of whoſoever ſaid the contrary; ſwearing, that if the lord Abergavenny ever revealed this, he would fight with him to death."

The duke made a long and vigorous defence; but, after a full hearing, he was, by his peers, found guilty, and condemned; and, on Friday the ſeventeenth of May, was beheaded on Tower-hill †. Thus fell Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, who was deſcended from Edmund, earl of Stafford, who married Anne, daughter of Thomas of Woodſtock, duke of Gloceſter, and ſon of Edward III. He was alſo earl of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton. He married Eleanor, daughter of Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland; and had iſſue Henry, lord Stafford; Elizabeth, married to Thomas Howard, earl of Surry (ſon to the duke of Norfolk); Catherine, married to Ralph Neville, earl of Weſtmoreland; and Mary, married to George Neville, lord Abergavenny. In this duke the office of hereditary high-conſtable, which he inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford (and which was the greateſt poſt in the kingdom, its power extending, in ſome caſes, even to controul the crown), became forfeited, and was never afterwards revived ‡. His ſon Henry was, by an act of parliament, in the year following, reſtored in blood, though not to his father's honours or eſtates; but ſome of theſe were afterwards granted him: and George, lord Abergavenny, his ſon-in-law, was impriſoned for miſpriſion of treaſon, but ſoon reſtored to favour.

We are now, after a long interval, to enter upon ſome review of the affairs of Ireland, as they ſtand connected with the affairs of England. In the late reign, the earl of Kildare, and the miniſters of ſtate, who had favoured Simnel, had received their pardon; and ſir Richard Edgcombe was ſent over, with five hundred men, to take a freſh oath of allegiance from the Iriſh nobility to Henry's government. We have already ſeen what ſhare theſe people had in ſupporting Perkin Warbeck, and the earl of Kildare, for that and ſeveral other reaſons, was detained priſoner in England in the year 1496. Henry VII. however, ſaw within this nobleman ſuch great ſentiments of honour and valour, that he ſoon after gave him his liberty, and even raiſed him to the dignity of lord-lieutenant, in which ſtation he acquitted himſelf with great loyalty and honour: and in the year 1499, he acted as lord-deputy under Henry, then the ſecond ſon of the king, who was made lord lieutenant. In year 1504, he, with great courage and reſolution, quelled a conſpiracy of ſome of the chief nobility in Ireland, who had brought a great army into the field, which he totally defeated with very little loſs to himſelf. All the reſt of Henry VII's reign was free from any commotions in Ireland, and Kildare was continued in that government till his death, which happened in 1513, the fifth year of the preſent reign, when he was ſucceeded, as well in his poſts as eſtates, by his ſon, who in no wiſe degenerated from the virtues of his father ‖.

He began his adminiſtration with great ſucceſs againſt the turbulent Iriſh; but Wolſey finding it neceſſary to remove the earl of Surry to a greater diſtance from the court, on account of the duke of Buckingham's affair, Kildare was called to England, to anſwer ſome frivolous complaints, and Surry was ſent over in his room, though with powers ſo greatly circumſcribed, that he found he could not maintain his character with any degree dignity, and ſoon after had intereſt enough to get himſelf recalled from this troubleſome poſt, and was ſucceeded by Pierce, earl of Ormond. Under him the Iriſh again took arms againſt the Engliſh government, encouraged by the earl of Surry's carrying away with him all the Engliſh forces. The truth is, the Iriſh, without the pale of the Engliſh government, ſeem as yet to have conſidered themſelves as an independent and unconquered people: each clan had its own head, who made war and peace, as he was provoked or ſatisfied; ſo that Henry found the beſt meaſures he could take in reſpect to Ireland, was to ſupport the principal chiefs one againſt another: and in this ſituation ſtood the affairs of Ireland towards the end of this year.

On the firſt day of December, this year, died pope Leo X. (John de Medici) in the forty-ſixth year of his age and the ninth of his pontificate. He had, a little before his death, granted to cardinal Wolſey, for life, the adminiſtration of the abbey of St. Alban's, which, being authorized by the king of England, was afterwards confirmed, and the cardinal's dignity of legate renewed by Adrian VI. Leo's ſucceſſor in the papacy.

Wolſey was not without hopes of being choſen at this time to fill the vacant ſee, and had actually in different ſcrutinies nine, twelve, and nineteen voices, this laſt number being more than half the number of cardinals aſſembled in the conclave *. He applied to the emperor for his intereſt; and Henry, zealous for the elevation of his favourite, ſent Dr. Pace to Rome, with inſtructions to promote his election; but theſe meaſures proved in vain: Charles V. though he had engaged to aſſiſt Wolſey with all his intereſt, had no inclination to

† Baker's Chron. p. 267.
‡ Dugdale's Baron. vol. i. p. 171.
‖ Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland, p. 190, 191.
* The conclave is in the Vatican, where there is a long gallery full of cells, which are choſen by the cardinals by lot. The funeral of the deceaſed pope laſting nine days, on the tenth each cardinal goes to his cell, and are ſhut up in the conclave with one ſervant, called a conclaviſt, with each a ſecretary and gentleman to attend them, carry their meſſages, and manage their intrigues. The conclave is guarded by the militia of the city, to prevent their receiving any letters; and the diſhes of meat (which are received in at a window by the conclaviſt) are ſearched by the maſter of the ceremonies for the ſame reaſon. The cardinals meet every morning and evening in the chapel for a ſcrutiny, which is done by writing their ſuffrages in the billets done up in two folds, and ſealed with two ſeals. In the firſt fold, the conclaviſt writes the name of the cardinal his maſter votes for, becauſe the cardinal's hand would be known. In the ſecond the cardinal writes his own name; and on the outſide, the conclaviſt writes any motto the cardinal pleaſes, as Deo volente, by which they know their own billets when they are read, for the fold containing the elector's name is not opened till the pope is choſen, and then he opens all to know who elected him. When the billets are ready, they put them, after a ſhort prayer, into a chalice upon the altar, and appoint two of their number to read the names of the cardinals aloud, and keep account of the votes for each. And this they do till two thirds of the votes fall upon one perſon; and if they do not, the billets are all burnt. The court of Rome conſiſts at preſent of the pope and ſeventy cardinals; viz. fifty cardinal-prieſts, fourteen cardinal-deacons, and ſix cardinal-biſhops, who are for the moſt part of the pope's privy-council. See Puffendorf's Introduction to the Hiſtory of Europe; and Relig. Cuſtoms, vol. i.

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perform his promiſe; he wanted to have a pope who ſhould be entirely at his devotion, and he was too well acquainted with the imperious temper of Wolſey to think that he could ever manage ſuch a pontiff; he therefore determined to advance cardinal Adrian Florentio, biſhop of Tortoſa, who acted as his prime miniſter in Spain, to the papal chair, and proceeded ſo artfully therein, that this prelate was unanimouſly elected pope before the arrival of Pace at Rome, and thereby his imperial majeſty was furniſhed with a plauſible excuſe for the failure of Wolſey's application; and as he was deſirous to maintain a friendly correſpondence with this favourite, on whoſe pleaſure he knew in a great meaſure depended whether or not he ſhould live on good terms with Henry, he granted him a penſion of twenty-five thouſand ducats a year, in lieu of the adminiſtration of the ſee of Paca, granted him by the late pope, beſides another of nine thouſand thouſand crowns a year, in lieu of that of Tournay, the payment whereof Charles undertook, ſince, after the league above-mentioned, it could not be expected from Francis.

This prince had by this time gotten intelligence of the private league made at Bruges, which he doubted not would be followed by a war with England; he therefore, in order to oblige Henry to declare himſelf one way or the other, on the twenty-third of February, 1522, ſent a letter to the king of England, putting him in mind of the treaty of October, 1518, between them and the late pope and the preſent emperor, whereby the contracting parties obliged themſelves, upon notice of any of their territories being invaded, to require the invader to deſiſt and make ſatisfaction for what he had done, and in failure thereof to declare war againſt him, requiring Henry accordingly to declare himſelf an enemy to the emperor, whoſe troops had taken Mouzan, in Champagne, and joined thoſe of the late pope in an invaſion of the Milaneſe.

This ſeems to have made Henry declare himſelf ſooner than he intended; and accordingly, about the latter end of March, he ſent Clarencieux king of arms to the French court, with a declaration, that he looked upon Francis as the breaker of the common peace, and therefore found himſelf under a neceſſity of taking part with the emperor againſt him. Nothing but war was now to be looked for; the ambaſſadors on both ſides were recalled, the effects of merchants were ſeized in both countries, and Henry fitted out a ſtrong fleet for making prizes of the French ſhips, and protecting the Engliſh commerce. The command of this fleet was given to the earl of Surry, who was now in high favour, and made lord high-admiral of England.

Beſides the other motives which induced the king of England to ſide openly with the emperor, he pretended great cauſe of complaint againſt Francis in regard to ſome tranſactions of his, relating to the affairs of Scotland, of which it will be neceſſary here to take a curſory review.

Towards the latter end of the preceding year, the duke of Albany had returned to Scotland from France, where he had been detained ſome time at the inſtances of Henry, who wanted to avail himſelf of the regent's abſence to procure an aſcendant in the Scottiſh council; beſides, he ſuſpected the duke of a deſign to marry his ſiſter, the queen dowager of Scotland, who, having a diſpute with her huſband, the earl of Angus, had applied to the pope for a divorce, and in the mean time not only refuſed to cohabit with the earl, but gave all her intereſt to Albany. Henry upon this complained that Francis had deceived him, in ſuffering the duke to return to Scotland: he likewiſe revived his complaints againſt the duke to the Scottiſh parliament, in the beginning of this year 1522, accuſing him of procuring a diſſention between the queen dowager and her huſband, and of an intention to procure a divorce that he might marry her himſelf; and concluded with inſiſting that the duke might be removed from the regency and the cuſtody of the young king. The parliament of Scotland replied to this letter with ſo much ſpirit and firmneſs that Henry plainly ſaw they were reſolved to ſtand by the duke. He alſo now learned, that, upon the return of the cardinal, without communicating any reſult of his conferences at Bruges to Francis or his miniſters, the latter, ſuſpecting what was indeed the truth, had thought it neceſſary to ſtrengthen himſelf by a ſtrict alliance with Scotland, through the means of the duke of Albany, with whom he had, on the twenty eighth of December, in the foregoing year, concluded a treaty at Edinburgh, by which, in caſe of a war between Francis and Henry, the Scots were to ſend ſix thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of the former; and if Scotland was attacked, which Henry ſeemed to threaten, if the duke was not removed from the regency, Francis was to aid the Scots with a powerful force: and to bind this treaty, a marriage was ſtipulated between one of the daughters of France and the young king of Scotland. Theſe conſiderations, partly real and partly pretended, were by Henry made uſe of as his reaſons for preparing for a double war againſt France and Scotland.

Such was the ſituation of affairs when Charles V. paid a new viſit to England, with a view to ſtrengthen his intereſt with Henry and the cardinal, whom he was fearful of having diſobliged by what had paſſed at the late conclave, and alſo to confirm the articles agreed upon at Bruges. He landed, on the twenty-ſixth of May, this year, at Dover, whither the cardinal went to receive him with a magnificent train, and was followed by Henry himſelf two days afterwards, who conducted the emperor to his court at Greenwich. As Wolſey did not think this a proper juncture to ſhew any reſentment, the emperor had reaſon to be ſatisfied with his reception, and found a ready compliance with all his deſires. After ſome days were paſſed in the cuſtomary diverſions of thoſe times, the king carried the emperor to Windſor, where he was inſtalled of the order of the Garter. This done, the two monarchs received the ſacrament from the hands of the cardinal (who omitted nothing to diſplay his grandeur on the occaſion), and ſwore to the treaty of Bruges, to which ſome new articles were now added. The preamble to this treaty, as containing the grounds of the war which afterwards happened, we ſhall here give.

"Whereas there was lately war begun between us, Charles, and the king of France; and, by virtue of a league between us king Henry, and the ſaid king of France, both we and Francis, by our letters, required aid of the ſaid king Henry, one againſt the other, and the ſaid king of England, in the beginning of this year, to compaſs theſe differences, ſent to Calais the moſt reverend father

in God, Thomas, cardinal of York, as his lieutenant, before whom, when many diſputes had been on both ſides who firſt began the war, and it was found that the fault was in the French king, and that he firſt began with us, not in Luxemburg only, but by his captains alſo in Navarre, and hired foreign ſoldiers which were not his own ſubjects, to break the public peace, contrary to the treaty of London; wherefore, when the moſt reverend father could not effect at Calais neither peace nor truce, under any honourable conditions, the king of England underſtanding, as well by the relation of the moſt reverend father, as by the letter of Francis king of France, written by his orators and captains, which were ſhewed to the king of England, that the ſaid Francis had broken both the treaty of London, and all other treaties and agreements of affinity concluded between them, not only by ſending the duke of Albany into Scotland (which was againſt his oath given), but alſo denying the king of England his penſion, and violating his ſubjects, againſt the league; the ſaid king of England hath reſolved thereupon to ſend us aid againſt him, accordingly as he is bound by the treaty of London: and therefore, upon treaty of a perpetual and ſtricter confederacy between us and the ſaid king Henry, and alſo of a marriage with the princeſs Mary, we being on both ſides free from all agreement made heretofore in this kind with the French, have concluded both league and alliance in manner following."

As the treaty itſelf is too long, we ſhall only give its principal clauſes, which are as follow.

"That Henry ſhall give with the princeſs Mary four hundred thouſand crowns; the ſame to be reſtored to the king of England's executors, in caſe that the ſaid princeſs ſhould ſucceed to the crown of England; but ſubject to the deduction of ſuch ſums as Maximilian the late emperor borrowed of Henry VII. and that the marriage ſhall be conſummated as ſoon as the princeſs ſhall be twelve years of age: her fortune to be made a million of crowns in caſe of Henry's having a ſon; and ſhe to be inveſted with a jointure of fifty thouſand crowns a year."

The chief articles of the treaty of alliance were as follow.

"That before the end of May, 1524, or ſooner, the emperor ſhall declare war, in all his dominions, againſt the king of France, and invade France on the ſide of Spain, with thirty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe; while Henry was to enter France, with the like force on what ſide he found moſt convenient. In like manner each was to furniſh three thouſand marines, for inveſting the coaſt of France by ſea; and likewiſe a competent number of ſoldiers to harraſs the frontiers of France on the ſide of Artois and Picardy; the emperor obliging himſelf to do his beſt to recal all German mercenaries out of the French pay.

"The emperor was to aſſiſt Henry, ſhould the latter think proper to attempt to annex the crown of Scotland to England, or entirely to reduce Ireland: and Henry was to aſſiſt the emperor if he ſhould attempt to reduce the dukes of Gueldres or Frieſland, or any of the rebel feudatories of the empire: and that neither prince ſhall make peace, nor diminiſh their contingencies, without conſent of the other; and that both ſhould declare their pretenſions to the places to be recovered from France, before the firſt of May, 1524, that proper reſtitution may be made. The whole of the treaty to be kept ſecret from the French.

It was agreed alſo, "That this treaty ſhall be ſignified to pope Adrian VI. and he be intreated to enter into it, and held as a principal contrahent if he accept it within three months. The Venetians, if they will accept this treaty within three months, ſo as, according as they ought by the treaty of London, they will forſake the French and declare themſelves againſt him, ſhall be comprehended. The Swiſs ſhall have this treaty ſignified to them, and be practiſed to renounce the French, or at leaſt to be neutral. None ſhall be comprized in this treaty which is enemy to either of the two principal contrahents; for the reſt, each may have his friends."

We muſt not forget that there was in this treaty a clauſe, by which both contracting parties obliged themſelves to appear before Wolſey as judge, in what place he ſhould chuſe, and voluntarily ſubmit to his juriſdiction as legate; and confeſſing themſelves to be bound to obſerve this treaty, ſhall require the ſaid legate to pronounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt them, if they violate the articles thereof.

At the ſame time that this treaty was concluded, Charles gave Henry an indemnification, by which he bound himſelf to ſave Henry harmleſs for all the ſums of money and penſions, which were or ſhould be due to king Henry from Francis, upon former agreements, and now were or ſhould be with-held by the ſaid Francis, upon denunciation of war againſt him.

In the mean time, to ingratiate himſelf with Henry and the Engliſh nation, the emperor, during his ſtay here (which was but five weeks) preſented the earl of Surry, high-admiral of England, with a commiſſion for being admiral of his dominions likewiſe: and the Engliſh fleet being now joined by a great number of Flemiſh ſhips, and ſome Venetian gallies, the whole amounting to one hundred and eighty ſail, the earl of Surry, as lord high-admiral of both kingdoms, took command thereof; and the emperor going on board on the third of July, landed, on the ſixteenth of the ſame month, at St. Andero, on the coaſt of Biſcay, in Spain; after which, cruiſing off the French coaſt, he made a deſcent near Cherbourg, and, after having deſtroyed the adjacent country, ſailed for Morlaix, in Brittany, and burnt and plundered that town, from whence he brought a great booty; but the ſeaſon advancing, and his men growing ſickly, he returned home.

The war being thoroughly reſolved upon, Henry's next concern was how to get money for its ſupport. He did not chuſe to call a parliament to demand a ſubſidy, ſeeing that he could allege no juſt cauſe for undertaking a war ſo detrimental to the trade and commerce of his ſubjects: however, money muſt be raiſed, and it was the cardinal's buſineſs, who had embarked his maſter in the war, to find means. His firſt ſtep was to borrow twenty thouſand pounds of the citizens of London, and other ſums of other perſons capable of advancing them. A general loan was then demanded, in the king's name, of the tenth of all the eſtates of the temporality, and a fourth of the clergy, requiring the Londoners to give in the value of their eſtates upon oath; but they oppoſed this method of taxation

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tion in the moſt ſtrenuous manner, alleging, with great juſtice, the impoſſibility of giving an exact account of their effects, ſeeing that, as a trading people, the greateſt part of their properties were in the hands of their correſpondents in foreign parts. This argument bore ſo much conviction with it, that the king contented himſelf with a ſum barely ſufficient to bear his expences until a parliament ſhould be called, to which at laſt he was obliged to have recourſe.

The moneys thus raiſed falling far ſhort of the king's neceſſity, a general muſter and valuation was appointed, by means of a new Domeſday book, to be formed in a very peculiar manner. Stowe gives us an account of this ſurvey from the original warrant, dated at Brentwood, in Eſſex, March 27, 1522. It was by appointing commiſſioners throughout all the counties of England; and theſe commiſſioners were to iſſue warrants to the conſtable of every hundred, who was commanded to charge the conſtables of every pariſh within the ſaid hundred to appear perſonally before certain commiſſioners, and to bring with them the names of all perſons above ſixteen years old, dwelling within the ſaid hundred, and to enjoin them to repair to a certain place aſſigned, with their arms, and declare what their names are, and to whom they belong, and who is lord of every town or hamlet, and who ſtewards, and who perſons of the town, and what their benefice is worth, and who owners of every parcel of land within the ſaid precincts, and what is the yearly value of every man's land, what ſtock on the lands, and who the owner thereof; alſo what ſtrangers dwell there, and what buſineſs they follow; alſo the value and ſubſtance of every perſon above ſixteen years of age; alſo what penſions go thence to religious and ſpiritual men*.

Henry reſolved to apply ſome part of the money his favourite had thus ſqueezed from the people, in chaſtiſing the Scots for the little regard they had ſhewn to his demands in the caſe of the duke of Albany. In the ſpring of the year ſir William Fitz Williams, vice-admiral of England, had put to ſea with his ſquadron, and ſailed up the Firth of Forth; but the Scots had ſo well ſecured their ſhipping, that he was obliged to return without effecting any thing to their detriment. On the thirtieth of July, George, earl of Shrewſbury, was appointed to command as the king's lieutenant againſt the Scots, and had a commiſſion for making a general array of the northern counties, in order to enter Scotland; but the duke of Albany had by this time raiſed a ſtrong army, and advanced as far as the river Eſk, near Carliſle, with an intention to invade England; but when he gave orders for paſſing the borders, many of the principal nobility refuſed to advance, alleging that it would be extremely impolitic to involve their country in an unneceſſary war with England, ſince they had no quarrel with Henry, nor he with them, but on account of their adhering to the duke as regent. This latter, finding it impoſſible to engage the Scots in a war on his account, and ſeeing no remedy, made a ſhort truce with the lord Dacres of the North, who had been detached by the earl of Shrewſbury, and had burnt the town of Kelſo: and, under favour of this ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities the duke retreated to Edinburgh, where he diſmiſſed his army, and ſailed, the twenty-fifth of October, for France, to get a body of foreign troops from Francis, his ally, by the help of whom he hoped, at his return, to make the Scots more tractable. Here we ſhall have time to take a ſhort view of the ſtate of affairs in Italy, where the events of the war proved very unfavourable to Francis.

The new pope was entirely in the intereſt of Spain, and conſequently an enemy to France. A little before the death of the late pontiff, Leo X. the crafty cardinal of Sion, finding means to corrupt the Swiſs in the French pay, had brought them over to the allies, who were thereby vaſtly ſuperior to the French army. The conſequence of this was, that Proſper Colonna, the pope's general, paſſed the Adda, and ſurprized Milan, where he had a correſpondence. This was followed by the reduction of Pavia, Lodi, Parma, and Placentia, an many other places in the Milaneſe; and this year Cremona and Genoa fell into the hands of the Imperialiſts. The Venetians, who had hitherto been the friends and confederates of France, afraid of the reſentment of the allies, began to treat with the emperor, and civilly deſired Lautrec, who commanded for the French in Italy, to retire out of their territories, where he had taken refuge with his troops after a defeat he had ſuffered in attacking the Imperialiſts at Bicocque; and, about the latter end of this year, Henry and the emperor prevailed on them, partly by threats, and partly by fair promiſes, to engage to obſerve a neutrality. They were chiefly induced to do this from the dreadful apprehenſions they were under from the Turks, who had this year taken Belgrade from the king of Hungary, and the iſland of Rhodes from the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem; beſides, the new pope, the devoted ſervant of the emperor, had found means to gain over the dukes of Ferrara and Urbino, and thereby terribly weakened the French intereſt in Italy. In Navarre the French kept their ground with good ſucceſs, under the marſhal de Chavennes, who compelled the Spaniards to raiſe the ſiege of Fontarabia†.

Such was the ſtate of England and of Engliſh concerns on the continent in the beginning of the year 1523, when the cardinal, finding how diſagreeable his late method of raiſing money had been to the nation, adviſed the king to convoke a parliament, which accordingly met on the fifteenth of April, at Black-friars, in London: the clergy meeting in convocation at the ſame time, Wolſey, to convince the laity that he did not intend to burthen their ſhoulders only, in what he had lately done, began the plan of his operations with his reverend brethren, of whom he demanded a ſubſidy of one half of their annual revenues, payable in five years. This unreaſonable demand was ſtrongly oppoſed by Fox and Fiſher, biſhops of Wincheſter and Rocheſter; but the cardinal, incenſed, at their heſitation, rated them ſo roundly in a ſpeech he made on the occaſion, that the reſt of the clergy were diſcouraged from ſupporting them, and the ſubſidy was agreed to.

Having thus ſucceeded in the convocation, he repaired to the houſe of commons, where he made a very long and copious ſpeech on the ſtate of affairs, ſetting forth the faithleſſneſs and ambition of the

* Stowe's Annals, p. 515.

† Guicciardin. Mezerai.

French

French king, and the neceſſity of England's taking part with the emperor, concluding his harangue with a demand of eight hundred thouſand pounds, to be raiſed by the fifth (or four ſhillings in the pound) of every man's goods and lands; payable in four years ‡.

This demand was enforced the day after by ſir Thomas Moore, a creature of the cardinal's: but the members objecting to the extravagance of the ſum required, occaſioned many and warm debates, which at length ended in an offer of granting the king two ſhillings in the pound from thoſe poſſeſſing twenty pounds and upwards per annum, and one ſhilling in the pound for all who had above forty ſhillings per annum; and for thoſe under forty ſhillings, and above the age of ſixteen, two pence per head, to be paid in three years.

The cardinal, impatient of the leaſt controul, when he had a point to gain, was much offended at this backwardneſs of the commons, and accordingly, returning to the houſe, by an inſinuating ſpeech prevailed on them to reſume the debates on a more extenſive plan; at the ſame time he had recourſe to a notorious falſhood to win them over to his will, by telling the houſe that the lords had agreed to four ſhillings in the pound; whereas the lords had granted nothing, but waited to ſee what the commons would do. We are told farther, by ſome of our oldeſt hiſtorians, that when ſeveral members of the houſe begged Wolſey to prevail with the king to moderate his demand, he peremptorily replied, "that rather than attempt to perſuade the king to abate one ſhilling, he would have his tongue plucked out of his head with hot pinchers."

The debate was then revived, and laſted fourteen or fifteen days, and at laſt it was agreed, upon the motion of ſir John Huſſey, which was ſeconded by Mr. Montague, a lawyer of great credit in the houſe, and of great weight in the debates *, that thoſe of fifty pounds a year ſhould pay three ſhillings in the pound for two years; which, ſaith the lord Herbert, being at length continued to the fourth year, and extended to ſuch as were worth five pounds in goods, was all that could be obtained; and the parliament was, on the thirty-firſt of July, adjourned to Weſtminſter, where it ſat till the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, when it was diſſolved. For the ſtatutes made in this parliament, we refer the reader to their proper head.

About this time the biſhop of Durham died, and the king gave that biſhopric to the cardinal, who reſigned the biſhopric of Bath and Wells to Dr. John Clark, maſter of the Rolls; and ſir Henry Marney, who was vice-chamberlain, was made lord privy-ſeal, and ſhortly after created a baron. Alſo, during this parliament, Arthur Plantagenet, baſtard ſon to king Edward IV. was created viſcount Liſle in right of his wife, who was widow to Edmund Dudley, the wicked miniſter of Henry VII.

In the ſummer of this year, Chriſtiern, king of Denmark and Sweden, who had married the emperor's ſiſter, and had been driven out of his dominions by his own ſubjects, on account of his inſufferable cruelty, came into England with his queen, and was honourably received by Henry, who made him many valuable preſents: he then went to Flanders, where he remained as a baniſhed man. Some years after, king Henry ſent ambaſſadors, to perſuade his people to receive him again; but they could not prevail, ſo great was the hatred of his ſubjects againſt this tyrannical king.

Henry being thus, by the timidity or the venality of parliament, furniſhed with an immenſe ſum, prepared to put in execution his great engagements. The Venetians had been ſtrongly ſolicited by the Imperial and Engliſh ambaſſadors to renounce their alliance with Francis: the ſenate was for a good while irreſolute what party to take, but finding, by advices from their ambaſſador at Paris, that Francis, through want of money, diſturbances in his court, and the neceſſity of defending his frontier againſt the attempts of the Spaniards, the Engliſh, and the Flemings, was not in a condition to ſend over an army into Italy, they agreed, on the twenty-eighth of June, to a league with the emperor, Ferdinand, archduke of Auſtria, and Sforza, duke of Milan, by which they engaged to furniſh ſix hundred men at arms, with as many light horſe, and ſix thouſand foot, for the defence as well of the Milaneſe as of the kingdom of Naples, againſt all powers whatever, except the Turks, with whom they durſt not break; and the emperor was to aſſiſt them with the ſame force, if any of their territories ſhould be invaded. The pope, at the requeſt of the contracting parties, entered into this league, and was followed by the republics of Florence, Genoa, Lucca, and Sienna ‖: the marquis of Mantua was appointed general of the Eccleſiaſtical and Florentine troops, a ſeparate army of obſervation was formed, and Proſper Colonna was made generaliſſimo of the grand alliance.

Francis behaved on this occaſion with an intrepidity truly heroic; and it is more than probable that he might have been able to have withſtood all the efforts of his enemies, had it not been for the injuſtice he was guilty of towards Charles, conſtable of Bourbon, to whom he had been indebted for the ſucceſs of his arms in Italy. It was not thought ſufficient to mortify him on all occaſions, but Louiſa of Savoy, counteſs of Angouleſme, the king's mother, being deſirous of marrying the conſtable, who was lately become a widower, and having been refuſed by him, reſolved to ruin the man ſhe could not wed, and preferred a ſuit againſt him, which was deemed highly unjuſt by all the lawyers of thoſe times, and which no other but a powerful queen-mother could have gained. This ſuit was for no leſs than all the poſſeſſions of the family of Bourbon. The judges ſuffered themſelves to be prevailed on by the queen's ſolicitations; and, by a ſentence of ſequeſtration, ſtripped the conſtable at once of all his eſtates; who thereupon ſent his friend, the biſhop of Autun, to requeſt the king at leaſt to put a ſtop to the proceedings: but the king would not even ſee the biſhop. Upon this the conſtable, who had already

‡ Hall, p. 109. Lord Herbert. p. 55.

* It is ſaid, that when Henry was informed of the commons having refuſed to grant the required ſupply, he was ſo incenſed that he ſent for this Mr. Montague, and addreſſed himſelf to him in the following manner: "Ho! man! will they not ſuffer my bill to paſs?" and laying his hand on Montague's head, who was then on his knees before him: "Get my bill paſſed by to-morrow (ſaid he), or elſe to-morrow this head of yours ſhall be off." Such was the haughty and tyrannical ſtyle employed by this arbitrary king, to the free-born natives of England; and ſuch the oppreſſive practiſes of his imperious miniſter!

‖ Peter Martyris Ep. 781. Belcar. lib. xii.

been

been ſtrongly ſolicited by Charles V. to enter into his ſervice, now, in a fit of deſpair and anger, accepted the offer. It would have been truly heroic in him, to have continued to do his duty to his country, though ill treated; but there is another kind of heroiſm, that of revenge: unfortunately, Charles of Bourbon, made choice of the latter, quitted France, and entered into the emperor's ſervice. Few men ever taſted the fatal pleaſure of revenge more fully than himſelf.

The emperor received him with open arms, and immediately made Henry acquainted with the affair, who ſent ſir John Ruſſel, an able negociator, over to Calais, to treat with the conſtable, whom he brought to enter into a league offenſive and defenſive with the emperor and the king of England, by which he obliged himſelf to act againſt Francis in the heart of his dominions with an army of his own vaſſals, reinforced by ſeven thouſand Imperialiſts, while Charles and Henry ſhould attack the French in Bearne and Picardy. It was alſo ſtipulated in this treaty, that, after they ſhould have conquered France, the conſtable was to have for his ſhare Provence, erected into a kingdom, and eſpouſe the emperor's ſiſter Eleonora, widow of don Emanuel, king of Portugal*.

In the mean time, as the affairs of Italy preſſed, and the emperor was ſenſible of the great advantages a general muſt have, who knew the ſtrength and weakneſs of all the French troops, he conſtituted the conſtable his lieutenant-general in Italy, and the latter repaired to Milan, which was now in the hands of the French admiral Bonnevet, Bourbon's greateſt enemy.

But about this time Henry was greatly chagrined by the news of the duke of Albany being ready to ſail from France, with a reinforcement of foreign troops, for Scotland. Upon this the earl of Surry was appointed general of the army to act againſt the Scots; and ſir William Fitz Williams was ſent, with a ſquadron of thirty-ſix ſhips, to cruize off the French coaſt, and prevent the duke's getting out; but being obliged by ſevere gales of wind to return to the Downs, the duke took the advantage of his abſence to put to ſea, and, ſailing weſt-about, landed in Scotland about the middle of September, which country the earl of Surry had by this time entered and moſt miſerably ravaged, burning the town of Jedburgh and ſeveral villages and caſtles.

The duke of Albany, upon his arrival, called a parliament at Edinburgh, when, after ſome debate, it was reſolved to march againſt the Engliſh. Accordingly, the duke, taking the field with a numerous army, approached the Engliſh borders, where he heard that the earl of Surry was then lying at Newcaſtle; upon which he ſent a herald to him, promiſing him, if he would come forth to meet him, he would give him battle; and if he took him priſoner, grant him good quarter. To this defiance the earl replied, that he ſhould in no wiſe decline meeting the duke in the field; but, if he took him priſoner, all the quarter he would give him ſhould be to cut off his head and ſend it to his maſter, the king of England.

The laſt day of October, the duke of Albany croſſing a wooden bridge over the Tweed, which divided England from Scotland, with a part of his army, laid ſiege to the caſtle of Werk, which was very near capitulating, when ſir William Liſle, the commander, making a ſudden ſally at the head of his garriſon, drove the enemy from before the place, with the loſs of three hundred men, moſt of them French. By this time the earl of Surry's army being reinforced, for which purpoſe he had returned back out of Scotland, amounted to upwards of forty thouſand men; but having received orders from court to act only upon the defenſive (leſt by preſſing the Scots too much they might be brought to unite among themſelves), he did not follow the enemy into their own country. Shortly after, the queen dowager of Scotland ſent to her brother, the king of England, deſiring him to refrain from farther hoſtilities, and agree to a twelve-month's truce, which propoſal Henry readily conſented to, as it left him more at leiſure to proſecute his deſigns againſt France. Accordingly orders were ſent to the earl of Surry, to diſband his army, and that nobleman returned to court, where he ſoon after took the title of duke of Norfolk, fallen to him by the death of his father, the old duke.

Henry had been ſo taken up with attending to the affairs of Scotland, that it was the twenty-fourth of Auguſt this year before the Engliſh army could be carried over to Calais. It was commanded by the duke of Suffolk, under whom ſerved ſeveral valiant noblemen, and other perſons of diſtinction. On his arrival at St. Omer's, in September, he was joined by three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe in the Imperial ſervice; and a council of war being held, it was reſolved to coaſt along the Somme, and, if poſſible, draw the French to a battle: but theſe latter not daring to hazard an engagement, contented themſelves with harraſſing the enemy by flying parties, and depended on the ſtrength of their frontier garriſons, and the advanced ſeaſon of the year, to prevent the Engliſh taking winter-quarters in their country.

The duke of Suffolk coming before Bray, a town on the Somme garriſoned by ſixteen hundred men, took it by aſſault on the twentieth of October, and, paſſing the river, made himſelf maſter of Montdidier, Roye, and other conſiderable places. He thus continued to advance till he came to the Oyſe, within eleven leagues of Paris, which put that city in the utmoſt conſternation: however, the arrival of the duke de Vendoſme with a large body of troops re-animated the inhabitants, and filled the Engliſh, in their turn, with apprehenſions, leſt their proviſions ſhould be cut off, and themſelves encloſed between this army, and one which was forming by marſhal Tremouille, from draughts out of the garriſons of Picardy. The Engliſh were maſters of no ſtrong towns to maintain themſelves in, during the winter, which now ſet in ſo ſevere that numbers of the ſoldiers died by the extremity of the cold, and Suffolk found himſelf obliged to retire to Calais, to put his army into winter-quarters. The neceſſary effect of this treaty was, that almoſt all the places he had taken during the campaign fell again into the hands of the French.

The emperor was not more ſucceſsful in the attempt he made at the ſame time upon Gaſcony, though he had come in perſon into Navarre, in order to haſten the enterprize. His troops, making a feint of laying ſiege to Fontarabia, paſſed the

* Rymer's Fœd. vol. xiii. p. 550, 551.

mountains the next day, encamped at St. John de Luz, and on the eighth of September inveſted Bayonne.

The city was nobly defended by Lautrec, the French general, and the attack was as obſtinate as the defence. The Spaniards had inveſted it on all ſides by ſea and land, and inceſſantly battered the walls with great fury; but Lautrec animating not only the ſmall number of ſoldiers that were in the garriſon, but even the women and children, to defend the place, the Spaniards, after ravaging all the country round, and finding the rigour of the ſeaſon increaſe, were obliged to draw off their troops, and return to their own country, leaving a ſufficient number however to renew the ſiege of Fontarabia. Thus ended the operations of the two expeditions deſigned againſt France: we are now to attend the third, which the reader may remember was to be attempted by the conſtable of Bourbon, with his own vaſſals and a body of German troops, in the very heart of the kingdom.

It was September before theſe troops, commanded by general Furſtemberg in the conſtable's abſence in Italy, entered Burgundy through the Franche Comté, who, after taking Coiffi, paſſed the Meuſe, and made himſelf maſter of Monteclair; but being ſurprized by the count de Guiſe, and having no horſe to oppoſe to the French cavalry, he reſolved to retire into Lorraine: he could not, however, make his retreat ſo ſafely but that Guiſe, falling upon his rear near Neufchatel, cut in pieces the beſt part of his troops.

As to Francis, the rebellion and flight of the conſtable of Bourbon threw him into the greateſt perplexities. He was juſt ſetting out from Lyons, to head his army in Italy, when he heard of the treaty this revengeful ſubject had made with his enemies, and fearing he might have intereſt enough to foment a rebellion in France, he committed the care of the Italian war to admiral Bonnivet, to whom he gave the ſole command of his army there, amounting to thirty-three thouſand men, and who paſſed the Alps about the end of Auguſt or the beginning of September. Bonnivet was but an indifferent ſoldier, and a worſe ſtateſman: he took, however, Novara and ſome other places of no great conſequence in Italy; and had he marched directly to Milan, he might have recovered it for his maſter; but he loſt ſo much time in treating with the inhabitants, at four leagues diſtance from the city, that the conſtable of Bourbon had an opportunity to put it in a ſtate of defence. The reſt of the campaign was ſpent in ſeveral fruitleſs attempts made by the admiral upon Cremona and Milan, in all which he was diſappointed. At laſt, after being in danger of his army ſtarving in camp, and daily threatened with a mutiny from the Swiſs troops, he ſent his forces into winter-quarters in Piedmont.

While theſe things were tranſacting, pope Adrian VI. died, and the conclave was ſplit into two different factions, one of which favoured cardinal Colonna, and the other Julio de Medici, a natural ſon of Julio de Medici, uncle to pope Leo X. the latter of whom, after a debate of fifty days, was choſen pope, and aſſumed the name of Clement VII.

Wolſey was no ſooner informed of Adrian's death, than he perſuaded Henry to write a letter with his own hand to the emperor, recommending him in the ſtrongeſt terms to the papal throne; but Charles had already eſpouſed the cauſe of Julio, and the Engliſh cardinal affected to bear his diſappointment with all the reſignation of an hermit, though, in all likelihood, his heart was inflamed with revenge againſt the emperor, who had twice deceived him in a point which he, from his inmoſt ſoul, ſo much coveted to gain: however, his ambition was in ſome meaſure gratified by the new pope, who beſtowed on him a grant of the legatine power for life, which had never been conferred upon any other perſon.

Before we cloſe the tranſactions of this buſy year, it will be neceſſary to mention a word or two concerning the ſtate of affairs in Scotland towards the end of it.

The duke of Albany, upon his return to Edinburgh from his unſucceſsful attempt againſt England, did not find the eſtates of the realm ſo obſequious to him as they uſed to be: James V. was now in the thirteenth year of his age, and many of the nobility thought it was high time that he ſhould be taken out of wardſhip and initiated into the affairs of government. This was the general ſenſe of the nation; and the duke of Albany, ſeeing it difficult to ſtem the tide, deſired leave to return to France: he was taken at his word, and going over in the following year, his poſt of governor was aboliſhed, and the queen, in her ſon's name, aſſuming the government of the kingdom, had, jointly with eight lords, the cuſtody of the royal perſon. The truce lately concluded was ſoon after followed by a treaty for a perpetual peace, and for the marriage of the young king of Scotland with the princeſs Mary, Henry's only child, and as yet the heir of his dominions. As for the duke of Albany, he never again returned to Scotland; and the Scottiſh nobles, diſtracted by their own inteſtine diſſentions, were not able, for a number of years, to give any more diſturbance to England.

The year 1524 opened with ſome military operations on the frontiers of Spain, that made the emperor amends for the ill ſucceſs of his arms in the preceding campaign, for his troops, under the command of the conſtable of Caſtile, having entered Bearne in January, and taken Mueillan, St. Palais, and Sauveterre, and cut off all communication between Bayonne and Fontarabia, they inveſted this laſt place on the firſt of February, and on the twenty-ſeventh Frangel, the French governor, capitulated for a ſurrender; for which he was ſoon after condemned by a council of war, and degraded: however, the Spaniſh army ſuffered ſo much by the ſeverity of the weather during this ſiege, and the toil of the operations, that it was not fit for any farther buſineſs for ſome time.

The emperor's arms were no leſs ſucceſsful in Italy, where the confederate generals, at the head of whom was the conſtable of Bourbon, having taken Marignano, reſolved to attack admiral Bonnivet before he ſhould receive the reinforcement he expected from France. The operations of the allies, who took the field as early as the beginning of March this year, were ſo quick, that they actually drove the French quite out of the Milaneſe, and forced Bonnivet to repaſs the Alps. But this great ſucceſs of the Imperialiſts alarmed not only the pope, but the duke of Milan and the Venetians, who now began to cool greatly in their ardour to the cauſe of the league, ſeeing themſelves ready to be ſwallowed up by the Imperial power; and

and the Venetians actually withdrew their troops out of the Milaneſe.

The evacuation of Italy left the emperor now at liberty to carry the war into the heart of France; and, agreeable to this ſcheme, which had been concerted between Charles, Henry, and the conſtable of Bourbon, the latter paſſed the Alps, and entered Provence about the end of July, with fifteen thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and a train of eighteen pieces of cannon; and, after having made an eaſy conqueſt of the almoſt defenceleſs towns of Antibes, Frejus, Vignolles, and Aix, the imperial army, on the nineteenth day of Auguſt, ſat down before Marſeilles, which was defended by a garriſon of three thouſand foot and two hundred men at arms, beſides nine thouſand inhabitants, who took arms on the occaſion. In the mean time don Hugh de Mençada, the Spaniſh admiral, who had been ſent with a ſtout fleet from Genoa, to aſſiſt the operations of the land-forces, took Toulon. The ſiege continued to be vigorouſly, but ineffectually, preſſed for almoſt a month; but on the approach of Francis, with an army of forty thouſand men to its relief, the conſtable was obliged to riſe from before the place and retreat with ſome precipitation into the Italian territories.

Francis hereupon reſolved to march immediately into the Milaneſe by a ſhorter route; and the conſtable, being apprized of his deſign, redoubled his diligence in order to prevent it: thus the two armies, marching by different routes, arrived the ſame day, the one at Alba the other at Vexcelli, both in that duchy; then the conſtable being joined by the vice-roy of Naples, at Pavia, they conſulted upon what was to be done in this unlucky juncture, when finding money and proviſions grow ſcarce, it was reſolved to abandon Milan, where a terrible plague now raged, and having ſtrongly reinforced the garriſons of Pavia and Alexandria, they retired to Socino. Thus Francis took poſſeſſion of Milan without oppoſition, and undertook the ſiege of Pavia, one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in Italy, in the beginning of November.

The arrival of the French in Italy, and the ſucceſs they had hitherto met with, determined the Venetians and Florentines to abandon the party of the emperor; and at the ſame time pope Clement VII. forgetful of the obligations he owed to Charles, or conſidering himſelf as the guardian of Italy, engaged privately to ſupport Francis againſt the powerful confederacy which had been made to overwhelm him, and made a ſecret treaty with that monarch, by which he promiſed to give a free paſſage through his dominions to a body of French troops that were to march under the duke of Albany, now returned from Scotland, for the conqueſt of Naples, and who was accordingly ſent thither early in the enſuing ſpring; and the pope publiſhed his accommodation with the French king, which he wanted the world to conſider as the effect of compulſion. The emperor, however, ſaw through the trick, and even threatened to take ſevere vengeance on the treacherous pontiff; though, in truth, this league of Clement with Francis was in a great meaſure the cauſe of the ſucceſs of Charles's arms, as it induced Francis to divide his forces, by which his army was greatly weakened.

Mean while the court of England ſeemed to adopt new maxims. By the agreement between the allied parties, while the emperor was making an attack upon Gaſcony with a powerful army, Henry was to have fallen with another, in conjunction with the Flemings, into Picardy; but this he had neglected to do, by which means Francis had been enabled to draw down in a manner the whole force of his kingdom to Avignon, and march to the relief of Marſeilles, as has been already related. Not only ſo, but the king of England had diſcontinued the payment of a ſubſidy he had granted to the duke of Bourbon, and even demanded reimburſement of a ſum of money he had lent Charles when he was laſt in England. Theſe concurring proofs of a coolneſs to the general cauſe, alarmed the emperor not a little; and his ſuſpicions were ſtill farther increaſed by hearing from his ambaſſador in England, that a perſon ſent by Louiſa, counteſs of Angouleſme, mother of Francis, whom her ſon had left regent of his kingdom during his expedition into Italy, had been ſome time at Henry's court, where he had long and frequent conferences with cardinal Wolſey. In a word, Charles foreſaw that the king of England intended no leſs than to abandon his cauſe, and engage in a league with his enemy, and doubted not that this alteration in the ſentiments of Henry was owing to the inſtigation of Wolſey, out of revenge for his (Charles's) having twice diſobliged him in the affair of the papacy; and the behaviour of pope Clement plainly ſhewed that he would ſecond the endeavours of the cardinal.

That pontiff now ſhewed the greateſt deference and reſpect to the court of England: he confirmed the title of Defender of the Faith, which his predeceſſor Leo had granted to Henry; he iſſued a bull, impowering the cardinal to ſuppreſs as many monaſteries as he ſhould think proper, to raiſe the yearly rent of three thouſand ducats, to endow a college which he was about to found; and, in the month of December, he, with the king's conſent, appointed cardinal Laurentius Campejo biſhop of Saliſbury.

We muſt now return to the ſiege of Pavia, to behold an event which made a very great alteration in the affairs of Europe, wherein England was deeply concerned.

Francis had weakened his army by the detachment he had ſent off, under the duke of Albany, towards Naples; and Pavia, to which he had laid ſiege, being extremely well provided for a defence, the Imperial generals had ſome hopes of attacking the French at a diſadvantage. The arrival of the duke of Bourbon, who joined Lannoy, vice-roy of Naples, with twelve thouſand Germans, on February 9, 1525, determined the Imperialiſts to attempt to raiſe the ſiege of Pavia: with this view they marched within a mile of the French camp. They were not yet ſo ſtrong as the enemy; but having no money to pay their forces, it was neceſſary for them to come to an action, leſt their men ſhould diſband, which would have proved full as fatal as the loſs of a battle. Had Francis raiſed the ſiege, the Imperial troops would doubtleſs have diſperſed, and he might have reduced the Milaneſe without any difficulty; but thinking his honour concerned, he reſolved either to make himſelf maſter of Pavia, or loſe his life before the place.

As the French camp was very ſtrongly entrenched, the conſtable was obliged to wait above a fortnight before he could put his reſolves of attacking Francis in execution. Mean while however, the

Swiſs

Swiſs having recalled their ſix thouſand men from the French ſervice, and theſe troops departing notwithſtanding all the king's endeavours to detain them, beſides the deſertion of three thouſand Italians under John de Medici, who diſbanded themſelves, the conſtable thought he ſhould no longer neglect an opportunity ſo favourable to his purpoſe; and on the eve of St. Matthias, February 24, being the emperor's birth-day, he attacked the French camp in the dead of the night.

Upon the firſt alarm being given, Francis put himſelf at the head of two thouſand gens d'armes within the camp, and fell with ſuch impetuoſity upon a body of troops, commanded by the marquis of Peſcara, that this general was unhorſed and dangerouſly wounded, and the entire body he commanded muſt have been ruined, had not he been ſuccoured by the duke of Bourbon, who had already made a terrible carnage in another quarter of the camp, and now returning, fell upon the French gens d'armes with irreſiſtible fury: all that the great officers now ſurviving could do, was to aſſemble and defend the perſon of their ſovereign, who fought like a knight-errant, ſword in hand: la Peliſſe, la Tremouille, Galeas de San Severino, and admiral Bonnivet fell by his ſide, and he was ſurrounded by the Imperial cavalry, the officers of which perceiving, by his armour, that he was ſome perſon of great rank, reſolved to take him alive, and for that purpoſe ſlew his horſe: in his fall he received a wound in the leg, notwithſtanding which he ſtarted up, and ſtill fought on foot with ſurprizing proweſs.

It happened that Pomperant, an officer of ſome diſtinction, who had accompanied the duke of Bourbon in his revolt, came up at that inſtant, who ſeeing the king in ſuch a dangerous ſituation, drew his ſword, and, placing himſelf by the ſide of Francis, aſſiſted him in keeping off the ſoldiers who preſſed upon him in order to take him alive; at the ſame time he deſired that the duke of Bourbon might be called to receive the king as a priſoner: Francis, tranſported with rage, declared that he would rather die than deliver his ſword to a traitor; then, turning to Pomperant, "Send for Lannoy, viceroy of Naples (ſaid he), to him I will ſurrender." That officer accordingly approaching, the king ſaid to him, in the Italian language, "Mr. de Lannoy, there is the ſword of a king, who deſerves ſome commendation, ſeeing, before he parts with it, he has made uſe of it in ſhedding the blood of many of your army, and who is not a priſoner through cowardice, but the accidents of fortune." Lannoy received the ſword upon his knee, and reſpectfully kiſſed the king's hand, to whom he then preſented his own ſword, ſaying, "I beg your majeſty will be ſo good as to receive mine, which hath this day ſpared the lives of many Frenchmen; it does not become the emperor's officer to leave a king diſarmed, though a priſoner."

Francis was now conveyed to the viceroy's tent, where his wounds were dreſſed, and he was treated with all poſſible reſpect. Lannoy is ſaid to have begged his majeſty would ſee the conſtable of Bourbon, who, at his requeſt, was admitted, and, kiſſed his hand: but ſome hiſtorians aſſert, that he poſitively refuſed to admit the duke into his preſence. He ought not to have provoked the duke's reſentment by acts of tyranny and injuſtice, which, by the law of nature, cancel the obligation of allegiance, for the duties of allegiance and protection are reciprocal. Next day Francis was conducted to the ſtrong fortreſs of Pizighitoni, where he remained for ſome time under the guard of Alvazon, the Spaniſh governor of the place, who preſerved to him all the punctilios of decorum. On the fourteenth of Auguſt, the royal captive was, by the emperor's order, conducted to Madrid.

Never was letter more true than that which this prince wrote to the queen regent, his mother, the night after the battle: "Madam, all is loſt, ſave our honour." Every thing ſeemed to foretel his inevitable ruin. His frontiers were unguarded, his treaſury exhauſted, a general conſternation prevailed throughout all orders of the ſtate, and violent diſſentions in the council of the queen, who governed the kingdom during his abſence; laſtly, the king of England threatened France with an invaſion, and to revive the fatal times of Edward III. and Henry V.

Charles V. without having as yet unſheathed his ſword, kept a great king priſoner in his capital of Madrid: and here Charles for once ſeems to have neglected to make the utmoſt of his good fortune; for, inſtead of entering France in perſon, to take advantage of the victory his generals had gained in Italy, he remained idle in Spain; and in room of ſeizing Milan for himſelf, he thought it neceſſary to beſtow the inveſtiture of that duchy on Francis Sforza, that he might not give umbrage to the reſt of Italy. Henry of England likewiſe, inſtead of joining with Charles to diſmember France, became jealous of his riſing greatneſs, and reſolved to ſupport France againſt the emperor; for which purpoſe he, on the ninth of June, entered into treaty with the queen regent, for procuring the liberty of her ſon; and this negociation was carried on ſo heartily, that, on the third of Auguſt, a treaty of peace and alliance was actually ſigned between John Joachim de Paſſau, lord of Vaux, and John Brinon, preſident of Rouen, ambaſſadors from the queen mother of France, at London; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the duke of Norfolk, treaſurer of England, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Worceſter, the biſhop of Ely, and ſir Thomas Moore, ſub-treaſurer of England, on the other*. In a word,

* The principal articles of this treaty (as we find them in the Fœdera, vol. xiv. p. 39) were as follow:

"That all tranſactions of the late war ſhould be forgot and forgiven on both ſides, and that the ſubjects of the two crowns ſhould live together in good correſpondence.

"That they ſhould furniſh ſuccours to one another in caſe of an attack from a third power; which ſuccours were to be in proportion to their ſeveral abilities.

"That the intercourſe of commerce ſhould be again opened between the two nations; neither ſide to harbour the rebels of the other.

"That priſoners on both ſides ſhould be releaſed; and that their ſeveral allies ſhould be comprehended in the treaty. But that neither of the contracting powers ſhould maintain or protect thoſe allies in any uſurpations which they have made ſince the date of the treaty of London in 1518.

"That Francis ſhould, within three months after he is at liberty, ratify the preſent treaty.

"That the conſtable of Bourbon, the duke of Vendoſme and Longueville, the count de St. Paul de Lautrec, the count de Sevennes, the lords of Montmorency and Breſay, with the counts Mauſurier and Brunne, and nine of the chief cities in the kingdom of France ſhould engage for Francis's ratifying and fulfilling the ſaid treaty"

By another treaty, which is dated at Tours, the ſixteenth of Auguſt, and ratified the thirtieth of the ſame month, at More

word, the captivity of Francis, which to all appearance ſhould have occaſioned ſuch great revoluions, produced nothing of any conſequence or advantage to England or the empire.

The court of France had too much ſenſe, if not gratitude, to forget the good offices of cardinal Wolſey on this occaſion, to whoſe management Henry committed this, as he did almoſt every other affair of ſtate: the cardinal was promiſed the arrears of the penſion which had been granted to him in lieu of the adminiſtration of the biſhopric of Tournay, which amounted to the ſum of twenty-nine thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-three crowns of gold, and furthermore gratified with the additional ſum of one hundred thouſand crowns of gold. And now Henry finding his treaſury was almoſt emptied, he committed the care of recruiting it to Wolſey.

That miniſter, inſtead of applying to parliament, from which he had already received a repulſe, iſſued a decree, in the king's name, to levy through the whole realm one ſixth of all lay revenues, and a fourth of the clergy's effects. This impoſt was conſidered as ſuch a violent encroachment on the liberty of the ſubject, and ſuch a flagrant violation of Magna Charta, that it produced a general clamour over the whole nation, and almoſt cauſed a rebellion; which being repreſented to the king, he diſowned the meaſure, ſaying that "no neceſſities of his, though ever ſo great, ſhould make him attempt the raiſing money in any other way than by the people's conſent in parliament." Thus this illegal project of the cardinal was defeated, though it has left an indelible ſtain upon his memory: however, he ſoon fell upon another method of fleecing the ſubject, which he thought would not appear altogether ſo odious; this was by way of benevolence: and to carry that through, he ſent for the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, and told them, that he had prevailed with the king to recal his commiſſion for the heavy tax, and to throw himſelf on their free-gifts. But in this he was likewiſe diſappointed, for the magiſtrates of London refuſed to ſubmit to the impoſition, alleging, that the practice of raiſing money by benevolence had been aboliſhed by Richard III. In ſhort, the court finding that they could not carry their point in any way, it was laid aſide, and a general pardon was iſſued for all delinquents, on account either of the loan or the benevolence.

Henry ſeems to have been hitherto unacquainted with the arbitrary meaſures of the cardinal, and to have imagined that the people were happy and contented under his mild and gentle adminiſtration; but the clamours and frequent inſurrections which had happened in conſequence of the late attempts to oppreſs the ſubject having ſatisfied him to the contrary, he was highly incenſed againſt the favourite, who could not appeaſe his maſter's wrath without the moſt humble and abject ſubmiſſion: he produced his will, in which he had left all his ſubſtance to the king; and at length found means to convince him, that all he did was for his honour, and ſhould turn out for his profit. To confirm his proteſtations by deeds, he made Henry, about this time, a preſent of his ſtately palace at Hampton-court; and in return the king granted him this year letters patent for the founding of his college at Oxford, of which farther notice will be taken in the eccleſiaſtical part of this hiſtory.

Before the cloſe of this year, ſeveral promotions were made: among others, Henry Fitzroy, the king's natural ſon, by the lady Elizabeth Blunt, daughter of ſir John Blunt, and widow of ſir Gilbert Talbois, was made duke of Richmond and Somerſet, earl of Nottingham, and lord high-admiral of all the king's dominions, Engliſh, French, and Iriſh. This young nobleman, though he died before he attained his eighteenth year, is much celebrated by the writers of that time for his accompliſhments both of body and mind.

Towards the end of this year almoſt all the powers of Europe intereſted themſelves in procuring the liberty of Francis; but the emperor inſiſted upon ſuch harſh terms, that Francis declared he was reſolved to ſuffer any extremity rather than give way to them, and actually ſent into France, by by the ducheſs of Alençon, his ſiſter, who had come to viſit him in his confinement at Madrid, a public act ſigned by his own hand, conſenting that his ſon, the dauphin, ſhould be crowned king of France, while he himſelf would remain a captive for the reſt of his days.

This appearance of reſolution in Francis had ſo great an effect on Charles, together with the generous advice and remonſtrance of Guatinara, the Imperial chancellor, that the former began to abate conſiderably in his demands, and to treat in earneſt of Francis's liberty, and a treaty was accordingly ſigned on the fourteenth of January, 1526, at Madrid, the principal articles of which are as follow.

"That Francis ſhould give up to the emperor all the duchy of Burgundy, with its dependencies, with full ſovereignty, within ſix weeks after the king's return to France, without any regard to the decrees of parliament, the Salique law, or any other claim.

"That Francis ſhould be ſet at liberty, in his own kingdom, by the tenth of March enſuing, at which time the dauphin and the duke of Orleans, his two eldeſt ſons, were to be put into the emperor's hands as hoſtages; or, inſtead of the duke of Orleans, the duke of Vendoſme and Albany, with ten other of the chief nobility of France: but this laſt alternative was at the option of the ducheſs regent. It was likewiſe agreed, that upon the return of thoſe hoſtages to France, the duke of Angouleſme, third ſon to Francis, ſhould be given to Charles, to be kept and brought up in his court; and with him Francis likewiſe obliged himſelf, in caſe the reſtitution of Burgundy ſhould not be made in ſix weeks, to return priſoner to Charles.

"Francis gives up all his pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, the lordſhip of Genoa, the county of Aſti, Arras, Tournay, Mortaigne, St. Amand, Liſle, Douay, Orchies, Hedin, and alſo all ſovereignty which he could pretend to over the countries of Flanders and Artois, and all other territories which the emperor was actually in poſſeſſion of.

"That the emperor ſhould reſign all his rights and pretenſions to the cities and lordſhips of Pe-

More (a houſe of king Henry's) a ſtate is formed of all the arrears and demands which Henry had upon France, amounting in the whole to two millions of crowns; and the manner in which they were to be paid is ſettled; and the ſame cautioners as before, were bound to ſee it diſcharged.

ronne, Montdidier, Roan, Boulogne, Guiſnes, Ponthieu, and all the cities and territories lying upon the river Somme.

"That there ſhall be between the two powers a league offenſive and defenſive; and that the king ſhall be obliged to furniſh troops to the emperor, for completing the conqueſt of the duchy of Milan.

"That Francis ſhould marry the emperor's ſiſter, the queen dowager of Portugal; who was to have from the emperor two hundred thouſand crowns, with ſeveral lordſhips in diſpute between the two powers; but upon condition of her renouncing all other pretenſions and demands upon the houſe of Auſtria, unleſs the emperor and his brother ſhould die without children. The dauphin was likewiſe to marry Mary, infanta of Portugal, and daughter to the late king Emanuel, and to the queen dowager, who was to be Francis's wife.

"Francis was to do all he could to engage Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre, to renounce his pretenſions upon that crown: and if he could not prevail in this, he was to give him no aſſiſtance. He was likewiſe to withdraw all ſupport from the dukes of Gueldres and Wirtemberg, and the houſe of la Mark; and to lend his fleet, fitted out at his own expence for three months, to carry the emperor, when he had a mind to go to Italy for his coronation.

"The duke of Bourbon was to re-enter into poſſeſſion of all his eſtates, as were all his followers; and they were to be left at liberty without ranſom: he was likewiſe to indemnify the Caſtilians, and other Spaniards, for what they had ſuffered in the late war, to the amouut of three hundred thouſand ducats: and the governeſs of the Low Countries was to be indemnified for Francis's keeping her out of the poſſeſſion of the county of Charolois*."

Such, with ſome other private ſtipulations, was the famous treaty of Madrid, which Francis bound himſelf by oath to ratify at the firſt town he ſhould enter upon his arrival in his own dominions; but the ceremonies of exchanging Francis for the hoſtages could not be performed till the eighteenth of March, when he was ſet at liberty; and arriving at Bayonne, he immediately diſpatched a letter to Henry of England, thanking him for the great ſhare he had in his deliverance; but when the Imperial miniſter waited on him, requiring him to ratify the treaty, he made ſuch evaſions as plainly ſhewed that he was reſolved not to be bound to the performance. This double-dealing gave riſe to mutual reproaches between the emperor and him; the lye given on each ſide, challenges in conſequence of that, and a thouſand idle actions, which threw a kind of ridicule on the moſt important events, and ſeemed to degrade the two chief perſonages in Chriſtendom.

As ſoon as Francis arrived at Bourdeaux, he ratified the treaty concluded at More with the king of England. From Bourdeaux he came to Cognac, where he made ſome ſtay with the viceroy of Naples, ſtill in his train, preſſing him to ratify and execute the treaty of Madrid, or return to Spain, as he had ſworn to do when he ſigned that treaty; but all in vain, for the French monarch at length told the viceroy in plain terms, that as the treaty did not concern himſelf alone, but all his realm, particularly his ſubjects of Burgundy, he could not therefore ratify it before he had aſſembled the ſtates of his kingdom, eſpecially thoſe of that duchy." But he offered to give the emperor two millions of crowns as an equivalent for Burgundy; but Charles would not conſent to the leaſt alteration in the treaty.

The pope, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, had readily foreſeen that Francis would act in this manner, as the treaty of Madrid had been extorted from him, while under confinement, and therefore they ſent private agents to Cognac, who having found Dr. Taylor there, who had been ſent by Wolſey from the court of England, they, on conferring together, ſoon found out that their diſpoſitions were the ſame, namely, to curb the riſing power of the emperor; and having ſounded Francis on this head, they likewiſe found him perfectly ready to concur with them therein, and in a ſhort time they concluded a treaty with Francis, at Cognac, on the twenty-ſecond of May, which was chriſtened by the name of the Moſt Holy League, and was entirely the effect of that great aſcendancy which England had then in the affairs of Europe, for the terms were in a manner dictated by Wolſey, and were as follow.

"The allies were, at their common expence, to levy an army of thirty thouſand foot, two thouſand five hundred men at arms, and three thouſand light horſe, the particular number which each power was to furniſh being ſpecified: and the like agreement made with regard to the ſhips and gallies they were reſpectively to equip. They were immediately to levy Swiſs troops, and Francis was to aſſiſt them therein by his credit with the cantons, whom he was to engage, if poſſible, to undertake the defence of the Milaneſe, on the ſame conditions they had done formerly. The king of France engaged never to diſturb Francis Sforza in the enjoyment of the duchy of Milan, upon his paying him an annuity not exceeding fifty thouſand crowns a year, in lieu of his pretenſions, and providing for his brother Maximilian, who had for ſome years had a large penſion in France for his ſubſiſtence. The duke was likewiſe to marry a princeſs of the blood of France, choſen by the pope; and the county of Aſti was to be reſtored to the king as having been the eſtate of his anceſtors; or at leaſt, the government thereof be given to his ſon, the duke of Orleans. The ſovereignty and title of lord of Genoa were to be reſtored to the king: and if the emperor rejected the common requeſt of all the allies, for ſetting the two ſons of France at liberty; for leaving all the Italian princes in quiet poſſeſſion of their territories; for being attended, when he came to Italy to be crowned, with no greater a train than the pope, the duke of Milan, and the Venetians ſhould think conſiſtent with the ſafety of the country, and ſuitable to his imperial dignity; and for paying the ſums he owed to the king of England, by ſeveral treaties; they were, when they had driven his troops out of the Milaneſe, to invade Naples. If this kingdom was reduced, the pope was ſo diſpoſe of it; but whoever ſhould be placed on the throne was to pay the king of France an annuity not leſs than ſeventy-five thouſand crowns a year; otherwiſe this prince was to reclaim all his rights, and might enter thereon. The family of Medici was to be maintained at Florence, with all their rights and prerogatives.

† Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiv. p. 308.

And

And the king of England, being declared protector of the league, was, in gratitude for his services, to have a duchy or principality in Naples, worth thirty-six thousand ducats a year; and the cardinal of York, for his good services, was to have another of ten thousand; to themselves and successors*."

Such were the principal articles of this league, which was made while the Imperial ambassadors were at Cognac, though they knew nothing of it till the next month. In the mean time they represented to Francis, that, notwithstanding the states of Burgundy might refuse to comply with the promised cession of that duchy, his majesty might still keep his word by returning to his prison in Spain, as his ancestor, king John, had done with regard to England. But Francis complained of the ill treatment he had met with in his captivity, and repeated his offer of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy, and the like sum for the ransom of his two sons. The ambassadors upon this sent another express to their court, who returned with the emperor's ultimate resolution, to run all hazards rather than suffer the least abatement in the articles stipulated by the treaty of Madrid.

The ambassadors returning this answer from their master, were surprized with the league above-mentioned being published in their presence; upon this they took their leave of the French court immediately, and returned to Spain.

The chief view of the French king in entering into the league of Cognac, seems to have been to frighten the emperor, hoping that the open declaration of the court of England to assist him with all its forces, would give weight to the instances that Henry was at this time actually making at the Imperial court for delivering him back his children; and accordingly he was not very forward in drawing the sword, because willing to leave room for an accommodation. But this conduct had almost proved the ruin of the Italian states; for the pope and the Venetians, relying upon the assistance of France and England, sent their troops into the field, under the command of the duke of Urbino; but the Swiss forces, who were paid by France, and the marquis de Saluces, who commanded the French troops in Italy, were so slow in their motions, that Sforza, duke of Milan, who still remained shut up in the castle of that city, was obliged, on the twenty-fourth of July, to surrender to the duke of Bourbon, the emperor's general, and retire to Lodi, which had been taken by the pope's troops.

And now Charles resolved to chastize those allies who had deserted him in the time of danger: of these the most considerable was the Roman pontiff, who, though he had chiefly owed his election to the good offices of the emperor, had been so ungrateful as to abandon the interest of his benefactor, and espouse the cause of the French monarch. In order to punish his holiness for this instance of perfidy and ingratitude, Charles commanded the duke of Burgundy to advance towards the city of Rome, and attack Clement VII. in his capital, Bourbon executed his commission with equal bravery and conduct; and, though he lost his life in the attempt†, the prince of Orange, who succeeded him in the command, continued the assault with so much vigour and resolution, that the city was at length stormed and sacked, and the pope himself made prisoner.

The kings of France and England were so greatly alarmed at the rapid run of success which constantly attended the emperor's arms, that they now engaged in a fresh league to oppose the growing power of that formidable monarch. Accordingly, Francis having sent a solemn embassy to London, in the spring of the year 1527, the negotiators made so good use of their time, that, on the last day of April, according to the lord Herbert, three treaties were concluded. The contents of the first were,

"That the two kings should jointly send ambassadors to the emperor, with offers concerning the the ransom of the two hostages, and to demand the payment of what was due to the king of England.

"That if he rejected the offers, or gave no answer within twenty days, the two kings should proclaim war against him.

"Another article of this treaty contained a mutual engagement for the marriage of Francis, or his son the duke of Orleans, with the princess Mary, at the king of France's choice, and upon such terms as should be agreed on when the time came‡." Probably, this treaty was to be made public, in order to induce the emperor to desist from his claim to Burgundy and be satisfied with the offered equivalent.

By the second, it was agreed,

"That in case the emperor rejected their proposals or deferred his answer, all commerce should be forbidden with his subjects by the two kings, allowing them however forty days to withdraw their effects.

"That the two kings should make war upon the emperor in the Low Countries, with an army of thirty thousand foot and fifteen hundred men at arms, and that two thirds of the foot and all the horse‖ should be furnished by the king of France.

"That they should equip a fleet with fifteen thousand men, whereof the king of France should find ten thousand.

"That if the king of Portugal or any other prince or state should join with the emperor, they should be declared enemies to both the kings.

"That the pope and Venetians should be deemed included in the league, provided they continued the war in Italy.

"That the king of France should endeavour to persuade the king of Navarre, the duke of Gueldres, and Robert de la Mark, to make war upon the emperor.

"That the two kings should use their joint endeavours to encourage John de Zapol to prosecute his right to the crown of Hungary, in case he had not already made an alliance with the Turk, in order to keep the emperor's brother Ferdinand employed in those parts.

"That the league should be notified to the princes of Germany, and the two kings endeavour to prevent their assisting the emperor."

The substance of the third treaty was:

* Guicciardin. Belcar. lib. xviii. n. 54.

† He was shot dead, as he was planting a ladder with his own hand against a bastion. Guicciardini.

‡ Hall says, the people were very much against this match, because the princess Mary being Henry's presumptive heir, if he died without sons, she would of course succeed to the throne; and, on account of her marriage, it was feared she would be too much under the influence of France. Fol. 155.

‖ Twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred men at arms. Lord Herbert, p. 81.

"I. That

"I. That this treaty ſhould not derogate from that of More, which remained in force.

"II. That there ſhould be perpetual peace between Francis and Henry and their reſpective ſubjects.

"III. That neither of them ſhould give aid or advice to any perſon whatever that ſhould attack the dominions of the other.

"IV. Henry renounced for himſelf and ſucceſſors all right and title to the kingdom of France §, and in general, whatever Francis now poſſeſſed.

"V. In conſideration whereof, Francis bound himſelf and ſucceſſors to pay to Henry's ſucceſſors an annual penſion for ever, of fifty thouſand crowns, at two payments; namely, on the firſt of May and the firſt of November, and that the payment of the penſion ſhould commence, on the firſt of thoſe two days which ſhould happen after Henry's death, without deduction of what ſhould remain to be paid after Henry's deceaſe of the two millions ſtipulated by the treaty of More.

"VI. Moreover Francis bound himſelf to give yearly to Henry fifteen thouſand crowns worth of ſalt of Bruage ¶, beſides the fore-mentioned fifty thouſand crowns.

"VII. That to prevent the objection which might hereafter be made, that a king cannot bind his ſucceſſors, the two kings ſhould cauſe the treaty to be confirmed by the ſtates of their realms, and held as a perpetual and inviolable law.

"VIII. That the treaty ſhould be approved and confirmed by the archbiſhops, biſhops, princes, dukes, earls, barons, and other great men of the two kingdoms, whoſe names were inſerted in this article, under forfeiture of all their goods; and by the parliaments of Paris, Toulouſe, Roan, Bourdeaux, as well as by all the courts of juſtice in England."

The news of the pope's captivity arriving ſoon after the concluſion of theſe treaties, the parties agreed, that, inſtead of carrying the war on in the Low Countries, they ſhould act ſolely in Italy; and as Engliſh troops could not be tranſported into that country without great trouble, time, and expence, the French king took upon himſelf the maintenance of the war, on condition of Henry's paying him a certain monthly ſubſidy. And now, as a mutual earneſt of friendſhip, Francis beſtowed upon Henry the order of a knight of St. Michael; while Henry, in return, choſe Francis a knight of the Garter.

The pope's impriſonment affording reaſon to ſuſpect that the emperor might force him to ſome improper uſe of his eccleſiaſtical authority, cardinal Wolſey was ſent over to Francis about the meaſures fit to be taken on the ſubject. They met at Amiens, and, on the eighteenth of Auguſt, agreed, "that neither king ſhould allow a general council (the liberty of which conſtituted its principal authority) to be either called or ſit, nor admit any bull to be iſſued to the prejudice of either realms, whilſt the pope continued in captivity; and that the method of government in ſpiritual matters, in both realms, during that time, ſhould be ſettled for England by the cardinal of York, with the concurrence of a convocation; and in France, by the king and an aſſembly of the French clergy: at the ſame time it was agreed, that the princeſs Mary of England ſhould be given to the duke of Orleans (inſtead of Francis), as of a more ſuitable age for her; and that this young prince ſhould be brought up in the court of England *.

The emperor was extremely perplexed at theſe negociations, and ſought to break their force by ſeeming to comply with the propoſitions which Francis had made to the viceroy of Naples, when the latter required him to ratify the treaty of Madrid: but he paid all the compliment of this compliance to Henry, whoſe ambaſſadors at his court were daily preſſing for the enlargement of the pope; and he now publiſhed a kind of manifeſto, as from himſelf, addreſſed to the Engliſh ambaſſadors, dated at Valladolid, in which he ſpecifies not only his own conceſſions, but the offers of Francis: a copy of theſe articles were alſo tranſmitted to Wolſey, who was acquainted that Charles had ſignified he was willing to have them moderated by the king of England. At the ſame time, to bring that monarch, if poſſible, off from the allies of the Clementine or Moſt Holy League, Charles offered by one of his miniſters, to give the daughter of Portugal, with the Milaneſe for her dowry, to the duke of Richmond, Henry's beloved natural ſon; but matters had now taken a new turn, and very little attention was paid to what Charles propoſed, who next endeavoured to gain over the cardinal, by advantageous offers; but Wolſey was too far engaged with Francis to retreat, or he was determined at all events to be revenged on the emperor, by whom he had been twice deceived; and perhaps the king's divorce from Catherine was already reſolved upon, in which caſe he could not poſſibly eſpouſe the intereſt of Charles. Certain it is, the cardinal, in a letter to the king, dated on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, told him it was already reported in Spain, that his majeſty intended to obtain a divorce; and counſelled him to ſend orders to his ambaſſadors in that country to ſtifle the rumour as ſoon poſſible, by alleging it had no other foundation than ſome ſcruples expreſſed by the biſhop of Tarbe, one of the plenipotentiaries from the French king to the court of England, on the ſubject of the propoſed match between the duke of Orleans and the princeſs Mary, as if there had been ſome room to doubt her legitimacy.

At the ſame time the cardinal ſhewed himſelf reſolved to compaſs his ends by arms, if he could not by treaty; at leaſt he continued to act as if arms were the moſt effectual means to give ſucceſs to negociations, for he perſuaded Francis to ſend orders to marſhal Lautrec, his general for Italy, to advance into that country, in ſupport of the Clementine league, at the head of the French army, which was to join that of the Italian princes.

Accordingly, on the firſt of Auguſt, Lautrec, entering the Milaneſe, took Alexandria; and ſoon after, aſſiſted by Doria, who commanded a ſquadron of fourteen gallies for the king of France, he inveſted Genoa by ſea and land, and obliged that city to capitulate, and the marſhal de Trevulcé was appointed to command the garriſon. The Lomeline, Viginnano, Bragraſſa, and Pavia were his next

§ Jus, titulum, & verum dominium in regno Franciæ. Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 220.

¶ A town in Saintonge, famous for its ſalt-pits, about eight leagues from Rochelle. The ſalt in this diſtrict brings in the king of France fourteen millions of livres per annum.

* Lord Herbert, p. 85.

conqueſts;

conqueſts; and Antonio de Legna, who commanded in Milan, not having a ſufficient force to reſiſt him, he might eaſily have made himſelf maſter of that capital; but by his affected delays he plainly ſhewed that he had private orders not to be too much in earneſt. The king of France was as yet uncertain of the iſſue of the treaty for the ranſom of his ſons; and if the emperor could be prevailed upon to accept of the ceſſion of the Milaneſe inſtead of Burgundy, rather than run the hazard of loſing both, that project would have been obſtructed by the putting of Francis Sforza in poſſeſſion of the capital of his duchy.

Theſe were not reaſons to be urged to the princes of the league; but Wolſey having given the pope, who entirely depended upon the friendſhip of the Engliſh court, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that he ſhould be ſet at liberty, cardinal Cibo was ſent to ſummon Lautrec to march directly to Rome for the pope's relief, in conſequence of the treaties lately concluded between the courts of England and France. Lautrec took a middle way between the ſolicitations of the duke of Milan and the Venetians, who preſſed him to make himſelf ſure of the Milaneſe, the applications of the pope, and the ſecret views of his own court. He left the conqueſt of Milan to be completed by the forces of the Venetians and Sforza; and, paſſing the Po, on the eighteenth of October, he took poſſeſſion of Parma and Placentia, which opened their gates to him, and at the ſame time he found means to draw off the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua from the emperor's intereſt.

That prince, ſeeing the ill effects of his detaining the pope a captive in the ſtorm that was raiſing againſt him, came to a reſolution of ſetting his holineſs at liberty, and had ſent an order to the viceroy of Naples for that purpoſe; but as the ſecurity he exacted from the pope for his ranſom was greater than the pontiff could grant, the negociation proceeded very ſlowly; but the march of Lautrec for the eccleſiaſtical dominions haſtened the treaty, which was at length concluded to this effect: "That the pope ſhould not oppoſe the emperor with regard either to Milan or Naples; that his holineſs ſhould grant to Charles the tenth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues within his dominions; that he ſhould pay ninety-five thouſand ducats before he left the caſtle of St. Angelo (where he was detained priſoner), and thrice that ſum afterwards; that, till the two firſt payments ſhould be made, the pope ſhould be conducted to ſome place of ſafety, out of Rome, and give hoſtages."

The treaty being ſigned, and the cardinals of Ceſſis and Orſino delivered in hoſtage, it was agreed, that, on the tenth of December, the pope ſhould be taken out of the caſtle of St. Angelo, and conducted to a place appointed; but, as he was afraid of being detained a good while longer, as he was not in a condition to perform the pecuniary ſtipulations, he made his eſcape in diſguiſe the night before, and was eſcorted by Lewis Gonzaga to Orvieto.

As ſoon as Lautrec heard that the pope was at liberty, he reſtored to him the city of Parma, and marched to Bologna, where he ſtaid three weeks, expecting freſh orders from the king his maſter. Some days after, he received a letter from the pope, acknowleging himſelf indebted to the marſhal for his liberty; at the ſame time acquainting him, that having been forced to grant the Imperialiſts whatever they were pleaſed to demand of him, he did not think himſelf bound to keep his word.

During theſe tranſactions on the continent, Henry's attention was engaged by an affair of a more domeſtic, and to him of a more important, nature: this was no other than a divorce from his queen Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, king and queen of Spain, and aunt to Charles V. This affair is the moſt remarkable we meet with in the hiſtory of almoſt any country, whether we conſider it in itſelf, with reſpect to the parties concerned, or, for the conſequences it was attended with.

Henry VIII. was, by nature, ſenſual, violent, and obſtinate in his deſires: he had lately caſt his eyes on Anne Boleyn *, a young lady of his court, who at this juncture was one of the maids of honour to the queen; her free and ſprightly carriage ſeemed to promiſe very little reſiſtance, nevertheleſs ſhe had ſtill the prudence not to yield to the king's ſolicitations, by which ſhe ſo inflamed his paſſion that he reſolved to make her his wife.

But how was he to procure a divorce, or annul his marriage with a perſon like queen Catherine, whom he could not reproach with harſhneſs, ill conduct, nor even that moroſe humour which is ſo frequently found in women of ſtrict virtue? Add to this, that he had lived with her upwards of eighteen years, during which time ſhe had brought him three children, of which there was one ſtill living, viz. the princeſs Mary, afterwards queen of England. Catherine was a princeſs of the higheſt quality, powerful in her family, relations, and friends; her title to be his wife had been confirmed by all the ſanction which could be given by that religion to which he and all the greateſt princes of

* Anna, or Anne Boleyn was of a good though not a noble family. Sir Thomas Boleyn, her father, married a ſiſter of the duke of Norfolk, and had by her this Anne, who was born, according to Camden, in 1507, about two years before Henry VIII. mounted the throne. Her father was twice ambaſſador to Francis I. in 1515, and again in 1517. He was made viſcount Rochford in 1525; and afterwards earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond, in right of his mother. Anne, his daughter, when only ſeven years of age, was carried over to France, in 1514, when Mary, the king's ſiſter, went and conſummated her marriage, at Abbeville, with Lewis XII. and after that king's deceaſe ſhe continued in the French court, in the ſame poſt about Claude, conſort of Francis I. till that queen's deceaſe, when ſhe was taken into the family of Margaret, ducheſs of Alençon. Coming from France in 1525, her father brought her to court, where Henry's queen Catherine took ſuch a liking to her, that ſhe made her one of her maids of honour. Her fine perſon, lively wit, and pleaſant and agreeable converſation, accompanied with all the eaſe, politeneſs, accompliſhments, and graces, which an education in the court of France could give her, naturally procured her many admirers; among theſe, Henry, lord Piercy, ſon and heir to the earl of Northumberland, gained ſo much upon her affections, that ſolemn promiſes of marriage were made between them, in the preſence of witneſſes. This coming to the king's ears, who was by this time deeply ſmitten himſelf, he employed Wolſey, whoſe pupil the young nobleman was, to break off the match. Both parties were obliged to releaſe each other from their promiſes; but retained ever after a violent reſentment againſt the cardinal. As for the lord Piercy, he was, by his father, ſoon after married to the daughter of the earl of Shrewſbury: and we ſhall ſee Anne mount the royal bed, and from thence be conducted to the ſcaffold. Sir Roger Twiſden's Account of Anne Boleyn, from an authentic MS. T. Sebright, No. 9.

Europe were devoted. This princeſs, as we have already ſeen, was firſt married to prince Arthur, eldeſt ſon to Henry VII. who died a few months after the nuptials. Henry procured a diſpenſation from pope Julius II. and made a contract of marriage between her and his ſecond ſon, this Henry VIII. who, as ſoon as he came to the crown by his father's death, was ſolemnly eſpouſed to her. A conſiderable time afterwards he had a natural ſon by one of his miſtreſſes, whom he created duke of Richmond, and of whom he was remarkably fond; but he had then only conceived a diſlike to his marriage, and no ſcruples of conſcience: but as ſoon as he fell ſo paſſionately in love with Anne Boleyn, and found that he could not obtain her without marriage, he inſtantly began to feel a remorſe of conſcience, and ſhuddered to think how much he had offended God by having lived eighteen years with Catherine of Arragon as his wife.

He was not long before he opened to Wolſey the great ſecret of his heart; and this artful miniſter, affecting to believe that thoſe ſentiments did not ſpring from the diſtaſte of an old, nor the love of a new object, but purely from ſcruples of conſcience, fell in with his maſter's deſigns about the divorce, and thought he could not have found a time more favourable than the preſent to his wiſhes: France depended on the friendſhip of England, and the pope could be relieved only by Henry's ſupport; and Wolſey doubted not, by his addreſs, his authority, and the force of his money (he being then about to ſet out for France, whither he was to carry with him twenty four thouſand pounds in ſpecie) that he ſhould be able to procure powers to himſelf from the pope for determining the matter of the divorce in Henry's favour.

As the pope was at this time in captivity, and no ſuits could be regularly carried on in the court of Rome, two methods were propoſed for getting the affair diſpatched: one was, to engage the cardinals, not impriſoned with the pope, to meet at Avignon, and take upon them the adminiſtration of eccleſiaſtical affairs during Clement's detention: the other was, to obtain from the pope a commiſſion, conſtituting Wolſey his vicar-general in all countries on this ſide the Alps*. But the latter of theſe methods was diſagreeable to the French, and the former was deemed very difficult, if not impracticable.

However, as the pope's compliance with any requeſt of the court of England was not doubted, under his preſent circumſtances, the king ſent Dr. Knight as his envoy to Rome, ordering him to paſs by Compeigne, in France, where the cardinal then was, and to receive his eminency's inſtructions for his conduct. Knight did ſo; and having received them, proceeded on his journey, being furniſhed with two inſtruments, drawn up in England and reviſed by the cardinal, which the pope was to be requeſted to ſign, viz. a commiſſion to Wolſey, empowering him to call in whom he pleaſed to his aſſiſtance, to enquire into the validity of pope Julius's bull; to proceed in the cauſe, and to give ſentence with regard to the divorce and ſubſequent marriage: for which laſt the pope was likewiſe deſired to grant a diſpenſation. He was alſo to bind himſelf never to repeal theſe acts. At the ſame time Knight was furniſhed with ten thouſand ducats, to be employed in getting the chief cardinals over to favour his ſolicitations. But as the pope was priſoner, and guarded by a Spaniſh captain, it was impoſſible for Knight to have an audience; he found means, however, to convey to his holineſs a memorial, containing the ſum of his commiſſion, to which the pope returned a favourable anſwer: but as it was impracticable for the Engliſh envoy to have acceſs to the pontiff's perſon, the matter was carried no farther at that time.

This ſeems to have occaſioned Henry's recalling the cardinal from France, in order to conſult him again on the difficulties attending this affair: Wolſey accordingly arrived on the thirtieth of September, bringing back with him the great-ſeal of England, which, by an unprecedented ſtrain of power, he had carried over to France, and left at Calais.

Upon the pope's eſcaping from Rome to Orvieto, on the ninth of December, Knight followed him thither, as did alſo ſir Gregory Caſſali, the king's agent in Italy, and renewed their inſtances for the acts being forthwith expedited. Clement's circumſtances were now ſuch that he was greatly perplexed how to act. To have annulled the marriage under the preſent circumſtances of its being contracted and conſummated contrary to a law which was morally irreverſible, and eternally binding, would have given a mortal blow to the high claim of the diſpenſing power in popes: to grant the acts in his then ſituation, while the French army was at a diſtance from his relief, and while he was ſurrounded by the troops of his inveterate enemy, appeared to him certain deſtruction. On the other hand, he knew of what great ſervice the court of England had been, and could be, to him, and dreaded every thing from its reſentment, ſhould he diſoblige Henry in this favourite point. He therefore endeavoured to find a medium between throwing himſelf entirely into the arms of the emperor, and making him his irreconcileable enemy; he therefore ſet all his wits to work to ſpin out the affair by ways and means the king miſtruſted not: to that end he told the Engliſh envoys, that, before he ſigned the acts, he ſhould be glad to conſult the cardinal de Santi Quatro.

Knight and Caſſali, on hearing this, immediately repaired to that cardinal, and offered him four thouſand crowns down, if he would befriend them in their ſuit, with other promiſes more than ſufficient to biaſs a needy and plundered Italian: he promiſed them all the good offices in his power; but his eminency and the pope ſeem to have underſtood each other perfectly well, for the cardinal having examined the inſtruments drawn up by Wolſey, found very great faults in them, particularly in the affair of the commiſſion, and took upon him to draw up one more perfect: which done, Knight and Caſſali went to the pope, and preſſed him to ſign.

His holineſs finding himſelf ſo much preſſed, put into their hands the commiſſion for cardinal Wolſey to try the marriage, and the diſpenſation for the king; but with this expreſs proviſion, that Henry ſhould not proceed to any proceſs upon them before his holineſs was delivered from all apprehenſions from the Imperialiſts; at the ſame time he perſuaded the envoys to accept of the acts with

* Biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, vol. iii. Collect. 12, 13.

a poſt-

a poſt-date, viz. April 13, 1528; by which he had it in his power, as the commiſſion could not operate before this date, to revoke it, in caſe the emperor was ſucceſsful; or deliberate upon the confirmation of it, if the allies ſhould prevail. As for the bull of decretal, to annul the marriage of Henry with Catherine, he promiſed to ſend it to England after the agents. Thus, however urgent Henry was to have this affair terminated, he found, at the cloſe of the year 1527, that he was but juſt where he began.

While this affair was thus warmly ſoliciting at the court of Rome, a very ſtrong ſpirit was working at the Engliſh court againſt cardinal Wolſey, by means of the new favourite, Anne Boleyn, who, being in her heart a great favourer of the reformation began in religion by Luther and his followers, and knowing Wolſey to be a profeſſed enemy to that ſect, and to poſſeſs all Henry's eſteem, ſhe uſed all her endeavours to eſtrange that prince from him. Something of this kind ſeems to have been effected about this time for Knight having ſet out for England with the commiſſion and diſpenſation, left Caſſali behind at Orvietto, who received a diſpatch, dated December 27, but from whence it does not appear, requiring him to apply to the pope for a legate to be ſent over to England for determining the matter of a divorce. It is certain that Wolſey does not appear to have been actuated in his proceedings in this affair, by any regard he had for Anne Boleyn; it rather ſeems that he had winked at the king's growing paſſion for her, but had never thought it would have terminated in matrimony; and that when he found this likely to be the caſe, he cooled in the zeal he had before expreſſed for the divorce; and this might occaſion the ſending for a legate, who might be tempted by advantageous offers to ſtir more heartily in favour of the king's deſires.

Be that as it may, Caſſali, on receiving this diſpatch, waited on the pope, and communicated the contents thereof to him. Clement was extremely alarmed at the demand, which could not, as the former acts had been, be granted without throwing off the maſk, and declaring to the Imperialiſts, who were ſtill maſters of Rome, that he was reſolved to proceed in the matter of the divorce: his holineſs, in this dilemma, ordered the cardinals de Santi Quatro and Simonetta, two of the moſt able of that venerable body remaining about him, to attend while the demand of the Engliſh court ſhould be debated before ſir Gregory Caſſali. After mature conſultation and deliberation, the pope gave it as his opinion, "That if the queen ſhould, as ſhe certainly would, proteſt againſt the proceedings ſo carried on in an incompetent place, and by judges who had it not in their power to be impartial, and appeal to his tribunal, he could not help avocating the thing to himſelf, which would give ſuch advantages to the Imperialiſts, as might diſappoint all Henry's wiſhes. That this being the unavoidable conſequence of any judicial proceeding, he thought Henry's beſt way, if he really was convinced in conſciouſneſs of the unlawfulneſs of his marriage, was to proceed upon the commiſſion ſent to Wolſey by ſecretary Knight, or upon his legatine capacity, and for the king immediately, without any manner of noiſe, to marry another wife, and then to ſend for a legate in full form to confirm the ſentence." The two cardinals were ſtrongly of the ſame opinion; and told Caſſali, "That in caſe the queen ſhould appeal, his holineſs could not, without flying in the face of all juſtice and decency, refuſe an inhibition to the Imperialiſts, and an avocation of the whole proceſs to the court of Rome: but that if the king went ſo far as an actual marriage, the pope could not be ſolicited for any inhibition, and would take care to confirm all the proceedings, ſo as that there ſhould be no manner of diſpute upon it." His holineſs, at the ſame time, charged Caſſali, who was an Italian, to ſignify to the Engliſh court, that theſe were only the ſentiments of the two cardinals, Santi Quatro and Simonetta. As to the propoſal of ſending a legate, he ſaid, "there were but ſix cardinals of all the conclave qualified in point of abilities to be ſent, five of whom were very improper, on account of their bodily infirmities; and that Campejo, who was very ill of the gout at Rome, was the only proper perſon to be truſted: his holineſs concluded with deſiring Caſſali to acquaint the Engliſh court of his earneſt diſpoſitions to oblige Henry in the affair, ſaying, that he was ſure the emperor never would forgive him for what he had done, and that he threw himſelf into his majeſty's arms; that he had but very faint hopes of relief from the French, or from any but the king of England and the cardinal of York *."

Henry looked upon this as a ſnare of the pope's. He conſidered, that it was not poſſible to have ſuch a cauſe tried without noiſe, ſince it was neceſſary the queen ſhould be heard, otherwiſe the ſentence would be evidently void: in the next place, ſhould he do what the pope propoſed, he would have been entirely at the pontiff's mercy, who, according to the opinion of the canoniſts, would have had it in his power to refuſe to confirm the cardinal's ſentence, as well as the marriage that ſhould be contracted in conſequence thereof. It was therefore determined to apply directly to the pope, and require new bulls, on pretence that the cardinal of York found his commiſſion inſufficient. Purſuant to this reſolution the king ſent Stephen Gardiner, Wolſey's ſecretary, and Edward Fox, both of them able men, the firſt one of the beſt canoniſts, the latter one of the deepeſt theologiſts in the age, to manage the affair. They were inſtructed to declare to the pope, that the king, conceiving the diſpenſation to be inſufficient to his purpoſe, they were come to have all impediments removed, in a more full and leſs exceptionable manner. Here we ſhall leave them, as we are now to attend the progreſs of the war and differences among the three great powers of Europe, which had ſo great an influence in forwarding or retarding Henry's ſolicitations with the pope.

The French and Engliſh ambaſſadors had in vain exerted their utmoſt endeavours with the emperor to moderate the articles of the treaty of Madrid; but, after an infinite number of memorials, propoſitions, and replies, the emperor could only be brought to relax in the point of Burgundy, conſenting that his right to that duchy ſhould be determined in a way of juſtice; upon which both French and Engliſh ambaſſadors deſired leave to depart, which was very readily granted them: and,

* Burnet. Lord Herbert. Le Grand, tom. iii. p. 36, &c.

after

after they were gone, two perſons, who had come with them in their train, and whoſe characters were hitherto unknown, deſired an audience of Charles, and appeared to be the one Clarencieux and the other Guienne king at arms, who, being admitted into the Imperial preſence, on the twenty-ſecond day of January, 1528, at Burgos, Guienne defied Charles, in the name of Francis, on the following accounts: for not agreeing to a juſt and honourable peace, and for detaining the two royal hoſtages; for not paying to the king of England the money due to him; for having detained the pope a priſoner; and for kindling a war in Italy. It was next the turn of Clarencieux, who ſpoke like the herald of him who was arbiter of the Chriſtian world, requiring Charles inſtantly to accept of the terms of peace which had been offered, or to receive his declaration of war, which he then pronounced. But both heralds, before they finiſhed their ſpeeches, declared they had orders to offer forty days notice to the ſubjects of Charles, for withdrawing their perſons and effects out of the dominions of the kings their maſters.

A few days after, Charles ordered a long laboured reply to be given to Clarencieux: it conſiſted, in the firſt place, of a gentle reproach to Henry, who ſeemed to ſeek for a quarrel: Charles ſaid, "That, upon his brother of England's account, he had abated in the demands he could have made by the treaty of Madrid, even ſo far as to be contented to accept of the ſame propoſals which Francis, when at liberty, had made to the viceroy of Naples: he diſclaimed having had any hand in the captivity of the pope, who he declared was now free: and he laid the non-payment of the juſt debts he owed to Henry, upon the ambaſſadors of the latter not being furniſhed with the original bonds and contracts, without which he could, as he ſaid, have no full acquittance: the matter of indemnification was, he ſaid, not without its difficulties, which would require commiſſioners on both ſides to remove: as to the penalty upon the marriage, he ſaid, the civilians and canoniſts were agreed, that all penal ſtipulations, whereby the free power of marrying in a proper place, are, ipſo facto, void: that Henry could not make it appear, that he had fulfilled on his part the treaty of Windſor, of which he ſought to avail himſelf: that he had required the princeſs Mary to be ſent to him, but had been refuſed; and that he had ſufficient proofs in his hands of a marriage-treaty between her and the king of Scotland, even while the contract between her and him (Charles) was ſuppoſed to be in full force; and this, as he conceived, turned the penalty upon Henry: he next took notice of the treatment de Praet, his ambaſſador, met with at the court of England, only for doing his duty; of the ſame court's entertaining Joachim, a declared French agent, in direct violation of the treaties between himſelf and Henry: he complained of Henry riſing in his demands, in proportion as he abated in his; and of the groſs affront offered to the imperial houſe, if, as fame reported, Henry was ſoliciting a divorce from his queen: he next proceeds to reproach him with endeavouring to palm upon him a baſtard (as Henry muſt imply the princeſs Mary to be), if he was ſoliciting ſuch a divorce: he concludes with a bitter invective againſt the cardinal, whoſe inſatiable ambition, he ſays, led him to be his implacable enemy, becauſe he would not employ his army in Italy to make him pope, as he (the cardinal) had deſired, and procured his maſter to write to him (Charles) to the like effect."

But the emperor dealt not ſo complaiſantly with the king of France's herald, whom he ordered to tell his maſter, that he had acted like a knave and a villain, and that he would maintain it body to body; adding, that Francis ought not to have forgot the laſt converſation they had together. It ſeems, before Francis left Spain, the emperor aſking him one day, whether he did really and truly intend to perform all the articles capitulated between them? the latter anſwered, "Yes; and when you find that I do not keep my word with you, I wiſh and conſent that you hold me and publiſh me for a knave and a villain *. Francis, however, though conſcious of his having made this ſolemn proteſtation, was ſo incenſed at the uſe the emperor had made of it, that, in an inſtrument drawn up by his own hand, and read on the twenty-eighth of March before the Imperial ambaſſador at Paris, he gave the lye direct to the emperor, accepted his challenge, and required Charles to appoint the field, which he did in the very place were Francis had been exchanged with his two ſons; but ſome difficulties ariſing thereon, and Francis affecting delays, theſe ebullitions of a violent reſentment paſſed over without any great effects.

The declaration of war was not agreeable either to the Engliſh or the Flemings, as it put a ſtop to the commerce, wherein both found great advantages, and being followed by a ſeizure of the Engliſh merchants and their effects in Spain, which produced a like ſeizure in England and the Low Countries. The pope's being ſet at liberty had cooled the reſentment which the Engliſh had conceived againſt the emperor on account of his holding him captive, and their animoſities againſt France revived. The clothiers, ſpinners, carders, and other manufacturers in the country, ſuffered by the merchants not buying the cloths ſent to Blackwell-hall, under pretence they had no vend for any commodities: this gave occaſion to a general uneaſineſs, and Wolſey was blamed for precipitating the declaration of war, though agreeable, in the main, to the king's intentions, and the ſtipulations with France for acting jointly in that matter: but the Flemings, on their ſide, making the like complaints, Margaret of Auſtria ſent ambaſſadors to London to propoſe a truce for eight months with regard to all the countries under her government. This was ſigned on the fifteenth of June, by her's and the Engliſh plenipotentiaries, and confirmed afterwards by the king of France and the emperor. This treaty put a ſtop to the war in all parts but Italy, the affairs of which country now claim a part of our attention.

As ſoon as it was known that the negociations in Spain had ended in a declaration of war, the marſhal de Lautrec entered Romagna, and, having reduced Imola and Rimini to the pope's obedience, advanced, in the beginning of February, this year, 1528, towards Rome, which the Imperialiſts, whoſe forces were by this time reduced to fifteen thouſand, immediately quitted, and retired into the

* Lord Herbert, p. 75.

kingdom

kingdom of Naples, whither Lautrec followed them; and, after having reduced ſeveral ſtrong towns in that kingdom to his obedience, he, on the ninth of May, ſat down before the city of Naples itſelf; but as the viceroy, Monçada, had thrown himſelf into the place with the greateſt part of the Imperial forces, the marſhal would not venture to take it by force, but reſolved to reduce it by famine. With this view he poſted his army, amounting to thirty thouſand men, round the city by land, while Philippino Doria blocked it up on the ſea ſide with two men of war and eight gallies, belonging to his uncle Andrew Doria: by this diſpoſition the beſieged were reduced to great ſtraits, and the French general thought himſelf at the eve of reducing the capital of Naples, when Andrew Doria, having taken ſome diſguſt againſt the French king, recalled his nephew Philippino with his gallies, and declared for the emperor; ſo that the French army, having no longer a communication by ſea, ſuffered as much as the beſieged from a ſcarcity of proviſions. At length, to add to their misfortunes, their camp was infected by the plague, which carried off the greateſt part of the officers and ſoldiers; and the marſhal de Lautrec himſelf being ſeized with the diſtemper, he died of it on the ſixteenth of Auguſt. He was ſucceeded in the command by the marquis de Saluces, who immediately abandoned the enterprize, and retreated to Averſa, where he was beſieged in his turn by the Imperialiſts, and obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. Much about the ſame time Andrew Doria, having taken Genoa in the emperor's name, reſtored his country to liberty, eſtabliſhing that form of government which the inhabitants ſtill retain *. Thus the affairs of Italy, which, in the beginning of this year, had ſo promiſing an aſpect for Francis, were ſo entirely altered, that he had hardly any thing left in that country.

The war in Italy raiſed freſh obſtacles to Henry's divorce from Catherine. Gardiner and Fox arriving at Orvieto when Lautrec was on his march towards Naples, pope Clement wanted to protract the diſcuſſion of this affair until he ſhould ſee the ſucceſs of the campaign, and for this purpoſe endeavoured to amuſe Henry with a letter written in cypher, which nobody could explain. This behaviour was greatly reſented by Henry, who ſent orders to his envoys to inſiſt upon his former demands, and at the ſame time to repreſent to his holineſs, that the king was unalterably determined never to bed more with Catherine, on account of the ſcruples which troubled his conſcience, "when he conſidered how expreſly it was forbidden by the Levitical law, to uncover the nakedneſs of his brother's wife, or go in to his wife's ſiſter. They were at the ſame time ordered to repreſent how much Henry was affected by the untimely deaths of ſeveral of his children, which he conſidered as a divine judgment upon him for his breach of the above ſacred law, eſpecially when he had no valid diſpenſation in the caſe, as ſeveral learned canoniſts had agreed that pope Julius's bull of diſpenſation being granted on the falſe ſuggeſtion of the marriage being neceſſary to preſerve the peace between the crowns of England and Spain, and at the requeſt of Henry (VIII.) then not above twelve years of age, and not only incapable of making ſuch a requeſt, but abſolutely ignorant of the whole tranſaction; and being afterwards extinguiſhed by a ſecret proteſtation againſt this marriage, which this prince made when he came to age of puberty, and by the death of Henry VII. was for theſe reaſons invalid, and the marriage conſequent thereupon illegal †."

Clement thus importuned, and animated by the hopes of ſeeing Naples ſoon reduced by the French (whoſe king ſtrongly ſupported Henry's cauſe with the pope, both as his brother in-law and ally, and likewiſe as the enemy of Charles V.) granted, on the twenty-eighth of June this year, a bull, appointing the cardinals Campejo and Wolſey his legates a latere, conſtituting them his vicegerents in the affair of the divorce, and for that purpoſe veſting them with his whole authority; he alſo conſented to furniſh Campejo with a decretal, annulling the king's marriage. Theſe conceſſions were made at different periods, to protract the time; and when he was at laſt prevailed upon to ſign the decretal, he did it very privately, without the knowlege of any of his council, and inſiſted that no other uſe ſhould be made of it, but barely to ſhew it to the king and cardinal Wolſey. This laſt, conſidering it as an honourable teſtimony as well of his own merit and the pope's favour to him, as of his own zeal for the divorce, uſed afterwards very ſtrong inſtances with Clement for leave that it might be ſhewn to the privy-council of England; but the Imperialiſts being by that time maſters of Italy, the pope abſolutely refuſed his conſent; and (according to Burnet's Collection of Records) ſent orders to Campejo, who had carried it over with him, to burn it, that he might be no more teazed on the ſubject.

As this decretal was not to be made public, Gardiner laboured to get the intent of it anſwered, in ſome degree, by another inſtrument that might be ſhewed, and engaged the pope, on the third of July, to ſign a promiſe, or, as it is termed, pollicitation, importing, "that he would not, on any pretence whatever, grant any bull, brief, or other writ for inhibiting or revoking the commiſſion granted to the two legates, for delaying the proceſs or for interrupting them in proceeding to the full and final execution of that commiſſion: but if he ſhould (which God forbid) do any thing of that kind, he declared every ſuch act or attempt to be void, and adjudged it to be of no force or efficacy ‡."

This ſeems to be the laſt act of compliance which the pope did in favour of Henry; for, notwithſtanding all this prince's inſtances, ſupported by the ſtrongeſt reaſons of his envoys, Gardiner and Fox, for preventing all delays, Campejo, waiting the event of the ſiege of Naples, was ſo ſlow in his motions, that he did not reach London till the beginning of October. Upon his arrival in England, he began his legation by exhorting the king to live in good underſtanding with Catherine, and deſiſt from his ſolicitation of the divorce: this advice being very ill received, he endeavoured to perſuade the queen to conſent to the ſeparation; but his counſel was rejected by Catherine, who told

* Guicciardin. lib. xviii. Du Bellay, lib. iii.
† Coll. Records, in Burnet, vol. ii. n° 26.
‡ Lord Herbert. Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt.

him, she was the king's lawful wife, and so would continue until she should be declared otherwise by the sentence of the pope himself, for that she was resolved not to admit such partial judges as he and Wolsey were, to give sentence in the cause. Then the legate declared he could proceed no farther, till he sent to his holiness for fresh instructions.

Henry, vexed at these tedious and dilatory proceedings, sent, in December, sir Francis Bryan, cousin german to Anne Boleyn, and Peter Vannes, his Latin secretary, to the court of Rome, to discover, if possible, the real sentiments of his holiness, to search the pope's chancery for a pretended brief *, which, as the queen's friends alleged, confirmed the dispensation of her marriage, granted by pope Julius II. and to propose some plausible expedients for facilitating the determination of the divorce. These agents, however, found it impossible to dive into the real designs of Clement. That subtle pontiff was at this time treating with the emperor, who made him very advantageous proposals to gain him over to his interest, which Clement, incensed at the Venetians for detaining Ravenna and Cerva from him, was not disinclined to accept; and he found means to protract the cause of the divorce by all the arts of delays, promises, and denials, in hopes that Henry's passion would not last so long as an Italian negociation; but herein he was deceived, for the English monarch growing more and more impatient to enjoy the object of his amorous wishes, sent orders to his envoys to tell the pope plainly, in his name, that, should he refuse granting the satisfaction demanded, England would certainly renounce him and all the popes his successors; and that, as the king of England had engaged in the war merely with a view to deliver his holiness from imprisonment, all Christendom would look with horror upon his ingratitude, should he engage in any league against his deliverer, of which a report currently prevailed. These remonstrances, however, produced no effect upon the pope, who answered only in general terms, and pretended to think himself in a very dangerous situation, from which he could be relieved by nothing but the signal interposition of Heaven.

Although the pope seemed resolved to thwart the king, yet his holiness did not chuse to lose the only friend about Henry's person, who could preserve him firm with France, and break any views he might have of connections with the protestant princes, and therefore he still continued to heap favours upon Wolsey: he granted him several bulls for suppressing divers small monasteries, and many other grants towards the establishment of his two colleges, which he knew the cardinal had very much at heart; he also collated him to the rich bishopric of Wincheſter, vacant by the death of old Fox, which happened about this time.

Before we close the transactions of this year, it will be necessary to mention something concerning the affairs of Scotland. Henry, in the course of this year, sent ambassadors to the court of his nephew, James V. with proposals of peace; but as this could not be effected, on account of the distractions of that kingdom, which was divided into two factions, headed by the queen-dowager and the family of Douglas, a truce was concluded, at Berwick, for five years; in a separate article of which it was stipulated, "that the earl of Angus, his brother George, and uncle Archibald, might be received and protected in England, on condition that they should deliver up to their sovereign the places they held in Scotland; and that, in case they should make inroads into their own country, the king of England should repair the damages, as if it had been done by his own subjects †."

But now a violent distemper which seized the pope, in the beginning of the year 1529, seemed to be the forerunner of a very great change in the face of affairs. Gardiner communicating this intelligence to Wolsey, it revived in the latter all his ambition for the popedom: he again prevailed with Henry (though that monarch appears for some time to have entertained but an indifferent opinion of him) to send instructions, or rather he sent instructions in Henry's name, to his ambassadors at Rome, ordering them to do all that they could, either by promises, threats, or bribes, to engage the cardinals to elect him pope. But all his hopes were again blasted by the recovery of Clement, who from that time began to look upon the cardinal with an evil eye, and to regard him as a dangerous rival, who might one day supplant him on pretence of his bastardy, for which he had been already reproached, and even threatened with deposition by the emperor. In these sentiments he resolved to perplex both the cardinal and his master to the utmost of his power, and all the instances of the English ambassadors could not procure an explanation of the pollicitation formerly mentioned, which appeared very ambiguously worded, or an enlargement of the legate's commission, which was earnestly solicited, as necessary for a speedy determition of the cause, and for preventing its avocation during the process. The emperor's agents were indefatigable as well in opposing those motions, as in pressing for a revocation of the commission already given to the legates; and the pope was now so far engaged with the emperor, that he refused every thing the king desired.

Henry having nothing farther to expect from the court of Rome, recalled his ambassadors, and in their place dispatched William Bennet, doctor of laws, with a letter to his holiness from the two legates, wherein, as it afterwards appeared, they alleged that the chief difficulty in the cause of the

* While Campejo was on the road for England, the emperor's ministers at Rome started a fresh obstacle to the divorce, by the pretended discovery of a brief of Julius II. confirming the bull of dispensation for Henry's marriage with Catherine; but there was this difference between the bull and the brief, that the pope said in the bull "the marriage was perhaps consummated;" whereas in the brief the word *perhaps* was left out: they inferred from thence, that Julius II. was not surprised, since he looked upon Catherine's first marriage as consummated. But this brief, of which they only gave an authentic copy, without shewing the original to the king's ministers, was, probably, proposed solely to cause time to be lost in examining it. For, there were two reasons, among many others, which manifestly proved it to be a forgery. The first was, that this brief, granted at Catherine's request, supposed that princess's marriage with Arthur to have been consummated, and yet she had sworn the contrary; and upon that her agents had grounded the validity of Julius's dispensation. The second reason was still more strong, namely, that the brief was dated the 26th of December, 1503. Now, as in the date of the briefs, the court of Rome begins the year the 25th of December, being Christmay-day, this date answered to the 26th of December, 1502, of the vulgar year, that is, ten months before Julius II. was pope.

† Rymer's Fœd. vol. xiv. p. 246, &c.

divorce,

divorce, was to determine how far the authority of the head of the church extended; and as this was a matter far above their cognizance, they perſuaded his holineſs to evoke the cauſe before his own tribunal, not doubting that the king would agree to this evocation, provided he might be previouſly aſſured that the cauſe would be determined in his favour. It is extremely difficult to account for the conduct of Wolſey on this occaſion in joining in an advice ſo contrary to the intereſt and inclination of the king, with whom he muſt by ſuch a ſtep be for ever ruined; unleſs we ſuppoſe that he was either duped by his colleague, or actually betrayed the cauſe of his maſter. It may, perhaps, be no improbable conjecture, that Wolſey, finding his enemies at court had greatly eſtranged the king's mind from him, and that his intereſt was alſo ruined with the pope, he thought he had now no other chance for ſafety, but by doing ſomewhat that might make his party once more good with the emperor, who was now preparing to make matters up with France and England, that he might fall upon ſome expedient to prevent his diſgrace with Henry.

Mean while Henry had ſuch excellent intelligence abroad, that he intercepted moſt of the queen's correſpondence, and at laſt came to the knowlege of a treaty which was upon the point of being concluded between the pope and the emperor. In ſhort, every thing appeared as if there was a neceſſity of bringing matters to a ſudden criſis. As there was no queſtion that the pope, as ſoon as he had obtained his ends of the emperor, would recall the commiſſion, and avocate the cauſe to Rome, Henry therefore importuned the legates to execute their commiſſions; and for that purpoſe he granted them, on the thirtieth of May, a licence, under the great ſeal, authorizing them to proceed with all freedom to the trial of the cauſe: and the next day they opened the court in the parliament-chamber at Black-friars, where their commiſſion being read, an order was made for ſummoning the king and queen to appear there on Friday the eighteenth of June. Wolſey, as a proof of his impartiality, allowed Campejo to preſide, though he himſelf was a ſenior cardinal.

The king and queen removed to their palace of Bridewell, to be nearer to the court; and, on the day appointed, they both made their appearance in court, having two ſeats placed under canopies of ſtate, and raiſed ſomewhat higher than the legates, at whoſe feet ſat the ſecretaries and other officers, the court being framed in the manner of a conſiſtory, there being preſent divers biſhops, doctors, lawyers, and learned counſellors: the counſel for the king were Dr. Sangton, dean of the chapel, and Dr. Bell; for the queen, Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, Standiſh, biſhop of St. Aſaph, and Dr. Ridley, the laſt an eminent divine.

The court being opened by proclamation, the queen in perſon read an inſtrument, by which ſhe refuſed the judges as partial and incompetent, and appealed to the pope, alleging that the cauſe was actually evoked, and depending before his holineſs, and deſiring to be allowed competent time for the proof of her allegation. The court then appointed the twenty-firſt for giving their opinion whether they would have any regard to the proteſt: and, upon the twenty-firſt both ſhe and the king appeared again perſonally in court, to hear the determination of the legates upon the head, when the judges giving their opinion againſt admitting the proteſt and for proceeding, and the queen being called upon, roſe, and, falling upon her knees before the king, without taking any notice of the court, addreſſed him in the following pathetic ſpeech:

"Sir, I deſire you to take ſome pity upon me, and do me juſtice and right: I am a poor woman, a ſtranger, born out of your dominions, having here no indifferent counſel, and leſs aſſurance of friendſhip. Alas! wherein have I offended, or what cauſe of diſpleaſure have I given, that you intend thus to put me away? I take God to my judge, I have been to you a true and humble wife, ever conformable to your will and pleaſure; never gainſaying any thing in which you took delight; without all grudge, or diſcontented countenance, I have loved all them that loved you, howſoever their affections have been to me-ward: I have borne you children, and have been your wife now theſe twenty years of my virginity and marriage-bed: I make God and your own conſcience the judge: and if it otherwiſe be proved, I am content to be put from you with ſhame. The king your father, in his time, for wiſdom was known to be a ſecond Solomon; and Ferdinando of Spain, my father, accounted the wiſeſt among their kings could they, in this match, be ſo far overſeen; or are there now wiſer and more learned men than at that time were? Surely it ſeemeth wonderful to me, that my marriage after twenty years ſhould be thus called in queſtion, with new invention againſt me, who never intended but honeſtly. Alas! ſir, I ſee I am wronged, having no counſel to ſpeak for me, but ſuch as are your ſubjects, and cannot be indifferent upon my part. Therefore, I moſt humbly beſeech you, even in charity, to ſtay this courſe, until I may have advice and council from Spain: if not, your grace's pleaſure be done."

Having thus ſpoke, ſhe aroſe, and, making the king a low reverence, departed out of the court, and never would appear in it more, or ſuffer any perſon to plead for her.

After her departure, Henry ſpoke extremely well of her perſonal behaviour and virtue, declaring, that in ſuing for a divorce from her, he acted purely from a motive of religion and conſcience. Wolſey then ſtanding up, made an humble requeſt to the king, that his highneſs would be pleaſed to declare before that honourable aſſembly, whether he had been the cauſe of this his intended divorce, wherewith he was charged in the opinion of the people? Upon which Henry, in very ſtrong terms, cleared the cardinal of that imputation, and laid the whole originally upon the objections ſtarted againſt the legitimacy of the princeſs Mary by the biſhop of Tarbe, when ſent to conclude a marriage between the duke of Orleans and that lady. He likewiſe ſaid, that he had mentioned the ſame in confeſſion to the biſhop of Lincoln; at the ſame time he challenged the archbiſhop of Canterbury, whether he had not applied to him for the opinion of the biſhop; and then produced an inſtrument, under their hand and ſeals, declaring, "that it was their opinion, that there were weighty reaſons of conſcience for the king's applying to the pope, for judging of the validity of the marriage."

Mean while the queen was cited to appear again, on the twenty-fifth of June; but, inſtead of complying,

plying, ſhe ſent in her appeal in form, from whatever had been done, or ſhould be done hereafter: upon which the court declared her contumacious; and the biſhop of Bath was commanded to give her the ſame day a freſh and peremptory citation, certifying her, that if ſhe did not appear, they would proceed in their buſineſs. But Catherine perſiſting in her reſolution to pay no regard to the power of the court, on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, twelve articles, containing the heads of what the legates were to proceed upon, relating to the queen's two marriages, and other matters of the divorce, were exhibited in the court, to be diſcuſſed by the examination of witneſſes, which took up the beſt part of three weeks. The principal articles inſiſted upon, were, that prince Arthur and the king were brothers; that prince Arthur had married Catherine, and conſummated the marriage; that, upon the death of prince Arthur, Henry, by virtue of a diſpenſation, had married the widow; that this marriage with his brother's wife was forbidden both by divine and human laws. The king's counſel inſiſted principally on the conſummation of Arthur's marriage with Catherine, which the queen had denied with an oath, and which, notwithſtanding, was proved by the teſtimony of ſeveral perſons, as far as any thing of that nature can be proved*. It is therefore hard to conceive by what charm of bigotry and infatuation ſo wiſe and ſo virtuous a woman as queen Catherine confeſſedly was, could be deluded in perſiſting as ſhe did, that ſhe was a virgin at the time of her ſecond marriage.

On the twenty-firſt of July, the king's proteſtation that he made againſt his marriage with Catherine, when prince of Wales, at the age of fourteen†, was read in the court; and his council cloſing their evidence, and demanding judgment, Friday the twenty-third of that month was aſſigned for the ſaid purpoſe, and his court was now filled with expectation of the deciſive ſentence that was to crown his paſſion; but that happy moment was at a greater diſtance than they could poſſibly foreſee, for Campejo had by this time received his final inſtructions from Rome, that every thing had been adjuſted between the pope and the emperor, while a freſh propoſal of accommodation had taken place between the emperor and Francis, and that the pope was reſolved no longer to delay the avocation, concerning which the legates themſelves had written to him, and for which he was receiving daily inſtances from the the queen and the emperor. But it ſeems the avocation was not yet come, and

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* Robert, viſcount FitzWalter, depoſed, the prince was then about fifteen, and queen Catherine elder; and that the next day after being in bed together (which he remembered after they entered to be ſolemnly bleſſed), he waited at breakfaſt on prince Arthur, where Maurice St. John did carve, and the lord Fitz Walter gave drink; at which time the ſaid Maurice demanding of the prince how he had done that night, the prince anſwered, "I have been in Spain this night."

Charles, duke of Suffolk depoſed, that he was in the biſhop of London's palace the morrow next following the day of marriage, and that he waited there upon the prince at breakfaſt; confirming however in effect the words of Maurice St. John, before ſet down. Farthermore he added, that the Shrove-tide following the marriage (which was in November preceding) the ſaid prince began to decay and grow feeble in body; which grew, as the ſaid St. John related, by reaſon the ſaid prince lay with the lady.

Thomas, duke of Norfolk, lord-treaſurer of England, depoſed, that he being, the day after the marriage, in the biſhop of London's palace, and the morrow after, at the prince's breakfaſt, heard the prince's words to Maurice St. John, when he ſaid, he had been that night in the midſt of Spain: by which words, and becauſe prince Arthur was a gentleman of a good complexion and nature, and above fifteen, he believed that he carnally knew his lady; becauſe himſelf, at the ſame age, did carnally know and uſe; and he believed this the rather, that he heard from credible witneſſes, that the ſaid prince Arthur did lie with the ſaid lady Catherine five or ſix nights afterwards.

Anthony Willoughby, knight, depoſed, that, being the morrow after the marriage, in the prince's privy-chamber, the ſaid prince ſpoke, afore divers witneſſes, theſe words, "Willoughby, give me a cup of ale, for I have been this night in the midſt of Spain." After which he ſaid, "Maſters, it is a good paſtime to have a wife." Which words he alſo repeated divers other times. Moreover, he heard ſay, they lay at Ludlow together the Shrove-tide following.

Thomas, viſcount Rochford, depoſed, that he heard divers of prince Arthur's followers confirm the words he uſed of having been in Spain. Moreover, he heard ſay, that the king, Henry VIII. was perſuaded by his confeſſor, about two years ſince, to abſtain from the bed of the lady Catherine, leſt he ſhould offend his conſcience.

† This proteſtation, copied from the original deed written with his own hand, is here inſerted, for the ſatisfaction of the curious reader.

"In the name of God, Amen. In the preſence of you, reverend father in Chriſt, lord Richard, and apoſtolic biſhop of Wincheſter, I, Henry, prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter, do ſay, affirm, and by theſe writings declare, that although in the time of my minority, and when I was under the years of marriage, I abſolutely contracted matrimony with the virtuous lady Catherine, daughter of the king of Spain; and although alſo, the ſaid contract, by reaſon of my being under age, doth appear now of itſelf inſufficient, weak, and of no force, vigour, or efficacy; yet foraſmuch as that I am come to perfect years, and that thereby the ſaid contract may, peradventure, be thought and ſeem, by ſilent conſent, mutual abode in one houſe, by giving gifts and tokens, or by any other way whatſoever, to be apparently ſufficient and confirmed: therefore, I, Henry, prince of Wales, do hereby proteſt and make known to all men, that I intend not to prove, ratify, or confirm in any ſort, this pretended contract, by any thing that I have ſaid or ſhall ſay, have done or ſhall do; but I do at this preſent renounce the ſame freely of my own accord, unconſtrained either by force, fraud, intreaty, or any way elſe; and I deny it, and wholly propoſe and intend quite to relinquiſh this pretended contract of matrimony, by the beſt ways and means that by law more fully, effectually, and ſufficiently I may or ſhall be able to do; and expreſly do diſavow the ſame, according as by theſe preſents I do diſclaim it and diſavow it; and ſo proteſt that I neither will, nor intend to conſent unto the contract, or unto the ſaid lady Catherine as my eſpouſal wife, by any word, or deed, act, or geſture, to be ſpoke, done, performed, or acted by me, or in my name, by any whomſoever, whenſoever, or howſoever, for the time to come. In witneſs whereof I deſire, require, intreat, and adjure you all to give teſtimony hereunto. By me,

HENRY, prince of Wales.

The above-written proteſtation was read and made by the aforeſaid noble prince, lord Henry, in the preſence of the right reverend father and lord in Chriſt, the lord Richard, by divine permiſſion biſhop of Wincheſter, ſitting judicially in his court; and I the writer of this act in his behalf appointed, and in the preſence of the under-named witneſſes, in the year of our Lord God 1505, the eighth indiction of the moſt holy ſee of our father and lord in Chriſt, by divine providence, pope Julius II. in his ſecond year, and the twenty-ſeventh of the month of June; in which day the ſaid worthy prince was of perfect years of marriage, as then he did there affirm in a certain outward court within the royal palace of Richmond, ſituate in the weſt part of the ſaid palace aforeſaid, concerning all and ſingular which things the moſt noble prince aforeſaid inſtantly required and intreated me, the aforeſaid notary, to frame an inſtrument; and likewiſe the witneſſes, underwritten, to give teſtimony in juſtification of all and ſingular the premiſes, the aforeſaid moſt noble prince, hath ſubſcribed his name; and witneſſes, aforeſaid intreated and required, have ſubſcribed their names with their own hands.

Miles Daubeney.
C. Somerſet.
Thomas Routhaſe.
Nicholas Weſt.
Harry Marny.

So it is as aboveſaid, which I, John Read, do witneſs, by my hand and ſeal.

The ſecond proteſtation, when he came to years of marriage.

Campejo

Campejo had now no remedy left for preſerving Henry's friendſhip and following the ſecret orders of the pope, than by pretending, that, as he and his brother legate ſat there as a part of the conſiſtory of Rome, they were obliged to obſerve the ſame days of vacation which were obſerved at Rome; and accordingly, when the twenty-third of July came, inſtead of proceeding to give judgment, he ſolemnly adjourned the court to the twenty-eighth of September following.

Henry was thunderſtruck when he heard the adjournment pronounced, and that on the very day when he thought himſelf ſure of a ſentence in his favour, the hopes whereof had induced him to bear the affected delays of the court of Rome through all this proceſs. The nation in general was as much offended at this dilatorineſs of the legatine court in determining a cauſe of the utmoſt conſequence to the peace and welfare of the kingdom.

It was but a few days after the adjournment of the legatine court, when the evocation arrived from Rome, by a courier, furniſhed with a bull ſummoning Henry to appear at Rome in forty days, on pain of incurring the higheſt cenſures of the church. Henry was now in the utmoſt perplexity; but, though extremely provoked with the pope, he yet thought proper to ſuppreſs his reſentment; he would not, indeed, ſuffer the bull to be notified to him in form, but he told the legates that they were at full liberty to obey the pope's order. From this period we may juſtly date the commencement of Wolſey's fall; and, indeed, he had acted, during the whole courſe of this proceeding, with ſuch a coldneſs and indifference as ſeemed to be altogether inconſiſtent with that zealous concern, which, on all other occaſions, he ever manifeſted for the intereſt of his maſter: but we have already offered a conjecture to explain this ambiguity of conduct.

The caſe of this great miniſter was now very deplorable. The emperor and queen Catherine exerted their utmoſt efforts to ruin him in the king's opinion: they were at great pains to propagate reports, contrived on purpoſe to accompliſh his deſtruction, and, by means of their agents, Henry received copies of letters condemning the divorce, which it was ſaid the cardinal had ſent privately to his holineſs. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with a ſtrong party under their direction, laboured with all their influence to ſupplant him as the engroſſer of the royal favour, and embraced all opportunities of miſrepreſenting his actions. But in all appearance neither their endeavours, nor thoſe of the queen's faction, nor the envy and malignity of the world would have effected his diſgrace without the ſupport they received from Anne Boleyn's aſcendancy over the mind of her royal lover. The cardinal had adviſed Henry not to marry her, wiſhing rather he would take to wife the ducheſs of Alençon, the princeſs Renée of France, or ſome other more ſuitable match; therefore ſhe had declared herſelf an open and irreconcileable enemy, and uſed all her arts with Henry to compaſs his ruin. It was expected by every body, that Henry would have diſgraced the cardinal immediately after the arrival of the bull of evocation from the court of Rome, but they were deceived; Henry had ſo much command of himſelf as not to take any manner of notice of his diſlike to his proceedings; but, having given Campejo his audience of leave, in order to diſpel the chagrin his diſappointment had given him, and revive his ſpirits, he made a progreſs through ſome of the counties of England, but left Wolſey behind him, who from this time began to think he ſhould not long continue in power, but ſtill went on in his uſual manner, and obſerving no alteration in the looks and behaviour of the courtiers towards him, did not imagine that his diſgrace was ſo near as it proved. For his enemies, with Anne Boleyn at their head, who accompanied the king in his progreſs, had ſo effectually worked up that prince's mind, that, on his return from his journey, he reſolved to gratify their revenge and his own reſentment; and the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Wolſey's foes, went by Henry's order to York Place, now Whitehall, and demanded of him the great-ſeal of England, which he at firſt refuſed to deliver, ſaying, he held it by patent during life; but next day they returned with their orders in writing under the king's hand, and required the cardinal at the ſame time to retire to Aſhur, now Eſher, a houſe in Surry, on the banks of the Thames, which he held as biſhop of Wincheſter. Wolſey, ſeeing Henry's hand to the paper, immediately delivered up the ſeal; and we ſhall leave him in his melancholy retreat, to take a view of the great affairs which were tranſacting during the courſe of this year on the continent.

The ill ſucceſs of the French arms in Italy during the two laſt campaigns had diſpoſed that court ſincerely to peace; and on the other hand, the emperor, finding that he ſhould reap little advantage from his conqueſts, ſo long as the pope continued the head of the Clementine League, reſolved to make than pontiff his friend at all events, who, for the reaſons we have already given, was no leſs deſirous of being upon good terms with his Imperial majeſty; in this mutual reconciliatory diſpoſition they both went heartily to work by their plenipotentiaries, and, on the twenty-ninth of June this year, a treaty was ſigned at Barcelona, on the following terms:

"That the emperor ſhould reſtore the family of the Medici to Florence, on the ſame foot as formerly: that he ſhould cauſe Ravenna and Cervia to be delivered to the pope: that he ſhould put him in poſſeſſion of Modena and Reggio, ſaving the rights of the empire: that he ſhould aid him to become maſter of Ferrara: that Franciſco Sforza ſhould be reſtored to Milan, if innocent, but if guilty, the emperor ſhould not diſpoſe of the duchy to any prince the pope ſhould diſlike: that the pope and emperor ſhould employ their temporal and ſpiritual arms againſt the heretics of Germany: that Alexander de Medici ſhould eſpouſe Margaret, the emperor's natural daughter: that the pope ſhould grant the emperor a fourth of the eccleſiaſtical revenues in his dominions, to wage war with the Turks: that he ſhould abſolve all that were any way concerned in the taking and ſacking of Rome."

Such were the terms of the treaty, which the emperor, notwithſtanding his late ſucceſs againſt the pope's allies, thought it his intereſt to accede to, and ſolemnly ratified them at Barcelona.

Mean while Francis I. ſeeing no other proſpect of retrieving his children out of the hands of the emperor, reſolved to effect an accommodation with him; but as they were not on ſuch terms that either

ther of them could make advances to, or treat with the other, Louisa, Francis's mother, and Margaret of Savoy, governante of the Netherlands, undertook the negociation, and Cambray was appointed to be the place of meeting; while Francis, in the interim, amused the Venetians, the Florentines, and the duke of Ferrara with the promise of marching into Italy at the head of a powerful army. However, Charles and Francis being both heartily inclined to a peace, the two ladies, who had undertaken the negociation for them, being joined by ambassadors from all the powers concerned in the Clementine League (those of England, which were bishop Tunstal and sir Thomas More, included), on the thirtieth day of August a treaty was concluded, upon the basis of the treaty of Madrid.

By the treaty of Cambray, the emperor agreed "to wave for the present his claim upon Burgundy: Francis, on his side engaged to pay two millions of gold crowns for the ransom of his children; to withdraw his troops from Italy; cede to Charles the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois; restore the county of Asti, with all that he still retained in the duchy of Milan; renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Naples; espouse Eleanor, queen dowager of Portugal, the emperor's sister; and re-establish the heirs of the late duke of Bourbon in possession of all the estates of that family, which had been confiscated."

By this treaty Francis left all his allies to shift for themselves. The Florentines were obliged to make their peace with the emperor within four months after the ratification of the treaty; and the Venetians to give up all the sea-ports they had made themselves masters of, within the kingdom of Naples: as to the other allies of the French in Italy, no mention was made of them, and consequently they were left to the emperor's mercy.

It is not a little surprizing, that Henry having proclamed war with the emperor by a herald, there was, however, no particular treaty between them, Henry on this occasion satisfying himself with a single article inserted in this treaty, whereby the king of France bound himself to pay the two hundred and ninety thousand crowns which the emperor owed him, and to redeem the rich fleur de lis which Maximilian had pawned to Henry VII. for fifty thousand crowns. He did yet more, he generously forgave Francis the first sum, and made a present to his godson Henry, the second son of the French king, of the other sum. This is a clear evidence, that in making this peace Francis I. had not dealt with Henry as he had done with the princes of Italy, but had convinced him of the necessity he was under of concluding it.

It is now time to return to that setting star, Wolsey, who still continued fluctuating between hope and despair, the only support he had to grasp at being the king's private affection, which he imagined would not suffer him to be given up now that his hair had grown grey in his service; but his enemies having gotten the king in the mind to chastize this overgrown favourite, omitted nothing that could keep him in that disposition. Anne Boleyn dreaded nothing so much as that Henry should admit him to a personal interview, in which case she was afraid he might reinstate himself in in his former favour.

The great-seal had, upon Wolsey's dismission from the office of chancellor, been given to sir Thomas More, a person universally esteemed on the score of his integrity. Soon after, viz. on the ninth of October, Christopher Hales, the attorney-general, presented an information in the King's Bench against the cardinal, accusing him of having violated the statute of Præmunire, "in that he had obtained certain bulls from Clement VII. (who in this bill is treated with no other title than that of the bishop of Rome), by which he exercised jurisdiction and authority legatine, to the deprivation of the king's power established in the courts of justice, to the contempt of the king and his crown, and contrary to the statutes of 16 Richard II. against provisions;" with other charges of the like import.

Wolsey, finding that he was totally abandoned by the king, thought proper not to set up any defence, which he might very justly have done, arising from the king's assent to his exercising his legatine power; but by his attorney he confessed the facts as laid in the indictment, but pleaded ignorance of the statutes of Provision. Upon which the court gave sentence, "that he was out of the king's protection, and his lands, goods, and chattels forfeited, and that his person might be seized upon." In consequence of this sentence, which was founded on several additional articles *, amazingly weak and absurd, sir William Gascoyne, the cardinal's treasurer, delivered the whole of Wolsey's effects to Henry's officers, and, according to the authority of Cavendish, who was an eye-witness, they amounted to an immense value.

Thus fell the ablest minister England ever had seen, the victim of his master's resentment, not of his justice; and by this stroke of severity he saw himself on a sudden reduced from a state of more than princely affluence to the absolute want, for some days, of the common necessaries of life, which so affected him, that he became abjectly disconsolate, and at length sickened in consequence of such repeated mortifications. Henry's tenderness seemed to revive when he heard of the cardinal's wretched condition, and he did, as it were by stealth, give him several assurances and marks of his kindness. It is true, his passion for Anne Boleyn would not suffer him fully to follow the dictates of his own heart, which must have told him, that, of all men, Wolsey merited not such treatment from him: however, he sent him a ruby as a present by his physician, Dr. Butts, who assured him that his highness was not angry with him in his heart, and that he should, in a little time, be convinced of his affec-

* These articles were forty-four, in number, importing, "That he had abused his legatine power; acted tyrannically in the office of chancellor, expedited divers orders of the utmost importance, and executed treaties, without the king's knowlege and concurrence; behaved despotically on many occasions, more like an Eastern sovereign than an English minister; practised extortion, bribery, and all manner of corruption; sought to equal, and even to prefer himself to his majesty, by writing in orders and instructions "Ego & rex meus ——I and my king;" and endangering his sovereign's health by breathing upon him, and whispering in his ear, when he knew himself deeply infected with the venereal distemper."

Nothing could be more absurd, than to accuse a man of high-treason for using the words "Ego & rex meus," which manner of expression is fully justified by the idiom of the Latin language, which requires, that the first person, though applied to a peasant, should always be preferred to the second and third, though denoting people in the most exalted station.

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tion. This kind meſſage contributed in a great meaſure to the recovery of the cardinal, who ſupplicated and obtained the king's permiſſion to live for the benefit of the air at Richmond-houſe, which he had formerly received in exchange for Hampton-court.

The adjournment of the legatine court, and the removal of Wolſey, made Henry reſolve to puſh his divorce with double vigour. He had been adviſed by Thomas Cranmer, a doctor of divinity, with whom he accidentally fell in company in his late progreſs, and who was a man of acknowleged piety, learning, and moderation, and withal a ſecret friend of the doctrine of Luther, to conſult all the univerſities of Europe, with regard to this controverted point; alleging, that if they agreed to approve the king's marriage with Catherine, his majeſty's ſcruples would ceaſe of courſe; if they condemned it, the pope, he ſaid, could not reſiſt the opinion of all the learned men, nor longer run the riſque of rejecting the ſolicitations of ſo great a monarch. Henry was delighted at this propoſal, which to him ſeemed the oracle of peace, and he forthwith diſpatched his agents to collect the opinions of all the univerſities of Europe *, and they were enjoined to ſpare neither money nor ſolicitations for obtaining a favourable deciſion.

It afforded an extraordinary and curious ſpectacle (ſays Mr. de Voltaire, in his Eſſay on General Hiſtory †), to behold the king of England, on one ſide ſoliciting the ſeveral univerſities of Europe to be favourable to his paſſion; and the emperor on the other, preſſing them as warmly for their deciſion in favour of his aunt; and the king of France between both, ſtanding up for the Levitical law againſt that of Deuteronomy, in order to make the breach irreparable between Henry of England and Charles V. The emperor laviſhed benefices upon thoſe Italian doctors, who wrote for the validity of Catherine's marriage; and Henry paid thoſe as bountifully as gave their opinion in his favour.

At length the univerſities of France, particularly the Sorbonne, came to a reſolution, that the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Arragon was unlawful, and that Julius had not power to diſpenſe with the Levitical law.

Henry's agents went ſo far as to call in to their aſſiſtance the opinions of the Jewiſh rabbins, who acknowleged, that by the Deuteronomical law a man was commanded to marry his brother's widow; but, ſaid they, this law related only to the country of Paleſtine, and it is the Levitical law which ought to be obſerved in England. The univerſities and rabbins of the Auſtrian territories were of a quite different opinion; but theſe, however, were not conſulted. In ſhort, Henry had the pleaſure to find that, before the end of the enſuing year, 1530, it was unanimouſly agreed by all the learned bodies he had ſent to conſult, "that the king's marriage with Catherine of Arragon, being contrary to all laws divine and human, could never be rendered valid by the diſpenſation of pope Julius II."

Whilſt the king was applying to foreign univerſities, he did not neglect aſking the opinion of thoſe in England; and in the beginning of the year 1530, he wrote a letter with his own hand to the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge, which he ſent by Longland, biſhop of Lincoln, to the former, and by ſecretary Gardiner and Dr. Edward Fox to the latter, requeſting them to ſatisfy him, whether the marriage of a brother's relict was forbidden or not by the law of God and nature? After a violent oppoſition from the maſters of arts at Oxford, and a keen conteſt at Cambridge between thoſe who were on each ſide of the queſtion, both thoſe learned bodies agreed in determining, "that marrying the wife of a brother deceaſed without iſſue, after the conſummation of his marriage, was forbidden Chriſtians by the law of God and nature;" and it was in congregation ordered by each reſpective univerſity, that its common-ſeal ſhould be put to this determination. The oppoſition which had been made in theſe two great ſeminaries, and to combat which Henry had recourſe to threats of a moſt irreligious and tyrannical import, and ſuch as in effect took away the freedom of debate, was owing to thoſe who hated the Lutheran reformers, who, they were afraid, would find too much countenance and protection under the influence of Anne Boleyn and Cranmer, which latter was now growing very faſt into favour with the king.

Henry having overcome theſe obſtacles, and perceiving that the court of Rome ſtill continued to turn a deaf ear to all his remonſtrances, perſuaded his chief prelates and nobility to write a ſharp and ſpirited letter to the pope, in which, after mentioning the many good offices which the king had formerly done to his holineſs, the judgment of ſo many learned univerſities, and the little regard he had paid to ſo many weighty conſiderations, they plainly told him, that ſhould he continue to amuſe and deceive them in the affair of the divorce, they would renounce their connection with the ſee of Rome, and do themſelves that juſtice which, whatever right they had to expect, they had ſo long in vain demanded from his holineſs ‡."

Lord Herbert ſays this letter was drawn up in parliament, but that muſt be a miſtake, the letter being dated the thirteenth of July; it appears by the records there could be no ſeſſion at that time, the houſes being prorogued from the twenty-firſt of June to the firſt of October. The letter it ſeems was firſt ſent about to the chief members for their hands; and Cavendiſh tells us, that cardinal Wolſey himſelf ſigned it with the greateſt apparent chearfulneſs. It was ſubſcribed by the two archbiſhops, four biſhops, two dukes, two marquiſes, thirteen earls, two viſcounts, twenty-three barons, twenty-two abbots, and eleven commoners; moſt of them in immediate dependence on, or expectation of, the king's favour.

The anſwer which Clement returned to this letter was ſo far from being ſatisfactory to Henry, that he plainly perceived he had nothing to expect but from his own power, aſſiſted by the affections of his people; and, in order to prevent any ſtep which Clement might take in favour of Catherine, or of the diſgraced cardinal, he publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding all perſons whatever to procure or receive any thing from Rome, or elſewhere, that

* To Orleans and Thouloufe were ſent ſir Francis Brian, Fox, afterwards biſhop of Hereford, and Mr. William Paget; to Paris, Reginald Pole, of the blood royal; in Italy the king's agents were Dr. Richard Crooke, at Padua; Hieronimo de Genucci, biſhop of Worceſter, and ſir Gregory Caſſali, at Rome; Dr. Stokeſly, at Venice; Dr. Cranmer, Andrew and John Caſſali were likewiſe employed in Italy.

† Vol. iv. chap. 114.

‡ Lord Herbert, p. 142. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiv. p. 405.

might

might be prejudicial to his majeſty's prerogative, or to promulgate any thing of that nature, upon pain of incurring the penalties mentioned in the ſtatute of Proviſors and Præmunire. He then appointed ſeveral learned men to compare all that had been written on the ſubject of the divorce, and out of all the tranſcripts of fathers and councils, to collect whatſoever might ſtrengthen his cauſe. All theſe, and many more, were ſummed up in a ſhort book, and printed, firſt in Latin and then in Engliſh, with the determinations of the univerſities before it *; and a particular anſwer to a book which Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, had compoſed in defence of the marriage.

The parliament, while it continued ſitting, was as favourable to Henry as he could poſſibly wiſh, taking into their conſideration a great number of eccleſiaſtical grievances, and providing means of redreſs for the ſame; and even went ſo far that the commons ſent Audley, their ſpeaker, with thirty of their moſt conſiderable members, to complain to the houſe of peers againſt the biſhop of Rocheſter, for reflecting upon the repreſentatives of the Engliſh commons, by an expreſſion he made uſe of, in the upper houſe, importing, "that nothing would ſatisfy the commons but the total ruin of the church." The charge, however, not being properly ſupported, the biſhop, by ſome conceſſional interpretations, extricated himſelf from this troubleſome affair.

Nevertheleſs, the commons proceeded to paſs ſeveral bills for the reformation of the clergy, which had the aſſent of the lords. The contents of theſe bills will be found under their proper heads, at the end of this centennial period.

While theſe things were in agitation, cardinal Wolſey remained at his country-houſe at Richmond, living betwixt hope and fear, without being able to form any probable conjecture of the king's behaviour towards him; for at the ſame time that the compaſſion which the king expreſſed for him ſomewhat revived his drooping ſpirits, it made his enemies apprehenſive of his return to court; and therefore they never ceaſed to alienate the king's mind from him, and, thinking him too near the court at Richmond, they prevailed on Henry to ſend him an order for retiring to his archbiſhopric of York. The cardinal obeyed this command, though not without great reluctance, and retired, by ſlow journeys, to Cawood, a caſtle about twelve miles from York, attended by a retinue of one hundred and twenty horſemen. He had, during the ſitting of the parliament, the mortification to ſee a bill paſs, ratifying the forfeiture of his effects and eſtates to the king, and, among others, his college at Oxford, which he had nearly completed, the loſs of which, as he himſelf declared, gave him more heart-felt concern than that of all his pomp and riches: however, Henry afterwards founded it in his own name.

Wolſey, notwithſtanding the diſgrace he laboured under, had not entirely laid aſide the thoughts of worldly grandeur; he intended to be inſtalled, according to the ancient cuſtom, with great ſolemnity, in the cathedral of York, which ceremony was to be performed on the ſeventh of November, with a magnificence little ſuitable to his circumſtances. The king, indeed, had, in the beginning of the year, reinſtated him in the poſſeſſion of the revenues of his archbiſhopric, and thoſe of the ſee of Wincheſter, with about ſix thouſand pounds in plate, money, and furniture, part of his former great effects; and theſe, with ſome other marks of the royal favour, beſtowed on him, made it thought that Henry's intention was rather to mortify the pride, than totally ruin the fortune of his old miniſter.

But his enemies did not allow him to remain long unmoleſted in his new retreat. He had, after he came to his dioceſe, applied himſelf ſtrictly to the duties of his charge: and his aſſiduity in the paſtoral care, his charity to the poor, his hoſpitality and obliging reception of all perſons, had gained him the love and eſteem of all orders of men in the country, and now, for the firſt time in his life, he began to be popular, the people crowding to ſee him and aſk his benediction, whereſoever he paſſed. This popularity, with the great concourſe of gentry expected on occaſion of his inſtalment, were made uſe of by Anne Boleyn and her party as a pretence to charge him with treaſonable deſigns, which the jealouſy of Henry diſpoſed him too readily to ſuſpect; and, on the fourth of November, the earl of Northumberland was ſent down, with ſir Walter Walſh, to arreſt him for high-treaſon; which was done on the Friday before the deſigned ſolemnity of his inſtallation: but the earl not producing his warrant, Wolſey refuſed to obey the arreſt, at the ſame time inſiſting upon his privilege as cardinal; till ſir Walter coming into the room, he readily ſubmitted to him, as being ſufficiently authorized by his poſt of gentleman of the king's privy-chamber.

The cardinal, ſtill truſting to the repeated promiſes of Henry, ſet out with ſome degree of chearfulneſs with his keeper towards London, who had the king's expreſs command to allow him as much time as he ſhould demand. Upon the road ſir William Kingſton, conſtable of the Tower, met him, with a party of guards, and told him that he was ordered by Henry to attend him to London, where he was to take his trial. At the ſight of Kingſton, Wolſey gave himſelf up for loſt, nor could all the aſſurances of that gentleman, or the other royal officers, of the king's being favourably inclined towards him, gave him the leaſt comfort; he ſeemed now to abandon himſelf to deſpair. Cavendiſh will have it that he took poiſon; however that might be, it is certain that one day, as he ſat at dinner, in Sheffield caſtle, he was ſeized with an extraordinary coldneſs in his ſtomach; yet, ill as he was, he proceeded by ſmall journeys to Leiceſter abbey, where he expired of a violent dyſentery, on Tueſday the twenty-ninth of November, 1530†.

Such

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 97. Three of theſe MSS. are in the Cotton Library.

† Finding his end draw near, he admitted Kingſton into the bed-chamber, where he held with him his laſt converſation, which is too important not to be given in the very words of Cavendiſh, who took them from the cardinal's own mouth.

"Sir (ſaid Wolſey), I watch but God's pleaſure to render up my poor ſoul to him; I pray you, have me heartily commended unto his royal majeſty, and beſeech him, on my behalf, to call to his princely remembrance all matters that have been between us, from the beginning, and the progreſs; and eſpecially between good queen Catharine and him; then ſhall his grace's conſcience know whether I have offended him, or not. He is a prince of moſt royal carriage, and hath a princely heart;

Such was the fate of the wiſeſt and ableſt ſtateſman that ever directed the affairs of England; but however great his talents were, his addreſs was ſtill more wonderful, in managing, for twenty years together, ſuch a prince as Henry was; a province to which none of thoſe who ſucceeded him in power were equal. His low birth did not hinder his having a greatneſs of mind, and, as we have already ſeen, he formed noble deſigns for the encouragement of learning, and the reformation of the affairs of the kingdom. His adminiſtration was ſuch as raiſed his king and country to an envied pitch of greatneſs. With regard to foreign affairs, while he had the ſole adminiſtration, it was found, great, and ſucceſsful. With regard to domeſtic, his conduct was firm, but unpopular; this was owing to his too great obſequiouſneſs to the will of an imperious prince, who, ſeduced by the intrigues of an artful and beloved miſtreſs, ſacrificed this uſeful ſervant, in the moſt ungrateful manner, to the malice of his enemies; and when we conſider, that the following part of Henry's reign was much more unfortunate and criminal than that which was directed by Wolſey's counſels, we ſhall be apt to conclude, that if he deſerved not the great praiſes which his few friends have beſtowed upon him, neither did he merit the virulent reproaches with which his numerous enemies have loaded his memory. Certain it is, that almoſt all ranks and degrees of Henry's ſubjects had motives, either of intereſt or conſcience, for condemning Wolſey: the papiſts hated him for ſhaking the very foundations of that policy by which their church had ſo long become a mart of iniquity and a den of thieves: the reformed, or proteſtants, could not bear him, becauſe he was an enthuſiaſt for the abſurdities of the papal religion. But let not the reader imagine that we offer here any defence for the goodneſs of Wolſey's heart: it is but too true that his virtues were the reſult of the moſt dangerous vices, namely, an unbounded ambition and an inſupportable vanity, to gratify which he frequently exerciſed great acts of cruelty and injuſtice. Thus, by ſeeming to care only for himſelf while in power, he fell unlamented, and died deſpiſed; furniſhing a dreadful inſtance, that the boldeſt offender will, ſooner or later, find himſelf unable to elude the wholeſome laws which are the bulwarks of this happy nation, or to eſcape the puniſhment which they decree for thoſe who inſolently attempt to remove the palladium of Engliſh liberty! Before we diſmiſs this extraordinary ſubject from this part of our hiſtory, we ſhall, for the entertainment of our readers, give a brief account of his birth and ſurpriſing riſe, as we have them tranſmitted to us from the beſt authorities.

Thomas Wolſey was born in March, 1471. He was the ſon of a butcher at Ipſwich, in the county of Suffolk: as he gave very early indications of uncommon talents and addreſs, his parents taxed their ſubſtance to the higheſt to give him a liberal education; and he was ſent ſo young to Oxford, that he commenced bachelor of arts at fourteen years of age, from whence he was called the Boy-bachelor. Soon after he was elected fellow of Magdalen college, and, when maſter of arts, had the care of the ſchool adjoining to that college committed to him. Being charged with the education of the marquis of Dorſet's three ſons, his lordſhip preſented him to the rectory of Lymington, in Somerſetſhire, on the tenth of October, 1500. He had not long reſided at his living, before ſir Amias Powlet, a juſtice of peace, put him in the ſtocks for being drunk (as is ſaid), and raiſing diſturbance, at a fair in the neighbourhood. By the recommendation of ſir John Nanfan, he was made one of the king's chaplains. In 1506, he was inſtituted to the rectory of Bedgrave, in the dioceſe of Norwich; having then, beſides the rectory of Lymington, the vicarage of Lyde, in Kent*. Whilſt he was king's chaplain, he inſinuated himſelf into the favour of Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, and ſir Thomas Lovel, who recommended him to the king as a fit perſon to be employed in negociating the marriage between Henry VII. and Margaret, ducheſs of Savoy. He was diſpatched to the emperor her father, and returned with ſuch ſpeed, that the king ſeeing him, ſuppoſed he had not been gone. Having reported his embaſſy, he was made dean of Lincoln, February 8, 1508, and on the 20th of the ſame month, prebendary of Walton Brinhold, in that church. In theſe circumſtances he was when he was introduced at court by biſhop Fox, after Henry VII's death, where he ſoon found means to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of his ſon and ſucceſſor†.

It is now time to turn our eyes towards the continent, and remark the principal tranſactions there, during the courſe of this year, ſo far as they relate to this country.

The treaties of Barcelona and Cambray, already mentioned, having effected a peace between the king of France and the emperor, the latter took ſhipping at Barcelona, with nine thouſand men, and arrived at Genoa, where the peace of Cambray being publiſhed, the Venetians, the Florentines, and the dukes of Milan and Ferrara, finding themſelves abandoned by France, were glad to refer the diſcuſſion of their affairs to a conference between Charles and the pope, at Bologna, where all their different ambaſſadors attended. There the emperor decreed, that the Venetians ſhould reſtore Ravenna and Cervia to the pope, and to himſelf ſome places which they ſtill occupied in the kingdom of Naples; Francis Sforza was put in poſſeſſion of his duchy of Milan: and then repaired to Rome to receive the Imperial crown from the hands of the pope, and to kiſs the feet of him whom he had ſo lately detained a captive; and then, at the requeſt of his holineſs, he ordered his army to march againſt the Florentines, who continued to refuſe their obedience to the family of Medici; but, after a gallant defence, in which the emperor's general, the prince of Orange, was killed, they

heart; but rather than he will miſs or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one half of his kingdom. I do aſſure you, I have often kneeled before him, ſometimes three hours together, to perſuade him from his will and appetite, but could not prevail: Mr. Kingſton, had I but ſerved God as diligently as I have ſerved the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the juſt reward I muſt receive for my diligent pains and ſtudy, not regarding the ſervice of my God, but only to my prince: therefore let me adviſe you, if you be one of the privy-council, as by your wiſdom you are fit, take heed what you put in the king's head; for you can never put it out again." The reſt of this ſpeech earneſtly recommends to Henry the ſuppreſſion of Lutheraniſm, and all other hereſies: and in a few minutes after he expired.

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiii. p. 217.

† Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation. Fiddes.

were forced to ſubmit, and Charles eſtabliſhed Alexander de Medicis, his ſon-in-law, on the ſame footing which his anceſtors had gained, and rendered the ſovereign power hereditary in his family.

On the firſt of June, this year, Francis retrieved his two ſons, who were hoſtages in Spain, upon paying the emperor one million two hundred thouſand crowns in hand, and giving ſecurity for the payment of the reſt of the ſum; after that he married Eleanora, the emperor's ſiſter and queen dowager of Portugal, purſuant to the treaty of Cambray. Thus the king of France ſaw himſelf at length in profound tranquillity, though the late war had coſt him immenſe ſums, the loſs of Genoa and Milan, the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois, a year's captivity, an infinite deal of vexation, and no ſmall portion of his honour and reputation.

As for the emperor, ſince he had made peace with France, and that Italy had in a manner ſubmitted to his yoke, he became maſter of Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries; his brother Ferdinand was actually king of Bohemia, and had been elected king Hungary. Poſſeſſed of theſe advantages, Charles began to form mighty projects, and flattered himſelf with the hopes of having it in his power to ſubdue the reſt of Europe*; and Henry received information from Crook, one of his agents at Venice, that the emperor was even then tampering with the Scots for invading England, and that he had reſolved to pay them a ſubſidy for that purpoſe.

By this time the Reformation had made a conſiderable progreſs in Germany, although Charles had expelled Luther and all his adherents from the empire, and Clement VII. had endeavoured to uſe rough meaſures to extirpate this hereſy, as it was called. This proceeding had raiſed ſuch an animoſity among the princes of the empire who favoured the reformed, that ſeemed to threaten a civil war; but Charles, thinking his late peace with France enabled him to command obedience, convoked a diet this year at Spires, where it was decreed, that no innovation ſhould be made in religion. This decree was conceived to derogate from that liberty of conſcience which former general aſſemblies had granted; and the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg; Erneſt and Francis, dukes of Lunenburg; Philip, landgrave of Heſſe; and Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, with fourteen of the moſt conſiderable cities of the empire, oppoſed this new decree by a ſolemn proteſtation, with an appeal to a future general council: hence, from this time the Lutheran party came to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of Proteſtants. The pope, provoked at their preſumption, and dreading the thoughts of a general council, for fear of being depoſed, prevailed on Charles, in an interview with him at Bologna, to adopt his ſentiments, which were to make uſe of arms for ſuppreſſing the Proteſtants, alleging, that force was the only way of bringing back to the church perſons that could not be otherwiſe ſilenced; and the emperor concurring with him in opinion, ſummoned a diet of the empire to meet at Augſburg, on the eighth of April in the ſucceeding year, 1531, reſolving to carry every thing therein with the higheſt hand, and to compel the Proteſtants to ſubmit to the church of Rome, without waiting for the judgment of a council.

But, notwithſtanding that the emperor ſeemed ſo ready to pleaſe the pope in all ſuch requeſts as he thought might tend to his own intereſt, yet he, on other occaſions, ſenſibly mortified the pontiff, and in particular by obliging him to reſtore Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara, which his holineſs pretended was contrary to the article of the treaty of Barcelona: beſides he now began to entertain a violent jealouſy of the houſe of Auſtria, inſomuch that we find him propoſing, in the month of September, to give Henry a diſpenſation for having two wives; but Henry, encouraged by the diſpoſition of his people, and the deciſion of all the learned bodies in Europe, in his favour, was determined to have every thing or nothing from the pope, who had no more power for granting a diſpenſation for living with two wives, than he had for diſpenſing with the king's marrying his brother's widow; and, in caſe of refuſal, to diſclaim all papal juriſdiction in the affair of the divorce, and abide by the determination of his own parliament and clergy.

For this purpoſe, on the ſixth of January, 1531, a new ſeſſion of parliament was held, after having undergone various prorogations, and ſir Thomas More, the chancellor, opened it with a ſpeech, wherein he ſet forth, "that the king's deſire of ſeeing the marriage annulled, did not proceed from carnal motives, as ſome malicious tongues had inſinuated, but aroſe purely from ſcruples of his own conſcience, and his zeal for the good of his kingdom, that the ſucceſſion to the throne might not be diſputed after his death:" then he produced a great number of books and treatiſes, compoſed by the moſt learned divines and caſuiſts in Europe, on the ſubject of the divorce, with extracts of ſeveral authors, both ancient and modern, and the deciſions of the univerſities of France, Italy, and England: thoſe were left on the table, for the peruſal of the members. And in the mean time the king communicated his deſign to the convocation of the clergy, who unanimouſly agreed that the marriage was contrary to the law of God†.

This inſtance of complaiſance, however, did not free them from a proſecution which Henry had determined to commence againſt them. Cardinal Wolſey had been found guilty of exerciſing the legatine power in England without a ſpecial licence from the king, and of diſpoſing in that capacity of ſeveral benefices, contrary to the ſtatutes of Proviſors and Præmunire, conſequently thoſe who owned his authority were guilty of the ſame crime. This was the caſe with the whole body of the clergy, who were accordingly charged with having violated the laws of the realm. This proſecution was certainly moſt infamous, if we conſider with what a plenitude of power the king had inveſted Wolſey; in vain did they plead, "that they ſuppoſed it agreeable to the king's will, who employed the cardinal all the time as his firſt miniſter, ſo that it was in vain for them to oppoſe his juriſdiction, inaſmuch as ſuch an attempt would have been unavoidably their ruin." They were told, that the laws being in force, they were to take notice of them at their peril, and ignorance was no excuſe." They were found guilty of the crime with which they were charged, and all their effects were forfeited, and their perſons put out of the king's protection.

* Guicciardin. Mezeray.

† Rymer's Fœd. vol. xiv. p. 454—472.

However,

However, the king ſhewed himſelf ready, upon their petition, to accept of one hundred thouſand pounds from the province of Canterbury, and to grant them a pardon. As to the province of York, they compounded for nineteen thouſand pounds*. But the chief advantage which Henry received on this occaſion was with regard to his prerogative; for in the petition which the clergy preſented for their pardon, they unanimouſly ſtyled him Protector and Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England†. We ſhall ſee hereafter what uſe Henry made of his new title.

The whole of Henry's proceeding in this affair ſeems to have been dictated by a deſire of ſqueezing a large ſum of money from the clergy, as alſo to humble the pride of that body. He knew he was ſupported by the commons, who were ready to go all lengths to curb the eccleſiaſtics, nor did he apprehend being oppoſed by the temporal peers. The Proteſtant religion was at this time ſecretly favoured by many perſons in England, where the writings and ſermons of Wickliff and his diſciples had long ago began to diſpel the miſt of ignorance and ſuperſtition from the minds of the people; who, beſides, were oppreſſed by the pope's uſurpations, and ſcandalized at the lewd and immoral lives of the late pontiffs who had filled St. Peter's chair; ſo that they eagerly wiſhed for an opportunity to deliver themſelves from ſuch an intolerable and diſgraceful yoke: add to this, that Henry wiſely judged, that ſuch a ſhew of reſolution on his ſide would, if any thing could, bring the pope to do whatever he could deſire in his "weighty matter," by which name he affected to call the affair of his divorce.

There were few of the commons who had not, in ſome manner or another, maintained cauſes in the legatine court, and therefore they were as liable to the penalties of the ſtatutes of Præmunire, &c. as the clergy themſelves; and the ſpirit Henry had ſhewn againſt that body, made the members of the houſe of commons ſo apprehenſive for their own ſafety, that they petitioned Henry to be included in the pardon intended to be iſſued to the clergy, which requeſt he granted them§. This condeſcenſion had a very good effect in Henry's favour, for ſoon after this the parliament was prorogued¶; and the members, going to their ſeveral counties, filled the minds of the people againſt the pope, and with an high opinion of the king's clemency. Henry, on his part, as ſoon as the parliament broke up, cauſed the deciſions and writings in favour of the divorce to be printed and publiſhed, that his ſubjects might have time to conſider the caſe before the next ſeſſion.

The queen having, towards the latter end of the year, ſent a petition to the court of Rome, ſetting forth that Henry ſeemed reſolved to proceed to a ſecond marriage, Clement had publiſhed a brief, citing the king to appear at Rome, and another, dated the fifth of January this year, 1531, decreeing any ſuch marriage void, and its iſſue illegitimate; it likewiſe required the king to live with the queen as his wife, and pronounced the ſevereſt penalties againſt all who ſhould be aſſiſting or acceſſory to any ſecond marriage. When the news of this brief came to England it gave Henry prodigious diſquiet, notwithſtanding all the aſſurances he had of ſupport from his parliament and people; he therefore not only laid the deciſion of the univerſities before his parliament, in the manner already related, but alſo thought proper to conſult foreign lawyers upon the ſubject. The univerſity of Orleans, famous for its faculty of law, gave it as a deciſion, "that the citation of a king to Rome in a matrimonial cauſe, which ought generally to be examined and determined in the country of the parties abode, was a thing unſupported by any precedent, and therefore the ſaid citation, and all other proceſs carried on againſt the king on occaſion of his abſence, were null and invalid, and contrary to all the reaſons and method of law and equity‡." Henry, who had ſtill ſome religious qualms hanging about him, made uſe alſo of the good offices of the king of France, and even wrote himſelf to the pope, "to get the cauſe remitted to England, as the place where it had ariſen, and where, according to the canon of the primitive church, it ought to be tried‖." But the anſwer of the pope was calculated only to prevail on him to conſtitute a proxy, that the Roman conſiſtory might be in poſſeſſion of the cauſe, and promiſing him in that caſe to adminiſter ſpeedy and impartial juſtice. The king, knowing well the conſequences of ſuch a ſtep, would appoint no proxy to appear for him at Rome; nor would the pope conſent to have the cauſe, which he had evoked before himſelf and the college of cardinals, be examined by delegates in England, in which he was greatly upheld by the Imperial faction in the college.

While Henry was thus careful to ſatisfy all the world of the uprightneſs of his intention, and the reaſonableneſs of his conduct, he ordered a committee of his council to wait on queen Catherine with the determination of the univerſities on the matter of the divorce and citation, and to lay before her the conſequences of her obſtinacy, both as to the pope, to the kingdom, to herſelf, and to her poſterity, offering to refer the whole affair to the judgment of four ſpiritual and four temporal lords. Catherine ſtill ſtanding obſtinately to her appeal, and declining all juriſdiction but that of the pope, the king, who had hitherto in all reſpects (except in the point of abſtaining from her bed) treated her as his queen, and behaved towards her in the genteeleſt and kindeſt manner, ſo that there was no outward appearance of a diſagreement, reſolved now to proceed in another manner, being not only vexed at her obſtinacy, but highly reſenting the indignity ſhe had offered him by getting him cited to Rome, and therefore another meſſage was ſent her, importing, that his majeſty deſired to have no farther intercourſe with her, and that ſhe might chuſe any one of the royal manors, at a diſtance from the court, for the place of her reſidence. To this meſſage the queen anſwered with a noble ſpirit, "that ſhe ſhould, in obedience to his majeſty's orders, remove from his preſence; but that to what place ſoever ſhe was ſent, nothing could remove her from being the king's wife." She took her leave of the king at Windſor, on the fourteenth of July, after which it does not appear

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiv. p. 423.
† Burnet, vol. i. p. 112. Atterbury's Rights, &c. p. 84.
§ Burnet, vol. i. p. 113.
¶ On the thirty-firſt of March. Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 123
‡ Legrand, tom. iii. Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 416, & ſeq.
‖ See this letter at large, in Burnet's Collections.

that

that Henry ever saw her: she retired first to More, then to East Hampstead, and afterwards to Ampthill.

What had lately passed in the parliament and convocation, and the near prospect of Anne Boleyn's being raised to the royal dignity, did not a little encourage the friends of the reformed religion. They began now to dispute openly about the most difficult and abstruse points of religion; but, by the indiscreet overflowing of their zeal, subjected themselves to some disagreeable checks. Henry, afraid of the consequences with which such a spirit, if too far indulged, might possibly be attended, resolved to convince his people, that, though he was inclined to shake off the papal yoke, he did not mean to violate the fundamental truths of Christianity, as held by the church, and therefore ordered the laws against heretics to be strictly put in execution; in consequence of which three Protestants, namely, Bilney, Bayfield, and Baynard (the two first ecclesiastics, and the other a lawyer) were condemned to the flames, and executed in Smithfield*.

The conferences between the emperor and the Protestant princes of Germany, at Augsburg, breaking up with increased animosities on both sides, the reformed princes and cities met, either personally or by their deputies, at Smalcald †, where they protested against the coronation of the emperor's brother Ferdinand of Austria, as king of the Romans, and wrote a letter to Henry, setting forth their grievances, and requesting his assistance, who answered them in such favourable terms, that, full of spirits, they prepared to take arms against the emperor; and the Swiss cantons, who had declared against the corruptions of the Romish church, offered to enter into the league, but were refused by the duke of Saxony, on account of some religious differences. Soon after, the emperor having raised a great army to take the field against the Turks, who, at the instigation of Francis (become jealous of Charles's increasing greatness), had invaded the dominions of the house of Austria, under their warlike emperor Solyman; the princes of the reformation, looking upon this army as designed against them, solicited both Henry and Francis for speedy succours: those two monarchs concluded an agreement with the princes of the league, and Francis persuaded Henry to assist them with fifty thousand crowns, remitted by the hands of the French ambassador at the English court. The resolution taken by the two kings to support the Protestants in Germany arose not from religious motives, but in order to oppose the growing power of the Austrian family. But it is now time to attend the affairs of England.

The parliament meeting, according to adjournment, in the month of January, 1532, the commons were almost unanimously inclined to redress the grievances the people had so long complained of in vain with respect to the papal power and ecclesiastical privileges. Accordingly, soon after their meeting, they presented an address to the king, intreating his majesty to agree to the reformation of several abuses which had crept into the immunities granted to the clergy, and of which they had compiled a whole volume, which was presented to the king by their speaker. Though nothing could be a more seasonable request to Henry, he decently dissembled his satisfaction, and said, "he would come to no resolution till he had heard both parties‡." By this answer he meant to shew the clergy how much they stood in need of the royal protection, hated as they were by the parliament, which were entirely at his devotion. Several acts were passed, which slightly touched upon some of the privileges of the clergy, which were all allowed of by Henry, that he might strengthen his own power against that formidable body, and strike the greater terror into the court of Rome. But no act made so great a noise as one brought into this parliament against any person paying of future annates to the pope. The act sets forth so fully the intolerable grievances of the subject on this head, that it claims a place here for the reader's information. Its substance is as follows:

"That the kingdom was impoverished by the great sums paid to the Roman pontiff: that, since the second year of the late reign, above one hundred and sixty thousand pounds have been sent to Rome, on account of annates or first-fruits, palls and bulls for bishoprics: that the annates had been originally designed as a contribution for supporting a war against the Infidels; but as they were not applied to that purpose, it was decreed, that they should not be paid for the future: that no more than five per cent. of the annual revenue should be given for the bulls of bishoprics; that, if the pope should refuse to grant them on these terms, the bishop elect should be presented by the king to the metropolitan of the province, in order to be consecrated; but should the metropolitan refuse consecration, on pretence of wanting palls and bulls, two prelates appointed by the king should perform the ceremony; and then the elect should be held as lawfully consecrated. Nevertheless, the parliament declared, that the king should be at liberty to annul or confirm this act within the limited time; and if, in that interval, he should compromise his difference with the court of Rome, it should obtain the force and authority of a law; but should the pope, on account of this act, pretend to disturb the kingdom with sentence of excommunication and interdict, these censures should be utterly disregarded: all ecclesiastics were forbid to receive or publish them; but were enjoined to celebrate divine service, as if they had never been issued‖."

But though the parliament shewed itself heartily disposed to promote the king's measures for humbling the court of Rome, and assisting him to extend his own power over the clergy of his kingdom, yet they would not suffer the least attempt to be made against any of those privileges and emoluments which they had gained from the weakening the feodal system in England, during the late reign.

* During this session of parliament, one Richard Rouse, a cook, on the sixteenth of February, poisoned some soup in the bishop of Rochester's kitchen, with which seventeen persons were mortally infected; one of the gentlemen died of it, and some poor people, that were charitably fed with the remainder, were also infected, one woman dying. The person was apprehended, and by act of parliament (22 Hen. VIII.) poisoning was declared treason, and Rouse was attainted and sentenced to be broiled to death, which was to be the punishment of poisoning for all times to come; (but was repealed 1 Ed. VI. and 1 Mariæ I.) The sentence was executed in Smithfield soon after, Burnet. Stow, p. 560. Hall, f. l. 199.

† A town of Hesse, in the circle of Lower Saxony, in Germany, situated on the river Werra. Busching.

‡ Lord Herbert. Atterbury's Rights, &c. p. 86.

‖ Burnet, vol. i. p. 117.

It

It was now grown a common practice for ſuch of the commons who held lands of the crown, and the great lords, to make, by will or deeds, ſuch ſettlements of their eſtates as deprived the king and the ſuperior barons of all aids and emoluments ariſing from thoſe dependencies: a bill therefore was brought into the houſe of lords this ſeſſion, and by them paſſed, for preventing ſuch practices; but being ſent down to the commons, they would neither agree to the bill, nor provide any expedient in favour of the crown. This gave the king great offence, and he expoſtulated with them in pretty harſh terms about their refuſal, ſaying, "that he had in that bill offered a great mitigation of what the law allowed him to claim; and that if they would not accept it, they ſhould feel all the rigour of the law." The commons, however, continued obſtinate, and the bill did not paſs: the difference between the king and the parliament aroſe ſo high, that the latter, with a view to mortify him, permitted one Temſe, a member, to make and ſpeak to a motion, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the king, entreating him to take back his queen, and prevent all the inconveniencies which the illegitimation of the princeſs Mary muſt neceſſarily occaſion. Henry was greatly enraged at the preſumption of this commoner; but, as he was extremely cautious of giving the leaſt unneceſſary offence to the commons, we do not find that any cenſure was inflicted upon Temſe. An epidemical diſtemper breaking out in London at this time, the parliament was prorogued on the fourteenth of May to the February of the following year.

The proceedings of the Engliſh parliament, which were intimated by Henry's ambaſſadors, Dr. Edward Karne and Dr. Bonner, to his holineſs and the cardinals, threw the papal court into terrible alarms. The conclave was much divided in ſentiments; the Imperial party preſſed the pope to proceed againſt Henry with the utmoſt eccleſiaſtical rigour; but Clement thought it was his intereſt ſtill to temporize, or at leaſt to delay giving any definitive ſentence: accordingly he wrote a cajoling letter to Henry, aſſuring him that his holineſs was ſo much piqued with the emperor, and ſo entirely in the intereſt of Francis, Henry's ally, that Henry need lie under no apprehenſions of truſting the whole cauſe to his determination.

In the mean time, intelligence being received that the emperor had propoſed an interview with the pope, Henry and Francis were greatly alarmed thereat; the former, leſt Charles ſhould bring his holineſs to do ſomewhat prejudicial to his ſuit of divorce; the latter, leſt ſuch a conference might defeat the deſigns he had formed of wreſting the duchy of Milan from the Sforza family, and getting the pope to beſtow it upon his ſecond ſon, the duke of Orleans, who in that caſe was to marry the pope's niece, Catherine de Medicis, afterwards ſo famous in hiſtory. It was therefore mutually agreed, that a new treaty ſhould be entered into between the courts of France and England. Accordingly, on the twenty-third of June this year, the following league was made, viz. "That the two kings ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other; the former with five thouſand archers, the latter with five hundred men at arms, in caſe the emperor invaded either of their territories by land; and with a fleet manned with fifteen thouſand men, in caſe he attacked them by ſea." This treaty was accompanied by a propoſal of an interview between Henry and Francis, to be held in October following, which was agreed to.

It being apparent to the whole nation, that Henry's intention was to marry Anne Boleyn, who was looked upon to be a Proteſtant; and either to force the pope into his meaſures, or elſe to ſeparate from his obedience; ſir Thomas More, the lord-chancellor, who, though an excellent miniſter, and a man of great learning, was a perfect enthuſiaſt in point of ſubmiſſion to the papal authority, diſliking the perſon and proceedings of Anne Boleyn, and being apprehenſive of the fatal conſequences that might attend a total rupture with the court of Rome, reſigned the great-ſeal, which was thereupon given by the king to ſir Thomas Audley, who was firſt conſtituted keeper of the great-ſeal; and, on the ſeventh of January following, declared lord-chancellor.

On the twenty-third of Auguſt died Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury; an event which gave Henry no ſmall ſatisfaction, as thereby he thought he might ſafely get the affair of his divorce determined in his own dominions: for though the deceaſed prelate was in his judgment againſt the marriage with Catherine, yet he was too much devoted to the ſee of Rome to do any act, or exert his own authority, in contempt of the papal power; and he had ſome time before his death, made a private proteſt againſt all that the parliament had done, ſo far as it might encroach upon the rights of the church, or be "to the prejudice of the pope, or the ſee of Rome*:" therefore it could not well be ſuppoſed that he would take upon him to determine a cauſe which the pope had evoked, and reſerved to his own cognizance. The king named for his ſucceſſor Dr. Thomas Cranmer, who was at this time employed in ſoliciting the learned men and bodies abroad, in Germany eſpecially, to favour the king's divorce, and was a perſon whom Henry had found, in ſentiments of religion and politics, to be according to his own heart.

On the eleventh of October, the king went over to Calais with a royal retinue, in order to have an interview with the French monarch between that place and Boulogne. On this occaſion he was accompanied by Anne Boleyn, whom he had lately created marchioneſs of Pembroke. The two princes entertained each other with great pomp and magnificence, but without tranſacting any buſineſs of importance, owing to the diſſimulation of Francis, who, indeed, promiſed to procure Henry ſatisfaction in the affair of the divorce, or to break with the pope, though at this very time he was engaged in a ſecret treaty with Clement, about the marriage of his ſecond ſon, the duke of Orleans, and Catherine de Medicis, as already mentioned.

Henry returned to England on the fourteenth of November; and in the month of January in the following year, 1533, was privately married to Anne Boleyn, by Dr. Rowland Lee, afterwards biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry. The ceremony was performed in the preſence of Cranmer, now returned to England, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Anne's father (lately created earl of Wiltſhire), her mother and brothers.

* See Burnet, vol. iii. p. 36. in Collect.

The parliament meeting, agreeable to its prorogation, in the month of February, among other acts paſſed one againſt appeals to Rome in cauſes of matrimony, divorce, wills, rights of tythes, oblations, and obventions, declaring the ſame to be cauſes appropriated to the cognizance of the ſpiritual courts of this kingdom *. The preamble to this act, to be found in our ſtatute-books, ſufficiently ſhews the general ſenſe of the nation with regard to the pope's power.

All this while the convocation as well as the parliament was ſitting; and Cranmer, being inſtalled in his archiepiſcopal dignity on the thirtieth of March, he, on the third of April, took his ſeat in the upper houſe of convocation, when two queſtions were brought before it from the king, relating to his marriage with Catherine: "I. Whether or not the diſpenſation of pope Julius II. for the ſaid marriage was ſufficient to render it binding and valid? II. Whether or not the conſummation of Arthur's nuptials with that princeſs had been fully demonſtrated?"

There were ſeventy-five divines preſent in perſon, and one hundred and ninety-ſeven by proxy, in all two hundred and ſeventy-two; and after various arguments and debates, for ſeveral days, it was reſolved, by the ſuffrages of two hundred and fifty-three,

"I. That ſuch a marriage was contrary to the law of God, and indiſpenſible by the pope." There were five biſhops preſent at theſe debates, and five others appeared by their proxies; two of the former, viz. the biſhops of Rocheſter and Llandaff, with as many abbots, three priors, and twelve other divines, nineteen in all, diſſenting from the determination.

II. In regard to the ſecond queſtion, it was reſolved, "That by the evidences laid before the convocation, prince Arthur's conſummation was ſufficiently proved." At the canvaſſing this point there were preſent forty-four lawyers and canoniſts, three of which were biſhops: there were three others, who gave their proxies to Gardiner (lately made biſhop of Wincheſter); and of the whole number, amounting to forty-ſeven, only the biſhop of Bath and Wells, and five more diſſented, from the reſolution. The ſame anſwers were given by the convocation of York, only two diſſenting out of upwards of an hundred divines and canoniſts.

It was next reſolved at court, that Cranmer ſhould take upon him to pronounce the ſentence of divorce; a ſtep which was now become abſolutely neceſſary, as the king could no longer conceal his marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was now become pregnant. In the firſt place, however, the queen was once more applied to, to withdraw her appeal to the pope, and to ſubmit; but ſhe remained firm againſt both, and the marchioneſs of Pembroke was declared queen of England on the twelfth of April, being Eaſter-eve. Upon this, Cranmer, after making the proper citations to the queen, and going through a formal proceſs, pronounced a ſentence of divorce, on the twenty-third of May, which was intimated to the emperor by ſir Thomas Wyat, Henry's reſident at the Imperial court: queen Anne was ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter, on the firſt day of June; and it was ordered that Catherine, for the future, ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by no other title than that of princeſs dowager of Wales. However, Henry was perſuaded to yield a little to her Spaniſh pride, by conniving at thoſe about her, whom ſhe inſiſted ſhould continue to treat her in the quality of a queen.

In the mean time the news of the whole proceſs and the ſentence paſſed by the new archbiſhop of Canterbury, together with a copy of a book publiſhed by the king on this occaſion, in which he treated the papal authority pretty cavalierly, reached Rome, and ſo exaſperated Clement, that the Imperial faction found it no difficult matter to perſuade his holineſs to annul the archbiſhop's ſentence; and he threatened Henry with excommunication, in caſe the latter did not condeſcend to have the ſentence confirmed by the ſee of Rome by a certain day in September following, the pope not doubting but he ſhould be able to reclaim this refractory ſon of the church by the means of the king of France, with whom he was about to have an interview at Marſeilles on account of the marriage of Catherine de Medicis with the duke of Orleans.

Many arts were made uſe of, on this occaſion, by the court of France to ſoften Henry; but he was ſo very ſure of his parliament and clergy, that Langay, the French ambaſſador, found him extremely cold in the matter, and by no means diſpoſed to have any farther intercourſe with the pope: however, he was at length perſuaded to order the duke of Norfolk, the lord Rochford, brother to the new queen, and ſeveral other gentlemen of diſtinction, to accompany Francis to Marſeilles, to ſee whether there were any hopes of accommodating matters on an amicable footing: but the duke of Norfolk and the others, hearing of the proceedings of the conſiſtory of Rome, were recalled at their own requeſt; yet, after all, Francis prevailed upon Henry to ſend Gardiner, the new biſhop of Wincheſter, ſir Francis Bryan, a relation of the queen's, and ſir John Wallop, with Edmund Bonner, a court prieſt, to be witneſſes of what ſhould paſs at the interview.

The pope arrived at Marſeilles on the fourteenth of October, with his niece Catherine de Medicis, and was received by Francis and the duke of Orleans with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. They immediately fell upon buſineſs; the marri was celebrated, and an ample dowry (but all to be conquered by Francis) was given to the young bride.

It was at this interview that the French king prevailed with the pope to give Henry entire ſatisfaction, promiſing to exclude the cardinals of the emperor's faction, if the king of England would ſubmit the cauſe of the divorce to be reheard and judged by himſelf in conſiſtory; but Bonner, not being acquainted with this compromiſe, demanded an audience of the pope, and (agreeable to inſtructions he had received from Henry) acquainted his holineſs with Henry's appeal to the next general council from the ſentence given, or to be given, againſt him; and then, after he had been anſwered by Clement that ſuch an appeal was unlawful, he lodged the like appeal in the name of the archbiſhop of Canterbury from the ſentence which annulled his judgment for the divorce, which put the pope into ſuch a rage, that he even proceeded

* See Stat. 24 Hen. VIII. cap. xii.

to

to threaten Bonner with a ſevere puniſhment for his inſolence. This happened on the ſeventh of November †.

Thus all hopes of reconciliation between Henry and the pope were broken off for the preſent, and Clement departed from Marſeilles on the twelfth of November; but as it was Francis's intereſt to pleaſe Henry and the pope alſo, he diſpatched John du Bellay, archbiſhop of Paris, to the court of London, who found means to perſuade Henry to agree, that if the pope would put off the execution of his ſentence until he had indifferent judges ſent, who might hear the buſineſs, he would on his part defer what he was inclined to do in relation to withdrawing his obedience from the Roman ſee. The archbiſhop upon this, though in the depth of a ſevere winter, ſet out for Rome, where he got the pope's conſent to try the cauſe at Cambray, by ſuch judges as the king of England ſhould have no reaſon to except againſt.

But when matters were brought to this criſis, the pope flew off, till he could have Henry's conceſſion, ſigned by his own hand, and fixed a day for the return of the courier, which proved the providential means to bring the arts and politics of men to nought; for the courier not returning preciſely within the limited time, the Imperial cardinals, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of the archbiſhop of Paris for a delay of ſix days longer, prevailed with the pope to precipitate a ſentence, by which Henry's marriage with Catherine was declared valid, he was commanded to live with her as his wife, and excommunication was pronounced againſt him if he refuſed. Within two days after this ſentence was fulminated, the courier arrived from England with full powers for the archbiſhop of Paris, declaring that Henry accepted the propoſed judgment, provided that the Imperialiſts and their faction, who were his declared enemies, did not interfere. But all was too late, and the archbiſhop of Paris, finding the pope immoveable, returned to France, the Engliſh ambaſſadors leaving Rome at the ſame time.

From a review of what happened between the time of the archbiſhop of Paris's ſetting out from England, and the time of fulminating the ſentence, it evidently appears that Henry never intended to part with his ſupremacy, and therefore he muſt be ſuppoſed to have acted in this caſe with great inſincerity, only to obtain the pope's conſent in the cauſe of the divorce, to quiet ſome people's conſciences, that he might get rid of Catherine with more grace, and then to drop him there, and to withdraw his obedience; for immediately on the departure of the archbiſhop of Paris, viz. on the ſecond of December, a council was called, in which ſeveral violent reſolutions were taken againſt the papal authority, at a time when Henry's cauſe was actually in ſubmiſſion before the pope, and before he could poſſibly know the iſſue of that negociation.

The parliament meeting on January 15, 1534, began the ſeſſion with an act annulling the ſtatute of Henry IV. againſt heretics: not that the parliament meant to exempt them from the penalty of the laws, for by the new act they were condemned to the flames; but, in order to abridge the power of the clergy, and hinder them from being ſole judges in ſuch caſes, it was decreed that heretics ſhould be tried according to the laws of the land, without any regard to the canon law.

By another ſtatute it was enacted, that no ſynod or convocation of the clergy ſhould be aſſembled without the king's permiſſion; that his majeſty ſhould nominate ſixteen perſons from the parliament, and as many from the clergy, to examine the canons and conſtitutions of the church, with power to aboliſh ſuch as were uſeleſs, and confirm thoſe that were neceſſary. An act of attainder was likewiſe paſſed againſt Elizabeth Barton, commonly called the Holy Maid of Kent, a native of the pariſh of Aldington, who was employed by certain eccleſiaſtics as a fit inſtrument to raiſe diſturbances in the kingdom.

This woman had been long ſubject to hyſterical fits, during which her countenance and body underwent moſt violent contorſions, and ſhe frequently uttered many ſtrange and incoherent expreſſions, from whence the ignorant and credulous people were induced to believe that ſhe ſpoke by the inſpiration of Heaven: even ſir Thomas More and Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, were weak enough to look upon her as ſomething more than mortal. Finding, therefore, that ſhe gained credit every day, the papiſts put her upon ſpeaking and propheſying againſt the king's divorce, and his ſecond marriage, which ſhe did with great warmth; and at laſt ſhe became ſo bold as to pretend that God had revealed to her, "that if the king went on in his divorce, and took another wife, he ſhould not be king a month longer, and that he ſhould die a villain's death." It is no leſs true than extraordinary, that Fiſher and More, even after ſhe came thus to ſpeak treaſon, appear to have been weak enough to have talked to her, if not to have encouraged her; but More was ſoon convinced of the impoſture, and gave an early account of it to Thomas Cromwell, now one of the ſecretaries of ſtate. Henry at firſt neglected this woman; but finding that ſhe was upheld not only by the regular clergy but the pope's agents in England, he reſolved to proceed againſt her with the utmoſt ſeverity: accordingly the Maid and her accomplices were examined in the Star Chamber, where they confeſſed all the particulars of the impoſture; and appeared upon a ſcaffold in St. Paul's church, where the articles of their confeſſion were read in their hearing; from thence they were conveyed to the Tower, where they remained till the parliament met, which having conſidered the caſe, pronounced it a conſpiracy againſt the king's life and crown, and Elizabeth with her accomplices were attainted of high-treaſon. The biſhop of Rocheſter, Thomas Gold, Thomas Lawrence, Edward Thwaites, John Addiſon, and Thomas Abiſe were adjudged guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, to forfeit their goods and chattels to the king, and to be impriſoned during his majeſty's pleaſure; and Elizabeth and her confederates were afterwards hung at Tyburn.

The parliament then proceeded to enact ſeveral laws for regulating affairs of an eccleſiaſtical nature. They confirmed the ſtatutes againſt annates; they decreed, "that for the future the pope ſhould have no ſhare in the election or confirmation of biſhops,

† While theſe things were tranſacting, queen Anne was brought to bed of a daughter, on the ſeventh of September, afterwards the famous queen Elizabeth.

but

but that, when a ſee became vacant, the king ſhould ſend to the chapter a congé d'elire, or licence, to elect a new biſhop; and if the election ſhould not be made in twelve days after the date of the licence, the right of chuſing ſhould fall to the king: that the biſhop elect ſhould ſwear fealty to the king, who ſhould preſent him to the archbiſhop, for conſecration; and ſhould the elect, or the archbiſhop, refuſe to obey this order, they ſhould be liable to the penalties of the act of Præmunire: that no perſon ſhould preſume to apply to the biſhop of Rome for bulls, palls, or any other religious purpoſe: that Peter-pence, together with all procurations, delegations, bulls, and diſpenſations, iſſued by the court of Rome, ſhould be entirely aboliſhed: that the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſhould be empowered to grant ſuch diſpenſations as were conſiſtent with the law of God, provided that part of the money thence ariſing ſhould be paid into the king's Exchequer: that all religious houſes, whether exempted or non-exempted, ſhould be ſubject to the viſitation of the archbiſhop: that the king's marriage with Catherine, ſhould be deemed null and void; and that the ſucceſſion ſhould be ſettled upon the iſſue of his lawful wife Anne, whether male or female." The members having ſworn to maintain the ſucceſſion in this manner, the two houſes were, on the thirtieth of March, prorogued till the third of November following.

Thus ended this memorable parliament, and thus the total diſunion of the crown and people of England from the court, though not from the church, of Rome, was effected. Thoſe who pretended, that no great kingdom could break with the pope without manifeſt danger, now ſaw that a ſingle blow was ſufficient to overthrow this venerable coloſſus: in fact, the taxes which the court of Rome had ſo long impoſed on the Engliſh, were founded only on that people's willingneſs to be laid under contribution; but as ſoon as they reſolved to be no longer ſo, it was found, that a power founded only in form is nothing in itſelf.

After the ſeparation of the parliament, Henry ſent commiſſioners through the whole kingdom to adminiſter the oath of ſupremacy and allegiance to all his ſubjects, as alſo that concerning the ſucceſſion; Henry looking upon this oath as the teſt, not only of his ſubjects loyalty, but of their attachment to the parliamentary proceedings: it imported, "that they would be faithful to the king, queen, their ſucceſſion, and heirs and ſucceſſors; that they held the king to be ſupreme head of the Engliſh church, and the pope to be no more than any other biſhop; that they renounced all obedience to the pontiff of Rome; that they (ſuch of them as were of the clergy) would preach the pure doctrines of the holy Scripture; and that they would pray for the king as the head of the Engliſh church, then for the queen, her iſſue, and laſtly for the archbiſhop of Canterbury." Which oath was generally taken by the clergy as well as the laity, except John Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſir Thomas More, late lord-chancellor, who would not ſubſcribe thereto, alleging, that they could not take ſuch oaths, without endangering their ſouls of eternal damnation; upon which they were both committed to the Tower of London. In the mean time Henry tried, by the means of the archbiſhop of York, Edward Lee, and the biſhop of Durham, Cuthbert Tunſtal, to perſuade Catherine once more to renounce the title of queen; to which ſhe, with an unbroken ſpirit, declared ſhe never would.

Charles V. Catherine's nephew, having undertaken to execute the pope's ſentence of depoſition againſt the king of England, Henry thought proper to endeavour to prevent his deſigns, or at leaſt to put himſelf in a poſture of defence againſt them. For this end he propoſed a new treaty with Francis, king of France; but as Francis always acted with him purely on a principle of ſelf intereſt, and being alſo unwilling to give any umbrage to the pope, whoſe relation he was now become, Henry was not able to bring him to a ſettled alliance that might render their union effectual for the common defence; on the contrary, Francis ſhuffled with him, and deceived him in an egregious manner, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

The king, though he had no reaſon to apprehend any danger from his own ſubjects, to whom the late acts were in general agreeable, ſtill thought it proper to provide againſt all events, and to fortify himſelf by foreign alliances. The emperor had threatened to ſtir up an invaſion from Scotland; therefore, to prevent any hoſtility from that quarter, Henry now made a peace with his nephew, James V. for their joint lives, and a year after the death of either. This peace, which was concluded at London on the eleventh of May this year, contained two articles never inſerted in any former treaty, and which aroſe from the preſent circumſtances of affairs: one was, that this treaty ſhould not derogate from the old leagues ſubſiſting between France and Scotland; the other, that it ſhould not be infringed by any ſentence or cenſure againſt either of the contracting parties, or his dominions. Henry alſo, on reſtoring the caſtle of Eddrington, which had been ſome time before ſurprized by the Engliſh, obtained liberty for Archibald, earl of Angus, his brother George and his uncle Archibald Douglas, with ſome other Scottiſh fugitives that had entered into his ſervice, to reſide in England, upon his undertaking that they ſhould make no hoſtile attempt upon Scotland *. Henry was ſo well pleaſed to have his nephew his friend and ally, that the lord William Howard was ſent to Scotland with the order of the Garter to James.

On the twenty-ſixth of September this year, pope Clement VII. died, and was ſucceeded by cardinal Farneſe, who was elected on the twelfth of October following, and aſſumed the name of Paul III. This event gave a great blow to the hopes and intereſts of Francis, it ruined all his mighty expectations of his new alliance with the houſe of Medicis, and obliged him to be more than ever attentive to his engagements with England. Henry was ſenſible of all this, and reſolved to avail himſelf of ſuch a juncture by getting Francis to guaranty the late act of ſucceſſion, which Francis did in a very ample manner, promiſing, "on the word and faith of a king, and under the forfeiture of his goods, and of all the goods of his ſubjects, in the form of a contract of guaranty, both for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, that he, at all times and in all places, particularly in all ſynods and general councils, and before all perſons, and againſt all men whatſoever,

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiv. p. 529, & ſeq.

that

that ſhould oppoſe it, of what rank or condition ſoever they might be, he would, both by himſelf and by his ſubjects, maintain and defend it, and (if need were) juſtify it by a ſtrong hand, and with all his forces; nor would he ever, for the future, publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, go againſt it, or ſo much as attempt it, nor ſuffer it to be attempted by any other, as much as in him lay."

But the death of Clement VII. made no alteration in the meaſures taken by the court of England to ſhake off the papal yoke, eſpecially as it had now little to fear from the emperor, who began to find work enough in Germany; beſides, Henry had, by his negociations, ſecured moſt of the northern powers, who were in general inclined to the reformed religion. Paget was ſent to reſide with the princes of the reformation in Germany; and, about the latter end of the ſummer, ambaſſadors came from the Lubeckers, with offers of entering into an offenſive league againſt the pope, and bringing with them their confeſſion of faith, which they preſented to Henry.

The parliament meeting, according to prorogation, on the twenty-third of November, enacted ſeveral important laws to prevent all future connexion between the kingdom of England and the Roman pontiff. One of their firſt acts was to confirm the king's title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, and to entail the ſame on his ſucceſſors. They declared all thoſe who ſhould ſpeak, write, or imagine any thing prejudicial to the king or queen, guilty of high-treaſon, and debarred from all benefit of ſanctuaries. They compoſed a form of oath, to be taken by the whole nation, with regard to the ſucceſſion of the crown, and annulled all former oaths on the ſame ſubject †. They aſſigned to the king the annates or firſt-fruits (formerly paid to the pope), together with the tythes of all benefices. By another act proviſion was made for twenty-five ſuffragan biſhops, who had power given them to exerciſe ſuch juriſdiction as the biſhop of the dioceſe ſhould grant them ‡: and Henry, after paſſing a general pardon, put an end to the ſeſſion; but Fiſher and More, who had been previouſly convicted of miſpriſion of treaſon, were excepted out of the pardon. At the ſame time Henry iſſued a proclamation, ordering all the juſtices to inſpect the behaviour of the biſhops and clergy, particularly to obſerve whether they preached againſt the abuſes of the church of Rome, and in ſupport of the king's ſupremacy, and to give information againſt thoſe whom they ſhould deem cold and inſincere in the diſcharge of their duty. Another proclamation was alſo iſſued, ordering that the name of Pope ſhould be diſcontinued and be eraſed from all prayers, rubrics, canons, maſs-books, &c. All the prelates renounced obedience to the biſhop of Rome, and among the reſt Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, though in his heart he was ſtill bigotly addicted to all the abſurdities of the Romiſh religion, and a deadly enemy to all reformers.

By this time the reformation had taken deep root in England as well as in Germany, notwithſtanding the violent and cruel perſecution to which its profeſſors were ſubjected. The writings of Luther were generally read here, and even the New Teſtament was tranſlated into the Engliſh language by one Tindal, who afterwards retired into the Low Countries: however, to the eternal reproach of Henry and his reforming government, this book, as ſoon as it made its appearance, was condemned to the flames, as were ſeveral perſons who were ſo incautious as to declare their ſentiments too freely in point of religion. Theſe ſeverities, however, inſtead of ſuppreſſing, ſerved only to ſtrengthen the ſpirit of religious oppoſition, which was ſtill farther inflamed by the quarrel with the Roman pontiff.

Anne Boleyn, archbiſhop Cranmer, and ſecretary Cromwell were in their hearts ſtaunch friends to the reformation, and encouragers of its promoters; while, on the other hand, the duke of Norfolk, with Gardiner and Longland, biſhops of Wincheſter and Lincoln, and many other eccleſiaſtics who frequented the court, were ſtill for preſerving all the abſurdities of the Romiſh religion, and for keeping the flames of perſecution in full blaze againſt the reformers.

Henry himſelf, though he had renounced his ſubjection to the ſee of Rome, was in ſeveral reſpects a bigotted Catholic, and a ſtrict adherer to the real preſence in the ſacrament; beſides, he had written a book againſt Luther, who had anſwered him with great freedom, not to ſay ſcurrility. This had incenſed Henry beyond a poſſibility of reconciliation: in fine, Henry wanted to be the pope's rival, but without being either a Lutheran or a Sacramentarian; he ſtill preſerved the invocation of ſaints, but under certain reſtrictions; it was with him equally a crime to believe in the authority of the pope, and to be a Proteſtant: and we ſhall ſee, in the courſe of this reign, where he alike condemned to the flames thoſe who ſpoke in favour of the Roman pontiff, and thoſe who declared for the reformed religion in Germany. In particular, he now ordered the prior of the Carthuſian monks of the Charterhouſe, London, the prior of Hexham, Benaſe a monk of Sion college, and John Haile vicar of Iſleworth, together with three monks of the Charterhouſe, to be hanged and quar-

† The new oath was conceived in the following terms: "Ye ſhall ſwear to bear faith, truth, and obedience alone to the king's majeſty, and to the heirs of his body, of his moſt dear and entirely beloved lawful wife, queen Anne, begotten and to be begotten; and farther, to the heirs of the ſaid ſovereign lord, according to the limitation of the ſtatute made for ſurety of his ſucceſſion in the crown of this realm mentioned and contained, and not to any other within this realm, nor foreign authority or potentate: and in caſe any oath be made, or hath been made by you to any perſon or perſons, that then ye do repute the ſame as vain and annihilate; and that, to your common wit and uttermoſt of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue means, ye ſhall obſerve, keep, maintain, and defend the ſaid act of ſucceſſion, and all the whole effects and contents thereof, and all other acts and ſtatutes made in confirmation or for execution of the ſame, or any thing therein contained: and this ye ſhall do againſt all manner of perſons, of what eſtate, dignity, degree, or condition ſoever they be; and in no wiſe to do or attempt, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or apart, to the let, hindrance, damage, or derogation thereof, or of any part of the ſame, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence. So help you God, and all ſaints, and the holy evangeliſts."

‡ By this act the towns of Thetford, Ipſwich, Colcheſter, Dover, Guildford, Southampton, Taunton, Shafteſbury, Malton, Marlborough, Bedford, Leiceſter, Gloceſter, Shrewſbury, Briſtol, Penrith, Bridgewater, Nottingham, Grantham, Hull, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and the towns of Pereth and Berwick, St. German's, and the Iſle of Wight, were to be taken and accepted for ſees of biſhops ſuffragan to be made in England and Wales. See their commiſſion in biſhop Burnet's Collection, vol. i. n. 51.

tered at Tyburn, on the eighteenth of July this year, for refuſing to ſubmit to the new laws: and a little before, orders were given for burning twenty-ſeven Proteſtants, viz. John Frith, a man of great learning, Andrew Hewet, and nineteen men and ſix women, born in Holland, to convince the world that his ſeverity to the eccleſiaſtics was not actuated by any fondneſs he was charged with for the new religion.

At length this perſecution reached biſhop Fiſher and ſir Thomas More, who ſtill continued priſoners in the Tower, and who were now ſingled out for a terror to the boldeſt oppoſers of the king's meaſures: Henry was determined they ſhould renounce the pope, and acknowlege his marriage-act and ſucceſſion, as eſtabliſhed by parliament. Pope Paul III. who ſucceeded Clement VII. thought to ſave Fiſher's life by ſending him a cardinal's hat, while matters were preparing for his trial; but in this he only gave Henry the ſatisfaction of bringing a cardinal to the block; for Fiſher refuſing to take the oath of ſupremacy, a commiſſion was made out for trying him by his peers, for miſpriſion of treaſon in the caſe of the Maid of Kent, and alſo for denying the king's ſupremacy, and on the ſeventeenth of May he was tried before the lord-chancellor, the duke of Suffolk, with ſome other lords and all the judges, who found him guilty, and he received ſentence of death accordingly. He received the notice of his execution with great compoſure of mind in the morning before he was beheaded; and when he came to the block, after a ſhort prayer in favour of popery, and praying for the king, and that God would bleſs him with a good council, he calmly reſigned his neck to the executioner, on the twenty-ſecond of June, on Tower-hill. He had the character of a learned and devout man, but very weak and obſtinate, and much addicted to the ſuperſtitions of his education.

The ſame oath of ſupremacy, for the refuſing of which biſhop Fiſher loſt his head, being alſo tendered to ſir Thomas More, he refuſed to take it likewiſe, for which he was tried by the ſame court, and loſt his head on firſt day of July; though Henry reaped nothing but reproach and infamy from the death of a man who was univerſally eſteemed for his virtue, and admired for his wit and pleaſantry, which did not forſake him even in his laſt moments; and he died with an unconcern that in others would have appeared to be levity, but in him was nature.

Theſe executions were followed by freſh injunctions iſſued by Henry to all archbiſhops and biſhops, for enforcing the doctrine of the king's ſupremacy; a declaration was alſo ſent them by ſecretary Cromwell to the ſame effect, which they were ordered to read from their pulpits; and it does not appear that one prelate refuſed to comply with theſe orders, ſo much did they ſtand in awe of Henry's fiery and vindictive temper: and this ſeems to be the epocha from whence we may date Henry VIII's reſolution to govern by force and abſolute power.

At this very time ſir Gregory Caſſali was ſtill at the court of Rome as Henry's agent, and had frequent conferences with pope Paul about ſome expedient to heal the breach which Clement VII. had made with England by his too great precipitation; but news arriving that biſhop Fiſher and ſir Thomas More were executed for denying the king's ſupremacy, the pope broke off all intercourſe with Caſſali, and, by a thundering bull, paſſed eccleſiaſtical cenſures againſt the king of England, ſummoning him, and all his adherents, to appear at Rome within ninety days, to anſwer for their crimes; if they ſhould fail, he laid them under the ſentence of excommunication, deprived the king of his realm, ſubjected the kingdom to an interdict, declared Henry's iſſue by Anne Boleyn illegitimate, annulled all treaties which other powers had concluded with the king of England, beſtowed his kingdom on the firſt perſon who choſe to attempt the conqueſt of it, commanded the Engliſh nobility to take arms againſt him, abſolved all his ſubjects from their allegiance, forbad all Chriſtians to communicate with the Engliſh, and declared it lawful for any one to convert their effects to their own uſe *. This bull was paſſed on the thirtieth of Auguſt, this year; but it was not publiſhed at this time, the pope thinking it prudent to delay the publication, until it could be ſupported by the Imperial arms.

In the mean time the French king, in order to ſound the inclinations of Henry, ſent over Philip Chabot, admiral of France, to communicate ſome overtures of peace, which had been made by the emperor. That prince propoſed a marriage between the third daughter of Francis and Philip prince of Spain, and another match between the dauphin and the princeſs Mary, daughter of Henry and Catherine. Henry received this embaſſy with ſome degree of contempt: he ſaid, that the emperor's offer of the princeſs Mary was of itſelf ridiculous, ſince ſhe was not at his diſpoſal, and that he knew how to keep her from ever being ſo; and that as to ſome other propoſals of the emperor, concerning the duchy of Milan, it was very plain that Charles intended only to divide France and England, that he might the better anſwer his ends upon both: however, Henry propoſed, in his turn, that his new-born daughter Elizabeth ſhould be married to the duke of Angouleſme, third ſon to Francis, on condition that the French king, with the nobility, parliaments, and univerſities of France, ſhould engage to procure thoſe ſentences which had been fulminated by the biſhop of Rome, on account of the divorce, revoked. This propoſal was embraced by Francis; and accordingly, in May this year, the duke of Norfolk, the biſhop of Ely, ſir William Fitz Williams, and Dr. Fox, were ordered to treat concerning the marriage with the commiſſioners of Francis. But the latter demanding that Henry ſhould furniſh him with ſuccours for the war he had undertaken againſt Savoy, and releaſe him entirely from the perpetual penſion of one hundred thouſand crowns, which he had obliged himſelf by treaty to pay to the king of England, Henry judged from this demand, that Francis meant only to ſhuffle with him, and therefore declared, that ſo far from renouncing the penſion, he inſiſted upon the payment of the arrears within a limited time. This reply broke off the negociation: and while the emperor carried his arms into Africa, where he reſtored Muley Haſſein to his kingdom of Tunis, from which he had been expelled by the famous corſair Barbaroſſa, Francis attacked the duchy of Savoy, which he reduced in the very firſt campaign.

* Burnet's Collect. vol. i p. 166.

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The bull lately ſigned by the pope was intended rather to terrify Henry, than to be put in force; however, it was ſo ordered as to be made known to all the courts of Europe: but it had the contrary effect, for, as ſoon as Henry was informed thereof, and that, amongſt other ſchemes, the pope intended to give England to ſome of the German popiſh princes, he reſolved to counterballance that project, and engaged Francis I. to concur with him in an embaſſy to the Proteſtant league of Smalcald: Henry ſent Edward Fox and Dr. Heath, to whom Francis joined William de Bellay, lord of Langey.

But theſe monarchs propoſed an union with the league only in a political view, to keep the emperor employed in that country by an inteſtine war, without any regard to the Proteſtant religion. The Proteſtant princes of Germany, on the other hand, were willing to live in all due ſubjection to the emperor, provided they could be ſecured in the free exerciſe of their religion; therefore, to cover their intentions, and to draw the Proteſtants into their intereſt, it was neceſſary for Henry and Francis to feign a conformity of ſentiments with them in religious natters, and a deſire to eſtabliſh the reformation in their kingdoms. Had theſe ſentiments been real, no doubt they would have been readily embraced; but the cruelty with which both kings treated the reformed in their reſpective dominions was a proof of their inſincerity, and therefore, before the princes of the league would proceed in any alliance with them, the duke of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe communicated certain propoſals to the Engliſh ambaſſadors, the purport of which appears from lord Herbert to have been as follows:

They demanded, "That Henry ſhould approve and embrace the Augſburg Confeſſion of Faith, and defend it with all his power in a free council; that he ſhould approve of no place for holding a council without their conſent; that if the pope ſhould call a council at his own pleaſure, Henry ſhould join with them in proteſting againſt it; that he ſhould accept of the title of Protector of the League; that he ſhould never return to the pope's obedience; that he ſhould not aſſiſt their enemies; and laſtly, that he ſhould pay one hundred thouſand crowns towards the defence of the league, and in caſe of a long war two hundred thouſand crowns, upon condition that what was remaining ſhould be reſtored when the war ſhould be at an end *."

How diſagreeable ſoever theſe articles were to Henry, the advantage he propoſed to himſelf by gaining the German Proteſtants to his intereſt, made him ſeem to approve of their propoſals in general; and, to gain their belief of his ſincerity, Fox had inſtructions to aſſure the princes, that if commiſſioners were ſent from them to Henry, there would be no manner of doubt of their perfectly agreeing in every thing. But the Germans were not to be ſo eaſily impoſed upon: they gave in a paper, by which they evidently ſhewed that Henry had proceeded no farther in the reformation than aboliſhing the pope's ſupremacy and ſome religious houſes; but that he ſtill retained all the other moſt material and groſs errors of the Romiſh church. Thus ſtood affairs at the cloſe of the year 1535.

On the twenty-ninth of January, 1536, the unhappy queen Catherine died at Kimbolton, in Huntingdonſhire, after having ſuffered a long ſeries of vexations. A little before ſhe expired, ſhe wrote a very affecting letter to the king, to whom ſhe gave the appellation of "her moſt dear lord, king, and huſband." Henry, it ſeems, was greatly touched at reading this letter, and even dropped ſome tears at the remembrance of a woman whoſe virtue deſerved a better fate. Queen Anne, however, did not behave with even due decorum on on this occaſion; ſhe rejoiced openly at the death of Catherine, and ſeemed to take pleaſure in communicating her ſatisfaction to the public, little thinking that her own fate was ſo near at hand. The remains of this unfortunate queen were depoſited in the abbey-church of Peterborough, which Henry afterwards converted into an epiſcopal cathedral.

On the fourth of February, this year, the parliament ſat for the diſpatch of buſineſs. The greateſt matter which came under their conſideration at this time, was to effect an entire union between England and Wales. It appears from the lord Herbert, who has, on this head, introduced into his hiſtory a curious diſſertation, to which the reader is referred, that at that time, in ſeveral counties of Wales different forms of juſtice prevailed, and the laws were eluded by the greateſt criminals, if they had but the good fortune to eſcape out of one county into another: to remedy theſe and other flagrant abuſes, and to introduce an uniformity throughout all the country, the following act was paſſed.

"That albeit the dominion, principality, and country of Wales be as a member and part of the temporal crown of this realm, whereof therefore the king is head and ruler, yet, as it hath divers rights, uſages, laws, and cuſtoms, different from the laws and cuſtoms of this realm; and becauſe their language is different from that which is ſpoken here; and that many rude people hereupon have made diſtinction and diverſity between his highneſs's other ſubjects and them, to the cauſing much diſcord and ſedition; his highneſs therefore, out of his love and favour to his ſubjects of Wales, and for reducing them to his laws, doth, by advice and conſent of his parliament, ordain and enact, that Wales ſhould be united and incorporated henceforth to and within his realm of England; and that his ſubjects ſhould enjoy and inherit all and ſingular freedoms, liberties, rights, privileges, and laws, which his highneſs's ſubjects elſewhere enjoy and inherit: and therefore, that inheritances ſhould deſcend after the manner of England, without diviſion or partition, and not after any tenure or form of Welſh laws and cuſtoms. And foraſmuch as there are divers lordſhips-marchers within the ſaid country and dominion of Wales, being no parcel of any other ſhires, where the laws and one correction is uſed and had, and that in them and the counties adjoining, manifold murders, robberies, felonies, and the like, have been done, contrary to all law and juſtice, becauſe the offenders, making their refuge from one lordſhip-marcher to another, were continued without puniſhment and correction; therefore, it was enacted, that the ſaid lordſhips marchers ſhould be united, annexed, and joined to divers ſhires, ſpecified in the ſaid act."

And now Henry, who had been greatly affronted by the contumacious reports which the monkiſh

* Seckendorff Hiſt. of Lutheran. lib. iii.

clergy

clergy had ſpread abroad with regard to his proceedings in the buſineſs of the reformation, reſolved to take ample vengeance upon them for the ſame. With this view, after having deliberated with his council, a general viſitation was ordered to be made of all the monaſteries, and ſtrict inqueſt to be taken of all their titles and revenues, and alſo of the morals of the friars and others, and the regulations obſerved in each order; and ſecretray Cromwell was, by a commiſſion under the king's own hand, created vicar-general and general viſitor of all the monaſteries and other privileged places. Cromwell, thus appointed, nominated for his ſubſtitutes to examine the monaſteries the doctors (in divinity) Leigh, Leighton, Patrick, and London, who drew up a ſet of heads of viſitation, which they well knew would bring in moſt of the houſes guilty. The viſitation, the particulars of which will more properly fall into the eccleſiaſtical part of our hiſtory, was accordingly performed with great rigour, and, if we may credit the reports of the viſitors themſelves, they diſcovered ſuch abominations and ſcenes of vice, debauchery, and impoſture, as were not only diſgraceful to religion, but even ſhocking to human nature.

The report of the viſitors being read in parliament, a bill for the demolition of all the leſſer monaſteries was brought in, and paſſed. We cannot know the general reaſon for this bill better than by its preamble, which ſets forth, "That ſmall religious houſes under the number of twelve perſons, had been long and notoriouſly guilty of vicious and abominable living, and did much conſume and waſte their churches, lands, and other things belonging to them; and that, for above two hundred years, there had been many viſitations for reforming theſe abuſes, but with no ſucceſs, their vicious living increaſing daily, ſo that, except ſmall houſes were diſſolved, and the religious put into greater monaſteries, there could no reformation be expected in that matter: whereupon the king, having received full information of theſe abuſes, both by his viſitors and other credible ways, and conſidering that there were divers great monaſteries, in which religion was well kept and obſerved, which had not the full number in them that they might and ought to receive, had made a full declaration of the premiſes in parliament, whereupon it was enacted, that all houſes which might ſpend yearly two hundred pounds, or within it, ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and their revenues converted to better uſes, and they compelled to reform themſelves."

Another act paſſed, by which all theſe houſes, churches, lands, and eſtates were given to the king, with thoſe of all houſes already diſſolved: and by theſe acts no fewer than three hundred and ſeventy-ſix abbeys fell to the crown. By another act, it was declared, that no tenths ſhould be exacted that year; and by another, a court of augmentation was erected, whereby order was taken concerning the religious houſes that were ſurrendered or ſuppreſſed, and how the king's revenue ſhould be increaſed thereby; and officers for this purpoſe were appointed.

But whatever Henry's pretence might be for ſetting on foot this ſcrutiny, it is certain that his principal motives were to wreak his vengeance upon the monks, whom he regarded as his mortal enemies, and to increaſe his revenues with the plunder of their houſes. Soon after the diſſolution of the abbeys the king put an end to this parliament (which had been the moſt compliant that England had ever ſeen), on the fourteenth of April, after ſitting ſix years.

The king's ſevere proceedings againſt the religious houſes regained him, in ſome meaſure, the confidence of the German Proteſtant princes; and they wrote to Henry in terms of great complaiſance from Smalcald, where they were now aſſembled to ſettle the famous Smalcaldic league for the preſervation of thoſe of the reformed perſuaſion. This produced an obliging meſſage from Henry, with ſome explanation with regard to their former propoſals; but ſtill the princes declined giving any umbrage to the emperor. This was not inſiſted on by Henry. Another anſwer was ſent by the princes, in which they promiſe to ſend an embaſſy into England; and ſome of their moſt learned men, among whom was the famous Melancthon, were nominated for that purpoſe: and there is the greateſt reaſon to believe, in the preſent ſituation of Henry's affairs, that this negociation would have ſucceeded to the advantage of the great work of reformation, had not the popiſh faction here found means to deprive the Proteſtants of the intereſt of queen Anne, whoſe death happened ſhortly after the arrival of theſe divines, which very much altered the face of affairs as well as the king's mind, in reſpect to the reformation, which ſhe openly countenanced, and which was in effect the cauſe of her deplorable fate.

Henry's affection, which had been increaſed by oppoſition during the proſecution of the divorce, was now cooled by ſatiety, and he no longer looked on his lovely conſort with the ſame fond regard as heretofore. It is true, ſhe wanted none of the agreeable qualities, and had many of the valuable kind: ſhe was lively, pleaſant, and gay in converſation; and, though ſtrictly virtuous in her conduct, ſhe indulged her humour rather too far; and, having been bred in the freedoms of the court of France, was not ſo attentive as ſhe ought to have been in her exalted and tickliſh ſituation, and either took or permitted liberties which gave offence to an impetuous huſband, who had pride enough to make him the moſt jealous of mortals, and the moſt furious in his jealouſy.

The Auſtrian party about court, all who diſliked the divorce from Catherine, and all that oppoſed the reformation, which ſhe was ſuppoſed to favour, were her enemies, and taking notice of every little indiſcretion ſhe was guilty of, improved it to raiſe in the king a ſuſpicion of her virtue. The viſcounteſs Rochford in particular, who was wife to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her huſband, and, as ſhe was a woman of the moſt abandoned character, paid no regard either to truth or humanity in the calumnies which ſhe invented, pretended that her own huſband carried on a criminal correſpondence with his ſiſter; and not only ſo, but ſhe inſiſted that ſhe had likewiſe granted favours to Henry Norris, groom of the ſtole, Weſton and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, together with one Mark Smeton, a muſician. This information rouſed all the rage in Henry's breaſt, who was alſo not a little chagrined at an accident which befel the queen ſome time before, of being brought to bed of a dead child.

Nothing however tranſpired till the firſt of May this year, when a tilting match was held at Greenwich,

wich, in which the lord Rochford was chief challenger and Henry Norris the chief defendant. It is ſaid, that during the diverſions Henry obſerved the queen drop her handkerchief, which one of the ſuſpected perſons took up, and uſed it to wipe his face: to a mind prepared like Henry's, this accident, which though, in all probability, entirely caſual, was a demonſtration of his wife's infidelity: accordingly all on a ſudden the diverſions were broke up, and Henry, without taking any notice of the queen or her court, with no more than ſix perſons in his retinue, abruptly departed to his palace of Weſtminſter.

The queen following, was, upon her arrival, met by the duke of Norfolk, and ſome other lords of the council, who ſignified to her, that it was his majeſty's pleaſure ſhe ſhould be confined to her chamber. At the ſame time the lord Rochford and Norris were committed to the Tower, as were Brereton, Weſton, and Smeton. Next day, being the ſecond of May, the queen was conducted to the ſame priſon by the duke of Norfolk and other lords, who reſigned her into the cuſtody of ſir William Kingſton, conſtable of the Tower; and a commiſſion was made out for trying her on the twelfth of May in that place, the duke of Norfolk being appointed lord high-ſteward on that occaſion, with twenty-ſix other peers. The charges brought againſt her were of the moſt deteſtable nature, viz. "That ſhe had procured her brother, and the four other perſons in cuſtody, to lie with her, and that ſhe had made each of them believe that he had the preference above all mankind in her heart; and that ſhe had ſaid to each of them, that the king never had her heart." Smeton had, by fair promiſes, been brought to confeſs, that he had thrice carnal knowlege of her; but it was not thought proper to confront him with her; nor, indeed, could he be an evidence, as he had been condemned three days before to ſuffer, notwithſtanding his aſſurances of pardon upon confeſſion. The only thing that appeared in relation to her brother, the lord Rochford, was his laying his hand on the queen's bed while he whiſpered to her one day; an action done before company, and warranted from the near relationſhip between them. In ſhort, to the eternal infamy of her judges, ſhe was condemned without its being ever known upon what evidence her ſentence was grounded; and the nineteenth of May was the day appointed for her execution, which was that of being burnt or beheaded, at the king's pleaſure.

Henry, not ſatisfied with this act of ſeverity, would needs be divorced from her before her death, and archbiſhop Cranmer was ſent to the Tower, and received her confeſſion of precontract, or promiſe of marriage, between the lord Henry Piercy (now earl of Northumberland) and herſelf, before that ſhe had made with the king; upon which the archbiſhop pronounced, according to the rules of canon law, the ſentence of divorce. It was probably a tenderneſs for her daughter, the young Elizabeth, that engaged her to make this confeſſion, for the earl of Northumberland proteſted in the moſt ſolemn manner that no ſuch contract had ever paſſed between them. It was, however, expected that ſhe would have defended her innocency when about to die, but the ſame motives ſeem to have operated even then, as ſhe feared every thing for her daughter from the ſavage temper of the king, ſhould ſhe expoſe him too much; accordingly, when ſhe came on the ſcaffold, ſhe made no reflections on the hardſhips ſhe had ſuſtained, nor ſaid any thing touching the grounds on which ſentence had paſſed upon her; ſhe only deſired "that every body would judge the beſt," acknowleged her obligations to the king, prayed for him, and entreated the ſpectators to do the ſame for her, and then ſubmitting her neck to the fatal ſtroke, her head was ſevered from her body at one blow, by an executioner, who had been ſent for from Calais, on account of his remarkable dexterity in his bloody profeſſion.

The lord Rochford was tried and condemned at the ſame time with the queen his ſiſter, and, together with the four other gentlemen, ſuffered death three days before her, all of them, Smeton excepted, declaring at their deaths the queen's and their own innocence of the facts for which they ſuffered.

The very day after the queen's execution Henry was married to Jane Seymour, the reigning beauty of the court, daughter to ſir John Seymour, and one of the maids of honour to Anne, on whom the king had for ſome time caſt an amorous eye: eager as he was to gratify his brutal appetites, he totally forgot all regard to decency and decorum, and his cruel and barbarous heart, more worthy of an infernal fiend than a human creature, was not in the leaſt affected by the bloody cataſtrophe of a perſon who had ſo long been the object of his moſt tender affection.

In conſequence of the ſentence of divorce which Henry had procured from his late queen Anne before her death, the princeſs Elizabeth, his daughter by her, who was at this time about three years of age, and been ſtyled princeſs of Wales, was now diveſted of that title; and the princeſs Mary, his other daughter by Catherine, whom he had treated with great ſeverity on account of her attachment to her mother, and her refuſal to aſſent to the ſtatutes which had been lately enacted againſt the papal authority, was now perſuaded by the popiſh faction to attempt a reconciliation with the king at this juncture; accordingly ſhe ſubſcribed to the act of ſupremacy, the renunciation of the biſhop of Rome, and to the unlawfulneſs of her own mother's marriage, that ſhe might the more effectually remove the lady Elizabeth from the king's preſence and affections; but Henry, though he was reconciled to Mary, yet continued to educate the infant princeſs at court, with all the care and tenderneſs of a father.

On the eighth day of June a new parliament met at Weſtminſter, as did alſo the convocation, and both thoſe houſes confirmed the ſentence paſſed upon the late queen Anne; but, what is very remarkable in favour of the queen's innocency, the commons attainted the deceaſed for pride and the carnal deſires of her body, and for confederating in divers treaſons againſt the king's royal perſon, &c. The convocation alleged nothing againſt her but the pretended precontract with the earl of Northumberland when lord Piercy, though that nobleman had ſworn in the moſt ſolemn manner, that no ſuch engagement had ever exiſted.

The parliament alſo enacted a ſtatute, by which they repealed the former act of ſucceſſion, declaring the children of the king's two firſt marriages illegitimate, and adjudging the crown, after his death,

to his iſſue by his preſent queen Jane, or any wife he might marry after her deceaſe; but at the ſame time they gave him full power to ſettle the mode of ſuch ſucceſſion either by will or letters patent under the great-ſeal, and pronounced all thoſe who maintained the validity of his two firſt marriages guilty of high-treaſon.

Then the king informed them of ſome advances made to him from pope Paul III. who on hearing of the execution of queen Anne, and death of queen Catherine, hoped he might bring Henry to a good agreement with him; but Henry declaring in parliament that his ſeparation from the biſhop of Rome was ſo fixed, and had proceeded upon ſuch ſolid grounds, that he never would liſten to any accommodation, the two houſes, ſervilely obſequious to the king's will, in order to convince his holineſs that all hopes of re-uniting the Engliſh church to his juriſdiction were vain and groundleſs, paſſed an act, ſubjecting to the penalty of Præmunire all thoſe who ſhould endeavour to reſtore the papal power in England; and all magiſtrates who ſhould neglect to put this law in execution were condemned to the ſame puniſhment: and by another act they annulled and aboliſhed all diſpenſations, exemptions, and privileges procured from the court of Rome, ſaving however to the archbiſhop of Canterbury the right of confirming what ſhould be deemed advantageous to the church and people.

By a third act it was prohibited any one to marry with the next degrees of royal blood, without permiſſion from the king. This act paſſed upon the following occaſion: the lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to Henry's ſiſter, the queen dowager of Scotland, by the earl of Angus, her ſecond huſband, was now at the Engliſh court, where ſhe was courted by the lord Thomas Howard, brother to the duke of Norfolk. This courtſhip, which had proceeded to the length of mutual promiſes, coming to Henry's ears, the lovers were committed to the Tower of London; and lord Thomas, upon circumſtances brought againſt him of aſpiring to the crown, was attainted of high-treaſon in parliament. The queen of Scotland hearing of her daughter's impriſonment, wrote ſtrongly in her favour to Henry, but without effect; nor was ſhe releaſed till after the death of lord Thomas, which happened in the Tower. A fourth law was enacted, that all encroachments of parliament upon the king's prerogative, before he ſhould have attained the age of twenty-four, might be annulled under the great-ſeal of England. Theſe were the moſt material acts for our purpoſe in this ſeſſion of parliament, which was finiſhed on the eighteenth day of July, and which one would be tempted to think had aſſembled for no other purpoſe than that of beſtowing upon Henry a more extenſive authority than any of his predeceſſors had ever enjoyed.

Neither was the convocation leſs compliant with the crown than the parliament had been; for, beſides ratifying the ſentence of divorce between the king and Anne Boleyn, they alſo gave their ſanction to a ſyſtem of religion which Henry, who differed from all his ſubjects in point of belief, had been at the pains to digeſt; the contents of which will fall more properly into another part of our hiſtory. Before the convocation broke up, the king acquainted them that he was ſummoned to a council, which was, by agreement between the pope and the emperor, to be held at Mantua. As a general council carried with it a popular and plauſible ſound, it was neceſſary to guard againſt its conſequences with reſpect to the ſteps which had been taken by Henry, who had reaſon to believe its members would be no way favourable to him: he was under ſome difficulty by the appeal he had made from the pope to a general council; but Cranmer, and ſome other prelates, made him eaſy on that head, and a decree paſſed in convocation, defining what a general council was, and ſhewing that no ſuch could be called by the authority of the pope, or in the preſent juncture of affairs; and that no juſtice was to be expected where the biſhop of Rome was to preſide. Strengthened by this opinion, Henry publiſhed a flaming proteſtation againſt the approaching council.

About this time Reginald Pole began to diſtinguiſh himſelf by his taſte and learning: he was ſon to Margaret, counteſs of Saliſbury, the daughter and heireſs of George, duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. and conſequently allied to the king, who determined to advance him to the higheſt dignities of the church, conferred upon him the deanry of Exeter, and ſent him to finiſh his ſtudies at the univerſity of Paris. He refuſed to concur with Henry's agents in procuring the deciſion of the French univerſities, in favour of the divorce, which he diſapproved. He afterwards returned to England, and agreed with the clergy in owning Henry ſupreme head of the church. Then he travelled into Italy, where he acquired a great character for his wit and eloquence; and Henry being informed that he openly condemned him for his ſeparation from the Apoſtolic ſee, and that he had publiſhed a book intituled De unione eccleſiaſtica (or, Concerning Eccleſiaſtical Union), in which he treated the king with great ſeverity, comparing him to Nebuchadnezzar, and even exhorting the emperor and other European princes to attack him, with all their forces, he reſolved, if poſſible, to get him in his power, and, diſſembling his reſentment, ſent to deſire him to come over to explain ſome paſſages in his book, which were ſomewhat dark and obſcure; but finding him upon his guard, he now ſtripped him of his dignities, and wreaked his revenge on Pole's family and relations. The pope, however, took care to reward his attachment to the ſee of Rome, by preſenting him with a cardinal's hat, which bound him cloſer than ever to the intereſt of his holineſs.

The ſuppreſſion of the ſmall monaſteries, though enacted in the firſt ſeſſion of parliament, did not take place till the month of Auguſt this year, when it occaſioned great clamours through the whole nation, as the viſitors executed their commiſſion with inhuman ſeverity, and were guilty of the groſſeſt embezzlements: and the pope having again excommunicated Henry, and declared him depoſed, put the kingdom under an interdict, and forbidden his ſubjects to obey him, the monks every where inſinuated into the minds of the country people, that it was their duty to take up arms againſt one who had trampled under foot all their civil and religious liberties. The people, who had ſucked in with their milk the principles that were now at once to be aboliſhed, eagerly liſtened to theſe inſinuations; and the popiſh emiſſaries had been ſo ſucceſsful, that in Lincolnſhire, about the end of September, upwards of twenty thouſand ſouls aſſembled under the command of one Mackerel,

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prior of Barlings, who took the name of Captain Cobler, and publiſhed their grievances by way of petition to the king, complaining of the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, the ſubverſion of their ancient faith, the embracing new doctrines, &c. The king anſwered this petition in an ample manifeſto, and ſent the duke of Suffolk, with a few troops, to reduce the mutineers to obedience, who upon promiſe of pardon diſperſed of themſelves; but their leader being taken, with ſome of the principal ringleaders, they were executed for treaſon and rebellion.

This ſucceſs was of the greateſt conſequence to the king's affairs, for at this time one Aſke, a gentleman of fortune in Yorkſhire, extremely well fitted to act at the head of a popular inſurrection, had drawn the people of that county together, and they were joined by a little army of outed monks, who carried before them a banner, on which a crucifix and the five wounds, with a chalice, were painted. The ſame device was worn upon their ſleeves, to animate them in favour of their endangered religion: they gave their march the title of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and all who joined them were obliged to take an oath, "that they entered into the Pilgrimage of Grace for the love of God, the preſervation of the king's perſon and iſſue, the purifying the nobility and driving away all baſe-born counſellors, and for no particular profit of their own, nor to do diſpleaſure to any, nor to kill any perſon for envy, but to take before them the croſs of Chriſt, his faith, the reſtitution of the church, and the ſuppreſſion of heretics and their opinions." Theſe ſpecious pretences ſo deluded the people, that the rebels were ſoon forty thouſand ſtrong; and meeting with no reſiſtance, they ſat ſuddenly down before Pontefract caſtle, which was looked upon as a place of ſtrength, and which was then held by the archbiſhop of York and Thomas lord Darcy, who quickly ſurrendered to them: they next made themſelves maſters of York and Hull; and Aſke, by perſuaſions and threats, obliged all the nobility of the county to join him, except Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland, who held out his caſtle of Skipton againſt all the rebel forces, and ſir Ralph Ewer, who defended his caſtle of Scarborough till he was relieved, though himſelf and men had nothing to ſubſiſt on for three weeks but bread and water.

The government not being able to muſter above five thouſand men, and finding that the rebels were not to be amuſed, a proclamation was publiſhed, ordering all the nobility to meet the king at Northampton on the ſeventh of November; in the mean time his little army, under the command of the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Shrewſbury, and the marquis of Exeter, encamped at Doncaſter, muſt have been entirely routed by the rebels, who advanced to give them battle, had not the river Don, the only paſs by which they could advance to the town, happily been rendered impaſſable by a heavy rain. This lucky accident gave the duke of Norfolk an opportunity to propoſe a conference with the chiefs of the mutineers, when the latter gave in the following demands:

"That a general pardon be granted; a parliament to be held at York, and courts of juſtice to be held there; that none on the north ſide of Trent might be brought to London upon any law-ſuit; they deſired a repeal of ſome acts of parliament, thoſe for the laſt ſubſidy, for uſes, for making words miſpriſion of treaſon, and for the clergy's paying firſt-fruits and tenths to the king: they deſired the princeſs Mary might be reſtored to her right of ſucceſſion, the pope to his wonted juriſdiction, and the monks to their houſes again; that the Lutherans might be puniſhed; that Audley, the lord-chancellor, and Cromwell, the lord privy-ſeal, might be excluded from the next parliament; and Leigh and Leighton, who had viſited the monaſteries, might be impriſoned for bribery and extortion."

Though the king was highly exaſperated againſt the inſurgents, yet the accounts he daily received of their ſtrength obliged him, much againſt his will, to ſend down a general pardon, directed to the duke of Norfolk, but with orders not to publiſh it but in the laſt extremity. That very ſoon happened, for the rebels once more preparing to force the paſſage of the river, the duke was obliged to publiſh the pardon. This reſtored a ſhort tranquility; but the prieſts renewing their practices for diſturbing the public peace, and with too much ſucceſs, the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Shrewſbury had orders to continue in the North all the winter. The duke uſing his power with great rigour, by putting the martial law in full force againſt every one who would not take the oath of ſupremacy, thoſe proceedings gave riſe to a freſh rebellion. Two gentlemen, called Muſgrave and Treby, putting themſelves at the head of eight thouſand peaſants, made an attempt upon Carliſle, from which however they were repulſed, and afterwards entirely defeated by the duke of Norfolk. Muſgrave eſcaped, but Treby, with ſeventy of his followers, were taken and hanged upon the walls of Carliſle.

This happened in February, 1537, and the king now ordered to court ſuch of the heads of the former inſurrection whom he thought he had moſt reaſon to fear: Aſke readily obeyed, and at firſt was well received at court; but the lords Darcy, Huſſey, and other chiefs of the rebels, not following his example, were ſeized and ſent priſoners to London. The two noblemen were arraigned at Weſtminſter, found guilty, and beheaded on Tower-hill; thoſe of inferior degree were hanged at Tyburn and other places; Aſke himſelf, leaving the court ſhortly after without licence, was taken and hanged in chains at York, notwithſtanding the general pardon which had been granted.

Fortunately for Henry, James V. was in France during theſe rebellions, ſo that the inſurgents had no aſſiſtance from Scotland. James returned home with his young queen, Magdalen, daughter of Francis, whom he had lately eſpouſed, about the beginning of the year; and ſhe dying ſoon after her arrival in Scotland, cardinal Beaton and Robert Maxwell were ſent over to France, to treat of another marriage between James and Mary of Guiſe, the duke of Longueville's widow, which ſoon after took place.

Henry was now ſo fluſhed with ſlaughter by the frequent executions carried on by his order and under his eye, that he ſeemed to take a delight in ſhedding blood: he ordered Thomas Fitz Gerald, ſon of the late earl of Kildare, twice lord-deputy of Ireland, and five of his uncles, after a long confinement in the Tower for an inſurrection in Ireland, to be executed on the thirtieth of March,

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for a terror to that people, who he feared would riſe and join the emperor againſt his crown and authority in Ireland: but the earl of Kildare's youngeſt ſon, Gerald Fitz Gerald, had the good fortune to make his eſcape by a ſtratagem, and got over to France, and from thence to the Low Countries; but finding it unſafe to continue there, he went and offered his ſervice to cardinal Pole, who afterwards made uſe of him in his deſigns againſt his king and country.

The king's next care was ſo to ruin the affairs of the monks, who had been the principal promoters of the late diſturbances, that they might never more be able to give him trouble; and having employed ſecretary Cromwell to procure addreſſes from the two univerſities, ſetting forth, that the numbers of religious houſes ſtill remaining were unprofitable, nay pernicious, to the Chriſtian religion, as tending only to harbour lazy drones and ſwarms of impoſtors, he gave orders for a total ſuppreſſion of many of thoſe houſes, and to ſeize their revenues. The rich abbey of Furneſe, in Lincolnſhire, ſurrendered on the ninth of April; the abbey of Bermondſey, in Surry, on the firſt of June: and that of Biſham, in Berkſhire, on the fifth of July.

On the twelfth of October, this year, the queen was delivered of a young prince, at Hampton-court, to the inexpreſſible joy of all the nation, and of Henry in particular. The having a ſon and undoubted heir to all his dominions, was a bleſſing which had been the ſubject of his moſt ardent wiſhes; but his ſatisfaction on this occaſion received a conſiderable check by the death of the queen ſoon after her delivery: ſhe was the beſt beloved of all his wives, and highly celebrated for her humility, goodneſs, and affability. She was buried with great pomp at Windſor. Henry was ſo afflicted with the loſs of her, that, for ſome days after her death, he ſhut himſelf up from all company.

The new-born prince was baptized by the name of Edward; and, three days after, he was declared prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter. To diſtinguiſh this happy event the more, ſir Edward Seymour, brother to the queen, was created earl of Hertford and lord Beauchamp; ſir William Fitz Williams, lord high admiral of England, was created earl of Southampton: ſome months after, ſir William Paulet, treaſurer of the houſhold, was made lord St. John; and ſir John Ruſſel, comptroller, was created lord Ruſſel.

But the birth of a ſon and heir did not free Henry from the terrors of an invaſion which he ſaw threatening him from the emperor, who had concluded a truce with the king of France, that he might be more at liberty, with all the forces of Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, to attack England. The king therefore came to a final reſolution of ſuppreſſing all the religious houſes in his dominions, conſidering them as ſeminaries for promoting diſaffection to his government, and the monks as ſubjects to the pope rather than to himſelf, devoted wholly to the intereſt of the ſee of Rome, and uſing all their endeavours to alienate the minds of the people from their lawful ſovereign, and ſeduce them to an implicit obedience to the papal authority, by continual pretences to falſe miracles, or other monaſtic jugglings; and at the ſame time were themſelves ready, on every occaſion, to promote and further the ſchemes of the pope and the emperor againſt his crown and dignity.

Fearful however, that this meaſure might occaſion ſome clamours in the nation, he prudently began with removing the prejudices of the people, by expoſing the enormities committed in thoſe receptacles of vice and debauchery, and to diſabuſe them with regard to the ſuppoſed ſanctity of relics, images, and all other trumpery of ſuperſtition: he ordered the commiſſioners to examine, and, if poſſible, diſcover the arts by which the mokns impoſed upon the ignorance of the vulgar. This ſecond viſitation produced a detection of an infinite number of holy cheats, and pretended relics, made uſe of to encourage ſuperſtition rather than devotion in the people, and to draw them into pilgrimages and offerings. The principal of theſe we have, to ſatisfy the curioſity of the reader, thrown into a note at the foot of the page*. The diſcoveries made on this occaſion raiſed a general indignation in all ranks, to find how they had been abuſed: they deteſted the authors of ſuch forgeries; the monaſteries grew infamous, and thus was the Engliſh ſuperſtition, in point of images and relics, extinguiſhed.

The multitude of thoſe impoſitions gave Henry, who wanted to have the great houſes diſſolved,

* With regard to the implements of idolatry and ſuperſtition, Reading ſeems to have been the grand repoſitory of the nation. There the viſitors found an angel with one wing, that brought over the head of the ſpear that pierced the ſide of Jeſus Chriſt, with ſuch a catalogue of other relics as filled up four ſheets of paper.

At St. Edmundſbury, they diſcovered ſome of the coals that roaſted St. Laurence; the parings of St. Edmund's toes; the girdle of the Virgin Mary, and ſome of her milk; the head of St. Urſula; the penknife and boots of St. Thomas a Becket; part of the ſame ſaint's ſhirt, much reverenced by big-bellied women; and certain relics to prevent a head-ach, and the generation of weeds among corn.

There were likewiſe diſcovered in the monaſteries, ſome impoſtures of a more artificial nature. At Hales, in the county of Glouceſter, had been ſhewn, for ſeveral ages, the blood of Chriſt, pretended to be brought from Jeruſalem; and it is natural to think, that this relic would be held in the higheſt eſtimation.

This relic was ſuppoſed to be attended with a very ſurpriſing circumſtance: the ſacred blood was not viſible to any one in mortal ſin, even when ſet before him; and, till he had performed good works ſufficient for his abſolution, it would not deign to diſcover itſelf to his longing eyes.

At the diſſolution of the monaſtery, the whole contrivance was diſcovered. Two of the monks, who were entruſted with the ſecret, had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week; they put it into a phial, one ſide of which was thin and tranſparent, and the other thick and obſcure. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were ſure to ſhew him the dark ſide of the phial, till maſſes and offerings had expiated his crimes; and then, finding his money, or patience, or faith, exhauſted, they bleſſed him with the happy ſight, by turning the bright ſide of the phial.

There was a cruciſix at Boxley in Kent, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Rood of Grace, which had been long held in the higheſt veneration, becauſe it had been ſeen to bend and raiſe itſelf, ſhake the head, hands, and feet, roll the eyes, and move the lips. The puppet, being brought to London, was broke in pieces, in ſight of the people, at St. Paul's croſs, where with their own eyes, they beheld the ſprings and wheels by which it had been actuated.

A great wooden idol of Wales, called Darvel Gatheren, was brought up to London, and cut in pieces: and, by a cruel refinement of vengeance, it was employed as fuel to burn friar Forreſt, who was condemned for denying the ſupremacy, and ſome heretical opinions.

A finger of St. Andrew, covered with a thin plate of ſilver, had been pawned by the convent of Weſtacre, for a debt of forty pounds; but as the king's commiſſioners refuſed to redeem the pledge, the people made merry with the poor creditor, on account of his ſecurity.

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vaſt advantages, as it is natural to think that the religious of monaſteries where they were carried on, would ſubmit to any thing rather than be expoſed, and might eaſily be brought to ſurrender their houſes, to avoid the puniſhment they deſerved. Such impurities and diſorders were found in many as would ſurpaſs credibility, if not unexceptionably atteſted; and ſome were ſo notoriouſly guilty, that they ſigned conceſſions of the diſſoluteneſs of their lives and converſation. A great number of monks, and even ſome abbots and friars, were found guilty of holding correſpondence with the rebels, and executed as traitors; and the reſt, as they had now no privileges to ſcreen them from the civil judicature, were glad to compound for their offences by a ſurrender of their monaſteries. On one or other of theſe accounts, no leſs than one hundred and fifty-nine monaſteries were reſigned in the courſe of the year 1538 into the king's hands; and the example continually gained ground, ſo that hardly a week paſſed without ſome new ſurrender.

Whilſt Henry was thus employed in rooting out ſuperſtition and burning images the moſt in repute for peculiar virtues and wonder working properties, he could not well overlook the moſt famous and reſpected of all the inſtruments of popiſh idolatry, the ſhrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Becket was indebted for his ſaintſhip to the vigorous efforts he had exerted in defence of the authority of the holy ſee, and therefore it may be readily conceived how obnoxious to Henry a ſaint of this character muſt appear, and how contrary to all his ſchemes of aboliſhing the power of the pontiff of Rome: he could not bear the thoughts that ſuch a furious and obſtinate rebel to his prince ſhould be held in ſuch veneration, and his tomb frequented by ſuch numerous pilgrimages, and enriched with ſuch ſuperb preſents. Proceſſes were in thoſe days carried on againſt the dead in the ſame manner as againſt the living: the like form was uſed towards Becket; his life and actions underwent a ſtrict examination, and were generally condemned; the miracles pretended to be wrought at his tomb were proved to be forgeries; his name was ordered to be eraſed from the calendar, the office for his feſtival expunged from the breviary, his bones to be burnt, and his aſhes diſperſed. At the ſame time the riches of his ſhrine, which were ineſtimable, were converted to the king's uſe: among other things there was a very fine diamond, which Lewis VII. of France, who made a pilgrimage to this ſaint's remains, had depoſited at his tomb, was by Henry's orders ſet in a ring, which he ever after wore on his thumb. Thus did Henry at once indulge his two darling paſſions, avarice and revenge, by enriching himſelf with the ſpoils, and uncanonizing a prelate whom the papal power had, for his inſolence to his king, raiſed to be a ſaint.

The news of theſe proceedings no ſooner reached Rome, than that city was filled with libels and ſatires againſt the perſon and conduct of Henry: he was repreſented as the moſt impious and ſacrilegious tyrant that ever diſgraced the royal title or dignity: he was compared to Belſhazzar, Nero, Domitian, Diocleſian, and in particular to Julian the Apoſtate, whom he was ſaid to reſemble in his learning and apoſtacy, though greatly inferior in point of morals.

In theſe invectives, which were handed about all over Europe, cardinal Pole's ſtyle was eaſily diſtinguiſhed. Henry, whoſe vanity and bloody diſpoſition increaſed every day, reſolved to avenge himſelf for theſe groſs inſults on all the friends of Pole in England, and the more eſpecially as the emiſſaries he kept at the court of Rome informed him, that all the intelligence from England was addreſſed to the cardinal. He ordered Courtney, marquis of Exeter (who was ſon to Catherine, daughter to Edward IV.), Pole, lord Montague, ſir Edward Neville, brother to lord Abergavenny, and ſir Geoffrey Pole, to be arreſted for correſponding with that prelate, who, being found guilty, were all beheaded except ſir Geoffrey Pole, who, having turned evidence againſt the reſt, had his pardon. Theſe were ſhocking ſeverities; but, indeed, if it was duly proved that the ſufferers held a correſpondence with Pole, Henry is not ſo blameable, ſince it is certain that at this time Pole was the pope's agent to ſtir up not only England, but all Europe, againſt Henry.

Pope Paul III. had hitherto ſuſpended the bull of excommunication, which he had formerly paſſed againſt Henry, in hopes of being one day able to accommodate his difference with that monarch; but finding that the late proceedings in England had ſhut the door againſt all reconciliation, he, on the ſeventeenth of December this year, publiſhed the bull with great ſolemnity, and endeavoured to excite the neighbouring princes againſt the Engliſh monarch, and even offered his kingdom to James of Scotland, provided he was able and willing to ſubdue it: and his agents found means to affix this bull in ſeveral places, both in France, Scotland, and Ireland. Henry, unterrified by this mock thunder, reſolved to ſet his holineſs at defiance: with this view he exacted of all biſhops and abbots a new oath, by which they renounced the pope's authority: and a new tranſlation of the Bible, which had been undertaken at the inſtance of Cranmer and Cromwell (who thought nothing could ſo effectually root out papal ſuperſtition as a free toleration of the ſcriptures in the vulgar tongue), being completed, he ordered copies thereof to be immediately printed, and ſet up in every church, at the joint expence of the incumbent and pariſhioners; and at the ſame time Cromwell obtained the royal warrant, enjoining the clergy to read the Lord's Prayer, the Confeſſion of Faith, and the Ten Commandments in Engliſh: they were ordered to recommend good works, and to teach the people that relics, roſaries, and all other trumpery of the like nature, were unneceſſary to ſalvation. All the images, to which devotees were accuſtomed to make offerings, were removed; all the tapers were taken away out of the churches, except thoſe that burned before the images of Chriſt; and all the invocations of "Ora pro nobis" (Pray for us), added to the prayers addreſſed to ſaints, were entirely aboliſhed.

Much about the ſame time, viz. the beginning of the year 1539, the king having underſtood that there was a learned man, named Lambert, who denied the real preſence in the ſacrament, to which Henry was blindly devoted, notwithſtanding that it is, of all the abſurdities of the Romiſh church, the moſt abſurd and ridiculous; this vain monarch thought he had found a fine op-

portunity where he could at once exercise his supremacy and display his learning, resolved to have the glory of disputing with this reformer, who had appealed from a sentence given against him by archbishop Cranmer. Public notice was accordingly given, that the king designed to enter the lists against this school-master, for he was of no higher degree, and scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall for the accommodation of the audience, without any regard had to the injustice of thus mixing the disputant and the judge. The end of this disputation was, that Henry gave his antagonist his choice, either to recant his opinion, or to be burned: Lambert nobly made choice of the latter, and the king had the mean cruelty to order him to be executed, which was inflicted upon him with the greatest rigour.

But a parliamentary sanction was now required, as well to confirm what had been done, as to establish future measures: accordingly, on the twenty-eighth of April, the parliament sat, whom Henry found still complying in every thing; and, among many remarkable statutes, it was enacted,

"That the king, for the time being, with the advice of his council, or the more part of them, may set forth proclamations, under such penalties and pains as to him and them shall seem necessary, which shall be observed as though they were made by act of parliament: but this shall not be prejudicial to any person's inheritance, offices, liberties, goods, chattels, or life. And whosoever shall willingly offend any article contained in the said proclamation, shall pay such forfeiture, or be so long imprisoned, as shall be expressed in the said proclamation. And if any offending will depart the realm, to the intent he will not answer his said offence, he shall be adjudged a traitor."

By another act, the king was empowered to nominate such a number of bishops, sees for bishops, cathedral churches, and endow them with such possessions as he will. By another act the order of the house of lords was regulated: Cromwell, as king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters, was to have the precedency of both archbishops. It was likewise enacted, "That all leases made of manors belonging to monasteries dissolved, or to be dissolved, and assured to the king, should take effect; wherein is expressed, that the king should possess and enjoy to him, his heirs, and successors, for ever, all monasteries, abbeys, priories, nunneries, colleges, hospitals, houses of friars, or other religious and ecclesiastical houses and places, which, since the fourth of February, 27 Henry VIII. have been dissolved, suppressed, renounced, relinquished, forfeited, given up, or by any other means come to his highness; or which shall be dissolved, &c. as also all manors, lordships, lands, tenements, rights, liberties, &c. belonging to them; all which (except such as came by attainder or treason) should be under survey and governance of the king's court of augmentation of the revenues of the crown; other mens titles yet saved."

In this parliament a committee of religion was appointed, upon the lord-chancellor's motion, shewing it to be the king's desire to have all his subjects of one religion. The members of the committee were the lord vice gerent, Cromwell, the two archbishops, the bishops of Durham, Bath and Wells, Ely, Bangor, Carlisle, and Worcester. The archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely and Worcester, and Cromwell, were on one side; and the debates were so violent, that on the sixteenth of May, the duke of Norfolk told the lords, that the committee had made no progress, and that therefore he would take the liberty to offer to the house certain articles to be debated on, and, if approved, to pass into the form of a perpetual law. These articles were as follow.

"First, If any person, by word, writing, printing, cyphering, or any otherwise, do preach, teach, dispute, or hold opinion, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under form of bread and wine (after the consecration thereof), there is not present really the natural body and blood of our saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary; or that, after the said consecration, there remaineth any substance of bread and wine, or any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and man, or that in the flesh under form of bread, is not the very blood of Christ; or that the blood, under form of wine, is not the very flesh of Christ as well apart as though they were both together, or affirm the said sacrament to be of other substance than is aforesaid, or deprave the said blessed sacrament, then he shall be adjudged an heretic, and suffer death by burning, and shall forfeit to the kings all lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, and chattels, as in case of high-treason.

"Secondly, And if any person preach, in any sermon or collection openly made, or teach in any common school or congregation, or obstinately affirm or defend, that the communion of the blessed sacrament in both kinds is necessary for the health of man's soul, or ought, or should be administered in both kinds, or that it is necessary to be received by any person other than the priest, being at mass and consecrating the same:

"Thirdly, Or that any man, after the order of priesthood received, may marry, or contract matrimony:

"Fourthly, Or that any man or woman which advisedly hath vowed, or professed, or should avow or profess chastity or widowhood, may marry, or contract marriage:

"Fifthly, Or that private masses be not lawful, or not laudable, or should not be used, or be not agreeable to the laws of God:

"Sixthly, Or that auricular confession is not expedient and necessary to be used in the church of God; he shall be adjudged to suffer death, and forfeit lands and goods as a felon."

These articles, before they passed into the form of a law, admitted of great debates. The third and fourth pointed directly at Cranmer, who spoke greatly against all but the first, he being himself a Lutheran. As to the other articles, they were matter of private speculation, but against Cranmer's sense. They were, however, carried into a most bloody and detestable law, and Henry himself took great pains in drawing up and correcting them into the form we see them here. At the same time the chancellor moved for a bill to be brought in, for punishing such as disputed against those articles: the archbishop of York, the bishops of Durham and Winchester, with Dr. Tregonwell, a master in chancery, had the drawing up of this bill, which was more to Henry's liking than one which had been presented by the other party. On the seventh of June it was brought into the house, and had a first reading; on the ninth it was read a second time;

time; on the tenth it was engroſſed, and read a third time. Biſhop Burnet, who was a great favourer of Cranmer, ſays, that when it paſſed the houſe of peers, Henry himſelf deſired Cranmer to leave the houſe, as he could not in conſcience vote for the bill, but that Cranmer replied "He could as little in conſcience vote againſt it," and therefore ſtaid for that purpoſe.

The title of this act was, "An act for aboliſhing diverſity of opinions in certain articles concerning the Chriſtian religion." It appears from the preamble to the act, in which the articles are rehearſed, that Henry himſelf was preſent at every day's debate, and made a great parade of his learning in the houſe of peers, ſo that the parliament gave him public thanks. After rehearſing the articles, which we have already ſeen, it is enacted, "that if any, after the twelfth of July, did ſpeak, preach, or write, againſt the firſt article, they were to be judged heretics, and to be burned, without any abjuration, and to forfeit their real and perſonal eſtates to the king: and thoſe who preached, or obſtinately diſputed againſt the other articles, were to be judged felons, and to ſuffer death as felons without benefit of the clergy: and thoſe who, either in word or writing, ſpoke againſt them, were to be priſoners during the king's pleaſure, and forfeit their goods and chattels to the king for the firſt time; and if they offend ſo the ſecond time, they were to ſuffer as felons. All the marriages of prieſts are declared void; and if any prieſt did ſtill keep any ſuch woman, whom he had ſo married, and lived familiarly with her as his wife, he was to be judged a felon: and if a prieſt lived carnally with any other woman, he was, upon the firſt conviction, to forfeit his benefices, goods, and chattels, and to be impriſoned during the king's pleaſure; and upon the ſecond conviction, to ſuffer as a felon. The women ſo offending were alſo to be puniſhed in the ſame manner as the prieſts. And thoſe who contemned, or abſtained from confeſſion, or the ſacrament, at the accuſtomed times, for the firſt offence were to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be impriſoned; and for the ſecond, were to be adjudged of felony. And for the execution of this act, commiſſions were to be iſſued out to all archbiſhops and biſhops, and the chancellors and commiſſaries, and ſuch others in the ſeveral ſhires, as the king ſhould name, to hold their ſeſſions quarterly, or oftener; and they were to proceed upon preſentments and by a jury. Thoſe commiſſioners were to ſwear, that they ſhould execute their commiſſion indifferently, without favour, affection, corruption, or malice: all eccleſiaſtical incumbents were to read this act in their churches once a quarter. And in the end a proviſo was added, concerning the vows of chaſtity, that they ſhould not oblige any, except ſuch as had taken them at or above the age of twenty-one years, or had not been compelled to take them."

Such were the deteſtable articles which opened in England the flood-gates of civil murder: and now the reader is to expect, during the remainder of this reign, to meet with barbarities committed under the forms of juſtice, as deteſtable as any to be met with in profane hiſtory, and under the moſt bloody tyrants. Cranmer alone had the good fortune to weather the ſtorm of Henry's indignation, for his oppoſition to the articles; but he thought proper to ſend his wife, whom he had married in Germany, back for ſome time to her own country. The counteſs of Saliſbury, cardinal Pole (her ſon), the marchioneſs of Exeter, ſir Adrian Forteſcue, and ſir Thomas Dingley, were attainted of treaſon, as accomplices with the late marquis of Exeter: the counteſs of Saliſbury, though ſeventy years of age, behaved with great ſpirit; but upon her trial a correſpondence between her and her ſon was proved, ſome of the pope's bulls were found in her houſe, and ſhe was convicted of not ſuffering any ſervant about her to comply with the alteration introduced by the king into religion. Forteſcue and Dingley were executed, as the counteſs was two years after; but the marchioneſs died a natural death, and the cardinal kept out of Henry's reach. It appears that Cromwell drove on thoſe proſecutions very furiouſly, and aſked the judges for their opinions, whether a man might be attainted in parliament without being brought to make an anſwer? The judges anſwered, "That the parliament being the ſupreme judicature, whatever it did was law, and could not be queſtioned:" by this anſwer aboliſhing that ſacred diſtinction between an abſolute and arbitrary power.

All the religious houſes throughout England, to the number of ſix hundred and forty-five, were by this time ſuppreſſed, either by ſurrender, purchaſe, or forfeiture, ninety colleges had been demoliſhed, two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy four chantries, and one hundred and ten hoſpitals*; but all this had been done without the authority of parliament, it was therefore neceſſary to have its concurrence and ſanction, which was eaſily obtained; and Henry having formed a ſcheme for erecting ſeveral new biſhoprics, and for endowing them with the lands of diſſolved monaſteries, an act paſſed for enabling him to execute this deſign. He propoſed to found ſixteen, but having diſpoſed too laviſhly of the lands deſtined at firſt for their endowment, he erected only ſix biſhoprics, viz. of Weſtminſter, Cheſter, Oxford, Briſtol, Gloceſter, and Peterborough. There were libraries well furniſhed with books in ſeveral of the abbeys, and, out of the great regard he had for learning, he employed the famous antiquary John Leland to collect all the moſt valuable manuſcripts and choiceſt monuments of antiquity that were left in thoſe houſes. He alſo propoſed ſeveral other noble foundations, partiularly of a college for the ſtudy of the civil law, the purity of the Latin and French languages, and the knowlege of foreign affairs, to ſerve as a ſeminary for miniſters of ſtate and ambaſſadors to foreign courts. There could not be a more favourable opportunity for effecting theſe uſeful ſchemes than what now offered, but Henry's own prodigality, and the rapaciouſneſs of his courtiers, prevented this and others of his beſt deſigns.

The parliament having thus ſervilely complied with all that Henry could aſk, and having ſat to the twenty eighth of June, was then prorogued to the third of November, afterwards to the fourteenth of January, and again to the twelfth of April, in the enſuing year, when it ſat again to do buſineſs; but in the interim there fell out ſeveral events which deſerve to be related.

* The yearly value of all the ſuppreſſed houſes amounted to one hundred and ſixty-one thouſand one hundred pounds, beſides the money which aroſe from the materials of the houſes, from plate, jewels, and church-ornaments.

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As ſoon as the parliament broke up, the ſix bloody articles were vigorouſly executed; commiſſioners were appointed in every county to detect any who ſhould be hardy enough to diſobey them. Shaxton, biſhop of Saliſbury, and Latimer, biſhop of Worceſter, reſigned their ſees rather than ſubſcribe to them; but this expedient did not deliver them from the perſecution now raiſed againſt all recuſants: they were accuſed of having ſpoken againſt the articles, and therefore were immediately committed to the Tower, after they had reſigned their inſtruments into the king's hands: the ſtrong perſonal friendſhip which Henry had for Cranmer, preſerved that prelate from the ſame treatment, though he had not only openly oppoſed them in the houſe, but even ſpoke and wrote againſt them.

The king's will was now become the ſole meaſure of the law, becauſe both the proteſtant and popiſh party cultivated his favour with the moſt abject complaiſance: Bonner, lately made biſhop of London, though in ſecret a zealous partizan of the pope's power, managed his intereſt with ſuch dexterity, that he obtained letters patent adjudging to him the ſpiritualities as well as the temporalities of his biſhopric during the king's pleaſure: and Gardiner, a moſt bigotted ſon of the Romiſh church, maintained his influence by the moſt extravagant ſubmiſſion and profound diſſimulation.

On the other hand, Cranmer and Cromwell, alarmed at the bloody ſtatutes and ſeveral other proceedings of Henry, which ſeemed to denote his attachment to the catholic faith, and finding their credit begin to decline, thought there was no method ſo effectual to recover their influence as that of perſuading the king to eſpouſe another wife, upon whoſe protection they could depend. With this view they caſt their eyes upon Anne, daughter to the duke of Cleves, and younger ſiſter to the ducheſs of Saxony. Henry was ſo well pleaſed with this propoſal, when made to him, that he employed Cromwell to negociate the marriage: the famous Hans Holbein was ordered to draw the lady's picture, and did it ſo flatteringly, that Henry grew fond of her at diſtance; in ſhort, the negociation went ſo briſkly on that the match was concluded in a few weeks; and the old duke of Cleves dying in the mean while, a counter-marriage was propoſed between the princeſs Mary of England and the young duke of Cleves; but though this marriage did not take effect, the earl of Southampton (Fitz Williams) was ordered, in November, to go with a fleet of fifty ſhips to bring over the new queen, who about the end of December this year arrived in England.

While this matter was tranſacting, and ſome time before, Henry foreſeeing a rupture between the emperor and the Proteſtants of Germany, ſent new ambaſſadors to the league of Smalcald to encourage them in their oppoſition to the houſe of Auſtria, and to promiſe he would engage in their aſſociation; but they perceiving his only drift was to amuſe them and intimidate the emperor by means of a negociation with his enemies, they frankly gave the Engliſh monarch to underſtand that they would not unite with him on any other terms than that of his accepting the Augſburg Confeſſion of Faith. They ſaid, they had heard, with great mortification, of his perſecuting their brethren in his kingdom, and in particular complained of the law of the ſix articles, the injuſtice of which Melancthon explained to him in a ſubmiſſive letter. Henry was ſhocked at the freedom of their expoſtulation; and Gardiner, who dreaded, as a fatal blow to the catholic religion, an alliance between Henry and the proteſtant princes, by flattering his maſter's vanity effectually kept alive his reſentment.

Towards the end of this year the inhabitants of Ghent mutinied, and offered to acknowlege the French king for their ſovereign, if he would protect them from the reſentment of the emperor. But Francis rejected their propoſal, which he communicated to Charles, who had by this time amuſed him ſo effectually with the promiſe of reſtoring to him the duchy of Milan, that he ventured to paſs through his dominions on the faith of a ſimple ſafe-conduct, and even viſited him at Paris, where he was received with the ſame honours which the French paid to their own ſovereign.

It was at this very period that Anne of Cleves arrived in England; and the union of this princeſs with Henry would, in all probability, have totally fruſtrated all the attempts of Gardiner and the reſt of the popiſh party for the future, had ſhe anſwered the beauty and great character given of her by her friends; but when Henry, all impatience to ſee his conſort, of whom he had entertained ſo high an idea, beheld her on her arrival at Rocheſter, whither he went for that purpoſe, he was ſo diſappointed, that he is ſaid to have ſwore in a rage, "that they had brought over a Flanders mare to him." However groſs and indelicate his expreſſions might be, his behaviour was more decent, for next day he made her a private viſit. This lady is allowed on all hands to have poſſeſſed a great ſweetneſs of temper, but as her perſon was far from being delicate, as ſhe had a maſculine turn and floridneſs of features, could ſpeak nothing but German, which Henry did not underſtand, and was extremely defective in all the winning graces of behaviour and converſation, he conceived an incurable averſion for her, and even then would abruptly have broken off the match, had not his affairs at home required the friendſhip and alliance of the German princes, her relations; theſe conſiderations, which were urged very home by Cranmer and Cromwell, made him at length conſent to proceed in the marriage, but with ſo viſible a reluctance, as made Cromwell and all his party tremble.

On the ſixth of January, 1540, the marriage was celebrated, but it ſerved only to encreaſe Henry's diſlike into downright loathing: he told Cromwell next morning, that he ſuſpected the queen was no maid, and that he could never conquer his averſion to ſo diſagreeable a partner as ſhe was; and there the matter reſted for ſome time.

Henry ſtill continuing to be alarmed at the cloſe connection that appeared to ſubſiſt between the king of France and the emperor, immediately upon Charles's departure from the French court, ſent over the duke of Norfolk with very great propoſals to Francis, if he would break with the emperor: he offered him his aſſiſtance for recovering Milan, to diſcharge all the arrears of his penſion, and to enter into a ſtrict league with him, both againſt the pope and the houſe of Auſtria: but Francis, who ſtill flattered himſelf that Charles would perform his promiſes to him, rejected all the duke's propoſals. The French monarch, however, was the

the dupe of the dependence he placed on the emperor, for that prince no ſooner got into his own dominions than he made ſeveral ſhuffling excuſes in relation to beſtowing on Francis the inveſtiture of Milan; and at laſt, having ſuppreſſed the inſurrection of Ghent, flatly denied his having made any ſuch promiſe.

The parliament meeting on the twelfth of April, Cromwell opened the ſeſſions with a ſpeech, in which he informed the two houſes, that the king, in order to terminate all diſputes about religion, had appointed commiſſioners to examine the conteſted articles, that a ſtandard of faith might be eſtabliſhed upon the word of God alone; and that after the truth ſhould be thus made known to his people, he was reſolved to puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity all thoſe who ſhould preſume to prefer their own opinions to the eſtabliſhed articles of belief. Thoſe commiſſioners, being approved by the parliament, received orders to begin their enquiry without delay: and in the mean time the king created Cromwell earl of Eſſex, upon the death of Bourchier by a fall from his horſe, and all the eſtate of that ancient and noble family went along with the title *.

But he did not long enjoy theſe ſmiles of fortune and of his prince's favour; for on the parliament's breaking up, which was prorogued to the twenty-fifth of May, the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, and the reſt of the popiſh party, reſolved to work his ruin, hoping that his fall would facilitate a reconciliation with the pope, which Cromwell always oppoſed. They did not, however, chuſe to make this attack abruptly, but contrived to throw Catherine Howard (daughter to the lord Edmund Howard, the duke's brother), a beautiful young lady, in the king's way, who was ſtill fretting at his diſappointment with Anne of Cleves, knowing very well, that if the young lady could gain his affections, there would be no hazard in the attempt upon the obnoxious miniſter. Gardiner, at once the prieſt and the pander, took upon him the management of this affair. Catherine was brought to court; the king liked her, and the biſhop made frequent entertainments at his own houſe for the royal lover and his miſtreſs; and Henry was ſo pleaſed with her company, that ſhe won his conſent to marry her.

This new affection in Henry conſequently raiſed the duke of Norfolk's and Gardiner's credit high in the cabinet; and the king, thinking himſelf in no neceſſity to continue his negociations with the German proteſtant powers, in which Cromwell ſerved him chiefly, grew more and more cool towards that miniſter, and ſeemed pleaſed to hear any thing to his diſadvantage: the duke and the biſhop, eagerly bent upon his deſtruction, let ſlip no opportunity of blackening him in Henry's opinion. They repreſented to him, that the kingdom in general was diſſatisfied with his miniſter, who, they believed, had abuſed his majeſty's confidence; that as theſe complaints and murmurings were chiefly about religion, under the direction of the vicegerent, it would be prudent to ſatisfy the people by examining his conduct ſtrictly, and even to ſacrifice him, in order to enſure tranquility. In ſhort, theſe and the like inſinuations had ſuch an effect on Henry, that he reſolved the ruin of this too faithful ſervant, that he might make a merit of offering a ſacrifice to the public reſentment. This reſolution, however, was kept ſo ſecret, that, unſuſpecting any thing, the deſtined victim came to the council-board on the thirteenth of June, where the duke of Norfolk, by Henry's order, arreſted him for high-treaſon; and he was ſent priſoner to the Tower, where he experienced the common fate of all degraded miniſters. He was no ſooner ſeized, but forſaken by all but his friend Cranmer, who alone ventured to write to the king in his favour, though to no purpoſe; for the unfortunate Cromwell, without being heard in his own defence, was, by a bill of attainder, found guilty of divers hereſies and treaſons, and condemned to ſuffer the pains of death, as the king ſhould think proper to direct.

The fall of Cromwell was immediately followed by the diſſolution of the marriage of Henry and his new wife; a diſſolution which he had almoſt from her firſt arrival wiſhed for, not only on account of his averſion to her perſon, but becauſe he was by this time become enamoured of Catherine Howard, as already mentioned. The whole houſe of lords, with a committee of the commons, waited upon the king with an addreſs, deſiring he would order trial to be made of the validity of his marriage; and Henry complying with their requeſt (which he himſelf, indeed, put them upon making), a commiſſion was granted for trying it in convocation. They forthwith proceeded to the examination of witneſſes, including the depoſitions of the king, the members of the privy-council, a declaration under the hand of Cromwell, ſigned in the Tower, the evidence of the earl of Southampton, ſir Anthony Denny, Dr. Chambers and Dr. Butts the queen's phyſicians, and ſome of the ladies of the bed-chamber. The ſubſtance of the whole amounted to theſe particulars: that there had been a precontract between the queen and the marquis of Lorraine; that it did not appear whether theſe eſpouſals were made by the parties themſelves, or in words of the preſent tenſe; that the king, having married her againſt his will, had not given a pure, inward, and complete conſent; and that he had never conſummated the marriage.

Theſe frivolous objections were ſtrongly inſiſted on by the popiſh party; and Cranmer, being influenced by the fear of irrecoverably loſing the king's favour, yielded his aſſent, ſo that the convocation unanimouſly adjudged the marriage null; and on the ninth day of July ſentence was given for its diſſolution. On the tenth this ſentence was notified to both houſes, by whom it was approved. Then the king ſent the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Southampton, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, to intimate the tranſaction to Anne of Cleves, who expreſſed no ſort of diſſatisfaction at the divorce. They told her, the king would, by letters patent, declare her his adopted ſiſter, and give her precedency before all the ladies of England, except his own wife and daughters; that an eſtate of three thouſand pounds per annum ſhould be allotted for her maintenance; and that ſhe might either live in England, or return to her own country. She choſe

* In this ſeſſion the order of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem was ſuppreſſed, on account of their dependence upon the pope and the emperor, and all their effects in England and Ireland confiſcated for the uſe of the king, who allotted three thouſand pounds yearly for their maintenance. About this time alſo Henry put three hoſpitals, thoſe of St. George, St. Bartholomew, and St. Thomas, together with a new abbey on Tower-hill, into the hands of the city of London.

the former, and was even prevailed upon to write a letter to her brother, the duke of Cleves, the purport of which was, to acquaint him, that ſhe had been moſt tenderly and generouſly treated by the king, whom ſhe could not juſtly have as her huſband; and conjuring him not to ſuffer any thing that had happened to her, to break the good underſtanding that ſubſiſted between the two courts. Every thing being thus ſettled, a bill was brought the next day, being the twelfth of July, into parliament, where it paſſed both houſes, for annulling the king's marriage with the queen: by this act the marriage was declared void, and it was made high-treaſon to judge or believe otherwiſe *. And here we muſt obſerve, that no one could have had the impudence to make uſe of ſuch reaſons as Henry did to bring about the divorce, without being very ſure that thoſe to whom they were offered, would be mean enough to allow their validity. The bands of juſtice and ſhame had been long broken through, and both clergy and parliament made no ſcruple of complying with every thing he thought proper to enjoin.

The parliament then proceeded to paſs ſome other acts, viz. for the attainder of the lord Hungerford and ſeveral other perſons, accuſed of plotting againſt the government and being ſacramentarians; for the regulating ſanctuaries, and reducing their number; for repealing the penalty of death denounced by the ſtatute of the Six Articles againſt incontinent prieſts and their women; for confirming what ſhould be declared to be Chriſtian doctrine by the biſhops and divines, empowered by the king's commiſſion to draw up a book intituled the Erudition of a Chriſtian man; for erecting a court of wards, and another of the firſt-fruits and tenths; with others of too ſpecial a nature to have a place here.

But we cannot avoid taking particular notice of an act paſſed at this time, which declared that all marriages ſhould be firm and good, notwithſtanding any precontract, not actually carried into conſummation. This was a very extraordinary act at this time, after two of Henry's own marriages had been diſſolved under the pretence of an unconſummated contract, ſo that it obliquely condemned the proceedings in both divorces: but we are to remember, that he had a daughter living by Anne Boleyn, whoſe legitimacy this act juſtified. The ſame act mentions, "that all marriages ſhall be lawful when not within the degrees of kindred mentioned by the law of God." This, no doubt, was made with a view to make way for Henry's marriage with Catherine Howard, who was within the degree of relation prohibited by the canon-law, being couſin-german to Anne Boleyn. The laſt act of this parliament was a general free pardon of all hereſies, treaſons, felonies, and offences, but with ſome exceptions, of which number were Cromwell, the counteſs of Saliſbury, mother to cardinal Pole, and others then in priſon †.

As Cromwell's execution had been deferred, he was in ſome hopes of obtaining his pardon, and the more, as having written the king a very ſubmiſſive letter: his majeſty was ſo moved therewith, that he cauſed it to be thrice read over to him; but the ſolicitations of Norfolk and Gardiner, ſeconded by thoſe of Catherine Howard, who acted in their favour, rendered the endeavours of the priſoner or his friends fruitleſs: a miniſter in diſgrace finds few perſons generous enough to intercede in his behalf; Cranmer was the only one who diſcharged the part of a true friend. On this occaſion he wrote a very pathetic letter to Henry, interceding for the unhappy Cromwell, declaring his firm belief of his innocence from any diſloyal meaning, and even went ſo far as to wiſh that Henry might find another counſellor equal to him in capacity, diligence, and fidelity: but the fallen favourite's ruin being reſolved on, the king ſigned a warrant for beheading him on the twenty-eighth of July.

When he was brought to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, his regard for his ſon hindered him from expatiating upon his own innocence: he thanked God for bringing him to that death for his tranſgreſſions: he acknowleged his offences againſt God and his prince, who had raiſed him from a low degree; confeſſed that he had been ſeduced, but that now he died in the catholic faith: then he deſired the byſtanders to pray for the king, the prince, and for himſelf: and having ſpent a little time at his own private devotion, ſubmitted his neck to the executioner, who mangled him in a moſt ſhocking manner. However, the care he had taken in his laſt moments to ſay nothing that might offend the king, turned to the advantage of his ſon Gregory, who was, a few months afterwards, created a peer, by the title of lord Cromwell: the office of vicar-general died with Cromwell, no one deſiring a poſt ſo obnoxious to envy, and ſo fatal to the firſt poſſeſſor. It now remains to ſay ſomewhat concerning the riſe and character of this great miniſter.

Thomas Cromwell was born at Putney, in Surry, about five miles from London; his father was no better than a country blackſmith; but he being bleſſed with a ſprightly genius and a ready capacity to learn languages, acquired ſo great reputation in the art of war under the duke of Bourbon, whom he accompanied at the ſacking of Rome in 1527, and ſkill in the modern tongues, and intereſts of the ſtates through which he travelled, as, upon his return, recommended him to the favour and ſervice of cardinal Wolſey. He was retained in the cardinal's ſervice in quality of a ſolicitor, and diſcharged that office with ſo much integrity, reſolution, and gratitude to his patron, that, after the cardinal's diſgrace and death, the king, notwithſtanding he had oppoſed him, by defending his maſter in the houſe of commons againſt the articles of impeachment, eſteemed him a proper agent for himſelf in more important affairs, and voluntary retained him in his ſervice. Mr. Cromwell ſoon improved the royal favour to his own advantage, for the king, who took a pleaſure in raiſing men of low birth to great honours, being highly ſatisfied with the management of the affairs committed to him, declared him a privy-counſellor and maſter of the jewel-houſe, in 1531; and next year raiſed him to be clerk of the hanaper and chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1534, he was appointed principal ſecretary of ſtate and maſter of the Rolls; and in 1535, he was created viſitor general, to inſpect the eſtates and abuſes of the monks, friars, and nuns, in order to the ſuppreſſion of their houſes; he was afterwards nominated the king's vicar-general over all the ſpiritualities under his majeſty

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 282.

† See Stat. 32 Hen. VIII.

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as ſupreme head of the church; in virtue of which commiſſion he had the ſuperintendency of all the biſhops and ſecular as well as regular clergy in the kingdom. On the ſecond of July, 1536, he was ſworn in lord-keeper of the privy-ſeal; and on the ninth of the ſame month was advanced to the dignity of a baron of England, with the ſtyle and title of lord Cromwell, baron of Oakham, in the county of Rutland. In 1537, he accepted of the office of chief-juſtice itinerant of all the foreſts beyond Trent; and the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, in the ſame year, he was honoured with the Garter. In 1538 he obtained the conſtableſhip of Cariſbroke caſtle, in the Iſle of Wight, beſides many other grants from the crown, and a grant of the caſtle and lordſhip of Oakham. In 1540, on the ſeventeenth of April, he was created earl of Eſſex, and ſoon after he was made lord high-chamberlain of England.

Cromwell's chief fault was an exceſs of obſequiouſneſs to the king's pleaſure, the effect of an inordinate zeal for his maſter's ſervice: in other reſpects he is ſcarce ſufficiently to be admired for his prodigious parts, excellent judgment, infinite application to buſineſs, wonderful dexterity in managing affairs, great moderation in the exerciſe of his authority, calmneſs of temper in his dealings with all perſons, and under provocations ſufficient to ruffle the ſedateſt perſons, an uncommon generoſity and nobleneſs of mind, notwithſtanding the meanneſs of his extraction, and for an unexampled condecenſion in the height of his pomp, vouchſafing to take notice of his old acquaintance, and ſhew his gratitude for favours received.

Some few days after Cromwell's death, Henry gave a terrible inſtance of that cruelty which ſeemed to have taken poſſeſſion of his ſoul: papiſts and reformers were alike the objects of this infernal paſſion, and ſuffered in the ſame flames. Dr. Barnes, who had made a figure in an embaſſy to the German princes, Thomas Gerard, a reforming miniſter, and a favourite with the late queen Anne, and William Jerom, vicar of Stepney, who had been, unheard, attainted of hereſy by the parliament, and were now condemned to the ſtake; but when they came there, neither they nor the ſheriff knew for what they ſuffered. Along with them were executed Gregory Buttolph, Adam Damplip, Edmund Brinholme, and Clement Philpot (all bigotted papiſts), for denying the king's ſupremacy.

On the eighth of Auguſt Catherine Howard was declared queen of England, having been for ſome time privately married to Henry. By this marriage the popiſh intereſt was ſtrengthened, and that party made a ſtrong puſh at Cranmer; but Henry's affection for him was ſo unmoveable that the plot miſcarried: though it is highly probable, that, had not the queen's intereſt been broken by her incontinency, Cranmer would have followed Cromwell.

All this time Henry was intent upon the reformation he propoſed in religion; the commiſſioners appointed to draw up a declaration of the Chriſtian doctrine, under the title of the Neceſſary Erudition of a Chriſtian Man, preſented their book to the king, who ordered it to be immediately publiſhed, and it was, by the royal authority, recommended to all perſons as a rule for directing their belief and practice. Of the contents of this book, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in another place.

About the end of this year there were ſome beginnings of a miſunderſtanding between Francis and Henry, which at length terminated in a war. Francis had ordered a fortreſs to be built at Ardres, and a bridge to be made over to the Engliſh pale. But the lord Maltravers, governor of Calais, not ſuffering this encroachment, ſent a detachment of his garriſon, and beat down the bridge. The French rebuilt it, and the Engliſh demoliſhed it a ſecond time: whereupon Francis ordering the marſhal de Biez to raiſe troops in Picardy in order to ſupport the operations of his people, Henry ſent a reinforcement to the garriſon of Calais, under the command of Henry Howard, earl of Surry, William Fitz Williams, earl of Southampton, and John, lord Ruſſel, who alſo took with them fifteen hundred workmen, to repair the walls and fortification of Guiſnes. But the two kings, willing to avoid a rupture on ſo ſlight an occaſion, it was agreed to name commiſſioners for ending all differences: the earl of Hertford and ſir Edward Karne were appointed by Henry; but, after repeated meetings with the French commiſſioners, neither party receiving any ſatisfaction, each provided for their defence in caſe of an attack.

Francis was much on the ſame terms with the emperor, who, after refuſing to perform his promiſe in regard to his giving up to Francis the Milaneſe, had offered his eldeſt daughter in marriage to the duke of Orleans, with Flanders to her fortune, with the title of king; but Francis, who followed his humour or reſentment rather than the maxims of good policy, was reſolved to accept of no equivalent for the Milaneſe, which he conſidered as his lawful inheritance: this revived the animoſity between thoſe princes to a higher degree than ever; and Francis ſoon had new provocation given him, for having ſent ambaſſadors to the courts of Conſtantinople and Venice, as they ſailed down the Po in a boat, they were aſſaſſinated by the orders of the marquis del Vaſco, governor of Milan. The French king complained loudly of this outrage, for which, however, Charles refuſed to give him ſatisfaction. A war now appeared unavoidable, and both ſides prepared for it, fortifying themſelves with new alliances; but Francis not being ready, and the emperor engaged in an expedition againſt Algiers, it did not break out for ſome time. Such was the general ſtate of things at the end of the year 1540.

But, before we proceed to the tranſactions which mark the ſucceeding year, it will be neceſſary to take notice, that the reformation intended in England, had, by Henry's orders, been carried over to Ireland, where it met with ſtrong oppoſition from the papiſts; but in a parliament held at Dublin, in December, 1537, under the lord Grey, who was appointed by Henry his lieutenant in that kingdom, the king's ſupremacy was there eſtabliſhed in the ſame manner as in England, and the biſhop of Rome's authority aboliſhed: but the efforts which the government made for this purpoſe were ſo generally diſguſtful to the people, that it appears, by a letter from Brown, archbiſhop of Dublin, to ſecretary Cromwell, that there was a very dangerous correſpondence carried on betwixt the native Iriſh and the Romiſh powers on the continent. This broke out, in the year 1539, into a general inſurrection,

rection under O Neil, who profeſſed himſelf a champion for the old religion; but the deputy (lord Grey) being aſſiſted by ſome Engliſh forces, ſent from Cheſhire, defeated the rebels in a pitched battle, which reſtored the peace of the country for ſome time. The lord Grey's enemies, however, prevailed on Henry, this year (1540), to ſend him to the Tower, on a charge of malverſation and treaſonable correſpondence, and he ſuffered death in the beginning of the enſuing year.

We now return to the affairs of England, where Henry, being alarmed by frequent inſurrections from the popiſh faction, eſpecially in the North, reſolved to ſtrike a terror into their minds, by making them a bloody viſit in perſon: he accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1541, gave orders for a progreſs into Yorkſhire. But, before his ſetting out, the old counteſs of Saliſbury, then upwards of ſeventy, was, without the leaſt regard to her ſex, high rank, or years, brought to the ſcaffold, on the twenty-ſeventh of May, for holding a correſpondence with her ſon, cardinal Pole. The fate of this unhappy princeſs, who underwent her ſentence with unparalleled magnanimity, drew tears from every eye but thoſe of the obdurate Henry.

This execution, or rather barbarous murder being over, Henry ſet out on his progreſs for the North, where the terror of his preſence ſtruck all oppoſition dead at his feet. The people of Lincolnſhire, who had been lately unruly, ſought to appeaſe his anger by a ſum of money, which they offered as a propitiation for their miſdemeanors; and the Yorkſhiremen imitated their example: Henry accepted of the commutation, and, after a few executions of thoſe who had been moſt active in raiſing diſturbances, took the reſt into his favour. And now reflecting, that by his late proceedings he had expoſed himſelf to the reſentment of all the catholic princes of Europe, who would not fail to take the firſt opportunity of making him feel the effect of their vengeance, he reſolved, if poſſible, to ſtrengthen his alliance with his nephew, James V. of Scotland, that, in caſe of a rupture with any other potentate, he might at leaſt be ſecure from any attempts on his dominions from ſo near a neighbour.

With this view he ſent ſir Ralph Sadler to Edinburgh, to propoſe to James an interview at York; but cardinal Beaton, and the reſt of the Scottiſh prelates, took care to prevent a meeting, which they imagined would prove fatal to the clergy of Scotland: they were apprehenſive that Henry might, in a perſonal conference, prevail upon his nephew to take the ſame ſteps with himſelf, by ſeizing the monaſteries and other eccleſiaſtical emoluments into his own hands; and therefore they uſed not only all the credit which they had with their maſter, as being his miniſters, and employed by him in all his affairs, but alſo made him the largeſt promiſes, to divert him from entering into an engagement with Henry. James, tempted by the aſſurance of thirty thouſand crowns a year to be duly paid him by the clergy, who were ready in any difficulty to aſſiſt him with all their fortunes, and by the proſpect of upwards of one hundred thouſand crowns a year which they undertook to raiſe for him, by the forfeitures of heretics, refuſed to come to the interview, which was conſidered as a plain declaration of a hoſtile diſpoſition, and that he intended to break with his uncle. Henry, diſappointed, deluded, and full of reſentment, quitted York about the latter end of September, and, continuing his progreſs through ſeveral counties, returned to London, where he met with a cauſe of ſtill greater uneaſineſs.

Henry had left the lord-chancellor Audley and the earl of Hertford to manage his affairs in London during his progreſs. While he was at York, one Laſcelles gave the archbiſhop information, that the queen, in the former part of her life, had been little better than a common ſtrumpet: to confirm this, Laſcelles offered to produce the evidence of his ſiſter, who had been a ſervant in the old ducheſs of Norfolk's houſe, where the queen had been educated, and had continued a criminal intrigue with two ſervants at the ſame houſe, Derham and Mannock. Cranmer was naturally rouſed by this information, eſpecially as it regarded a perſon whom he knew to be the profeſſed foe to his principles and perſon; but the point was extremely delicate, and the ſmalleſt trip might ruin him; he therefore laid the matter before the lord-chancellor and the earl of Hertford, and they were of opinion that he ſhould acquaint the king with it. As the matter was of ſuch a delicate nature that he could not well expreſs it by word of mouth, he drew up the account in writing, and, on the ſecond of November, preſented it to his majeſty, the court being by this time returned to London.

Henry, who had pretended a wonderful ſagacity on this ſubject in the caſe of Anne of Cleves, had not diſcovered any want of virginity in Catherine Howard, and was ſtill ſo much in love with her, that he had even put up a prayer in his chapel, returning thanks to God for the felicity he enjoyed in the conjugal ſtate; and even ordered the biſhop of Lincoln, his confeſſor, to compoſe a form of thankſgiving for that purpoſe. No words can expreſs his ſurprize and trouble when he received the archbiſhop's relation of the queen's infamy, and was ſo fully convinced of his conſort's fidelity, that he at firſt gave no credit to the information, and ſaid to the lord privy-ſeal, the lord-admiral, ſir Anthony Brown, and ſir Thomas Wriotheſley, that he looked upon the whole to be a malicious forgery; but as he could not reſt till he knew the certainty of the matter, he would have it enquired into, with ſuch precautions as might preſerve the queen from any ſcandal if ſhe were innocent: it was therefore reſolved that the lord privy-ſeal ſhould examine Laſcelles, which he did, and found him ſteady in his information. The ſame nobleman next, by Henry's orders, found means to examine the ſiſter of Laſcelles, and arreſt Derham and Mannock. All this being done, the probability of the charge grew ſtronger every day; the woman confirmed her teſtimony by undeniable evidence and circumſtances: Derham confeſſed repeated acts of impurity with the queen before her marriage; Mannock did the ſame; and it was proved, that even ſince her marriage ſhe had paſſed a whole night in her bed-chamber with one Culpepper, to whom ſhe had made ſome preſents.

It was with an inconceivable grief, and ſuch an agonizing diſtraction of mind as, barring all utterance of ſpeech, found vent only in a torrent of tears, that Henry received the report of the examinations. Archbiſhop Cranmer, the lord-chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suſſex, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, being appointed to

interrogate

interrogate the queen on the ſubject, ſhe at firſt denied all; but finding them fully apprized of her practices, ſhe confeſſed the whole to the archbiſhop, and the confeſſion being put into writing, ſhe ſigned it with her own hand. The lady Rochford particularly, the ſame who had been ſo inſtrumental in the death of queen Anne Boleyn, was found to have been an inſtrument in the queen's abominable lewdneſs, and both of them were at the ſame time ſent to the Tower, and the reſt of their accomplices to different priſons. Agnes, the old ducheſs of Norfolk, was ſent to priſon as being privy to the queen's crimes; the counteſs of Bridgwater, the lord William Howard (then Henry's ambaſſador in France, but recalled on this occaſion) and his lady *, four other men, and five women, were all committed to priſon likewiſe; and it was reſolved to proceed againſt them for miſpriſion of treaſon.

Any other perſon but Henry would have been weary of continually expoſing the real or pretended infamy of his family; but he, on the contrary, determined to make it as public as poſſible; and being ſenſible that the beſt and readieſt method to take vengeance on thoſe who had offended him, would be to convoke a parliament, the uſual inſtrument of his tyranny, orders were iſſued for it to aſſemble on the ſixteenth of January of the following year, 1542.

The parliament being ſat down, the lord-chancellor made a motion in the houſe of lords, to take into conſideration Henry's caſe through his queen's lewdneſs: this produced an act, in form of a petition, in which, after deſiring the king not to be grieved at this misfortune, they requeſted that the queen and her accomplices, with her procureſs the lady Rochford, might be attainted of high-treaſon; and that all thoſe who knew of the queen's vicious life before her marriage, and had concealed it, as the ducheſs dowager of Norfolk, and the other noble and common perſonages above-mentioned, who were already impriſoned, might be attainted of miſpriſion of treaſon.

It was alſo enacted, "That whoever ſhould know any thing of the incontinence of the queen (for the time being), ſhould reveal it with all poſſible ſpeed, under the pains of treaſon. And if the king, or his ſucceſſors, ſhould incline to marry any woman whom they took to be a pure and clean maid, if ſhe, not being ſo, did not declare the ſame to the king, it ſhould be high treaſon; and all who knew it, and did not reveal it, ſhould be guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon. And that if the queen, or the prince's wife, ſhould procure any perſon, by meſſages or words, to have criminal converſation with her, or any other by words or meſſages ſhould ſolicit them, they, their counſellors and abettors, ſhould be adjudged traitors."

In conſequence of this remarkable act, the queen and lady Rochford were beheaded on Tower-hill, on the twelfth of February, about ſeven months after ſhe had been married to the king. The queen confeſſed the miſconduct of her former life, but endeavoured to perſuade the world that ſhe had always been faithful ſince her marriage, with regard to the king. As for lady Rochford, every one looked upon her execution as a judgment of Heaven for her having been the principal inſtrument of the death of Anne Boleyn, her ſiſter-in-law, and of her own huſband; and this notorious inſtance of her profligate life tended much to clear their characters in the opinion of the world. As to the ducheſs dowager of Norfolk and the others attainted of miſpriſion of treaſon, the king was pleaſed to pardon them, and by degrees diſcharge them from their confinements. Derham was hanged; Mannock got off by giving up his eſtate, which was very conſiderable; and the other criminals were ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment.

Thoſe examples being made, the parliament proceeded to other regulations, which will be found under the head of Laws, at the end of this period. But the moſt diſtinguiſhed act of this parliament was that which paſſed on the twenty-third of January, declaring Henry to be King inſtead of Lord of Ireland; and the proclamation notifying this alteration of his ſtyle was read in the houſe of peers. This ſeems in its effects to have been a very politic ſtep; for whether the Iriſh chieftains had been much weakened before, or thought it more ſuitable to their notions of honour to yield obedience and own a ſubordination to the royal dignity, James, earl of Deſmond, coming over in the ſummer to England, made his ſubmiſſion; and his example was ſoon followed by the heads of ſeveral ſepts, or tribes, who were content to take titles of honour after the Engliſh manner. Thus William de Burgh, or Bourk, was created baron of Dunkellyn and earl of Clanricard; Mawer O Brien, earl of Thomond; and his ſon, Conat O Brien, lord of Ibrackain; Connac O Neil was made earl of Tyrone; and his ſon Matthew, lord of Dungannon.

This parliament, before it ſeparated, willing to approve itſelf as pliant to the king's will as we have ſhewn the laſt to have been, paſſed an act to annul all the local ſtatutes of colleges and hoſpitals, and to abſolve all the governors, preſidents, and fellows of them from their oath of obedience to the ſame, becauſe the king wanted to ſeize upon them, as he had done the abbeys: accordingly ſome of them were ſurrendered into his hands; but a more expeditious method was taken in the ſequel. The parliament, having now anſwered all the king's purpoſes, was prorogued on the firſt day of April to the third of November following.

* Rapin, by miſtake, ſuppoſes theſe to be her father and mother, whereas they were her uncle and aunt: her father was the lord Edmund Howard. As the family of the Howards ſpread themſelves into ſeveral branches, in order to prevent confuſion, it will be proper to inſert here a ſhort genealogical account of that family, which ſhall be carried on in due time. Sir Robert Howard (temp. Hen. VI.) married Margaret, daughter and coheir to Thomas de Mowbray, duke of Norfolk) by whom he had John, created duke of Norfolk the twenty-eighth of June, 1 Ric. III. (and ſlain afterwards, at Boſworth fight, who married firſt, Catherine, daughter of William, lord Molins; by whom he had Thomas, created earl of Surry 1 Rich. III. and reſtored to the ſame title 4 Hen. VII. and to that of duke of Norfolk 5 Hen. VIII. ſecondly, Margaret, daughter of ſir John Chedworth. The ſaid Thomas married firſt Elizabeth, daughter and ſole heir of ſir Frederick Tilney; by whom he had Thomas, the third duke of Norfolk; ſir Edward, knight of the Garter, and high admiral; and Edmund, father to this queen Catherine. His ſecond wife was Agnes, ſiſter and heir of ſir Philip Tilney; by whom he had William, created Baron of Effingham, the eleventh day of March, (1 Mary); and Thomas, who died in the Tower, 1527, where he was confined on account of Margaret Douglas, daughter of the queen of Scotland. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 265, 278.

During theſe tranſactions Henry was meditating vengeance on the king of Scotland for the affront which he had received from that monarch in the affair of the interview, and finding he was in a condition to make himſelf reſpected, by the ſubſidies and privileges granted in the laſt parliament, he reſolved to loſe no time to carry his deſigns into execution; but firſt of all he endeavoured to tie up the hands of the king of France, by propoſing the renewal of the treaty of perpetual peace with England, that Francis might not be able to aſſiſt the king of Scotland as uſual. For this purpoſe Paget, an able miniſter, was ſent over to the court of France with very flattering offers; but Francis ſoon dived into the deſign of this negociation, and, without mentioning the king of Scotland, whom he was reſolved not to abandon in time of need, embarraſſed Henry with a reciprocal demand of his aſſiſtance to recover the Milaneſe, purſuant to former treaties: to which Henry replied, that he was ready ſo to do whenſoever Francis ſhould fulfil his engagement of aboliſhing the papal authority in France. In ſhort, this embaſſy, inſtead of ſtrengthening former treaties, ſeemed only to open the breach; and, from the numerous altercations, it is plain there could be no friendſhip between the two courts. In the mean time the emperor, having loſt his fleet and army before Algiers, Francis reſolved to take advantage of his diſtreſs, and this year he invaded, by four different places, the territories of Charles; but the ſucceſs of the campaign fell far ſhort, upon the whole, of what he expected from it.

As for Henry, finding that the king of France was not to be lured over to his purpoſe, he reſolved to act of himſelf; and, concealing his real motives, which were to oblige Scotland to renounce the pope's authority, he revived the old pretenſions of the kings of England to the ſovereignty of Scotland; he alſo pretended a violation of the truce by king James's denial of ſome lands of ſmall value on the frontier, and his having given an aſylum to ſome Engliſh rebels. Theſe particulars were pompouſly ſet forth in a manifeſto, but not publiſhed till his army was juſt ready to enter Scotland, in order that he might take the Scots unprepared: however, James ſoon got notice of the levies making in England; and his reſentment againſt Henry's proceedings was kept alive and heightened by the French ambaſſador, who brought with him ſupplies of men and money, and was extremely laviſh in the promiſes he made in his maſter's name.

About the beginning of October, and not before, Henry having raiſed an army of thirty thouſand men, gave the command of them to the duke of Norfolk as his lieutenant-general, who rendezvouſed his forces at Newcaſtle. The earl of Southampton (Fitz Williams) was appointed to command the van; but he died at Newcaſtle, univerſally regretted for his great abilities as a ſtateſman, and his approved courage and ſkill as an admiral and general. On the twenty-firſt of October the Engliſh entered Scotland, when they were met by an herald from James, who expoſtulated upon the injuſtice of ſuch an invaſion, before any war was proclaimed; but the duke, regardleſs of theſe remonſtrances, ravaged all the country bordering on the Tweed, and retired to Berwick, on account of the ſeverity of the ſeaſon. George Gordon, earl of Huntley, had been ſent by James, with a body of ten thouſand men, to oppoſe theſe depredations; but he was ſo inferior in force to the Engliſh, that he was obliged to act upon the defenſive.

James in the mean time having levied an army of fifteen thouſand men, with a train of artillery, appointed the lord Maxwell, warden of the Weſt Marches of Scotland, his general, and determined to invade England on the weſtern ſide of the Solway Firth. Thither the Scottiſh monarch repaired in perſon; but he ſoon left the field, after having conferred the chief command upon his favourite, Oliver, lord Sinclair, an upſtart nobleman, who was mortally hated by all the old nobility, who, on this occaſion, choſe rather to ſacrifice their king, their country, and their own honour, than ſuffer the diſparagement offered to them in putting ſuch a perſon over their heads: in a word, when Sinclair read his commiſſion in the front of the army, the officers declared they would not ſerve under him, and the troops, following their example, threw down their arms, while all was uproar and confuſion through the ranks. All the Engliſh forces in a condition to oppoſe the Scottiſh army did not amount to above five hundred, then under ſir Thomas Wharton, the baſtard Dacres, and Muſgrave; but this handful was formed into a hovering party, to obſerve the motions of the Scots; and ſeeing them ſuddenly break their ranks, and fall into a general diſorder, they charged them with ſuch fury, that the Scots, having no one to head them, and thinking that the duke of Norfolk, with his whole army, was at hand, fell into an entire rout, while the Engliſh, improving the advantage the enemy's panic offered them, purſued with great ardour, and, with very little or no oppoſition, took the earls of Caſſils and Glencairn, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Gray, the general Sinclair, with about two hundred gentlemen, and eight hundred common ſoldiers with all their baggage and artillery.

This rout, or rather defeat, happened at a place called Solway Moſs, near Carliſle. James was then at Caerlevaroc, where he received the mournful intelligence of the ſlaughter, captivity, and diſperſion of his army: this unexpected account ſo affected his ſpirits, that he betook himſelf to his bed. News being brought him, that his queen was delivered of a daughter, it increaſed his melancholy, which finiſhed his life on the fourteenth day of December, twenty-four days after the fatal field of Solway Moſs, leaving behind him his new-born daughter Mary, heireſs of the Scottiſh throne.

The death of king James, and the birth of a daughter, heireſs to a kingdom, whoſe friendſhip was of ſo much importance to England, gave a new turn to Henry's counſels: he wiſely forbore driving the Scots to deſpair, by taking any ſevere advantages of his late victory; on the contrary, he formed a ſcheme for uniting the two kingdoms by means of a match been Edward, prince of Wales, and the young queen of Scotland. With this view he ordered his miniſters to ſound the inclinations of the Scottiſh priſoners on the ſubject, and finding them well diſpoſed to encourage ſuch a project, he ſet them at liberty, on condition that they ſhould return to London, in caſe it could not be effected. Together with them, Henry ſent ſir Ralph Sadler, with private inſtructions for gaining over the government of Scotland in favour of the match; the earl of Angus and his brother alſo returned back to their

their own country, after having lived as refugees at the Engliſh court.

The parliament of England meeting the twenty-ſecond of January, 1543, were ſo well pleaſed with the ſucceſs of the king's arms againſt the Scots, that they granted him a very conſiderable ſubſidy, as well for defraying his charges in the war as for his other occaſions Then they paſſed an act, permitting the nobility, gentry, and merchants to have Engliſh Bibles in their houſes, together with certain other religious books mentioned in the ſtatute, for the inſtruction of their families. This law, which was procured by the intereſt of Cranmer, contained a clauſe that mitigated the puniſhment of thoſe who ſhould be charged with hereſy: but the parliament impowered his majeſty to repeal or change this act as he ſhould find it expedient.

The behaviour of Francis to Henry's ambaſſadors had ſo diſſatisfied the latter, that, thinking himſelf ſure of Scotland, from the late victory and the meaſures he had taken upon the death of James, he determined to enter into a league with the emperor, the mortal enemy of France, that he might convince the French monarch how impoliticly he had acted in ſhewing ſo little regard to his offers. Accordingly, on the eleventh of February this year, a few days after the breaking up of the ſeſſion of parliament, a treaty was concluded at London: it contained a league for England, only with what Henry held in Picardy; and on the part of Charles, for the provinces of the Low Countries under his dominion *, without any mention of Spain or Germany. The league was to this effect:

"That the emperor and the king of England ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to the king of France, to declare to him, that by his ſolicitations only the Turks had inveſted Chriſtendom; that therefore the two confederate monarchs exhorted him to break his alliance with the Infidels, to hold them for enemies, and renounce his correſpondence with them; that they demanded, moreover, he ſhould ſatisfy the damages done to Chriſtendom by calling in thoſe cruel enemies; that he ſhould give over the war he had begun in ſeveral places, that the emperor might apply himſelf to the defence of Chriſtendom; that he ſhould cauſe the town of Muran, taken by the Turks, to be reſtored to king Ferdinand, and to the emperor Caſtro Novo, which they had beſieged with the aid of twelve French gallies; that he ſhould repair the loſſes the Germans had ſuſtained by the Turkiſh invaſion: laſtly, that he ſhould ſatisfy the king of England for whatever he owed him, and give him ſecurity for the payment of the hundred thouſand crowns."

After theſe preliminaries, the two confederate monarchs agreed, that they would not make peace or truce but upon theſe conditions: "that Francis ſhould pay the king of England whatever was due to him; and, for ſecurity of the annual penſion, ſurrender into his hands the earldom of Ponthieu, Montreuil, Ardres, and Terouenne, free from all homage; for which however Henry ſhould conſent that the yearly revenues thence ariſing ſhould be in lieu of the penſion: moreover, that Francis ſhould reſtore to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy.

"That if the king of France ſhould delay but ten days to accept theſe conditions, the two confederate monarchs ſhould proclaim war againſt him, with a declaration that they would never make peace till the king of England was in poſſeſſion of Normandy, Guienne, and the kingdom of France; and the emperor, of Abbeville, Amiens, Bray, Corbeil, Peronne, Ham, St. Quintin, and the whole duchy of Burgundy.

"Laſtly they agreed that each ſhould take the field, and invade France with twenty-five thouſand men, of whom five thouſand ſhould be cavalry: and alſo each of them ſhould fit out ſhips, with two or three thouſand armed men †."

One of Henry's chief views in this league with the emperor, was to carry his deſigns upon Scotland into execution; but there he found, much againſt his expectations, irreſiſtible obſtacles. The Scottiſh priſoners, upon their return home, found that unhappy country involved in the greateſt confuſion: the next heir to the crown (upon the untimely death of James V.) after young Mary, was James Hamilton, earl of Arran, a nobleman of a weak capacity and a peaceable diſpoſition; he was a friend to the reformed religion, but altogether unqualified for the management of public affairs; but the friends of the new religion, which were pretty numerous in Scotland, exhorted him to claim the regency by virtue of his proximity of blood; and, thus encouraged, he reſolved to demand it at the meeting of the next parliament.

But this was violently oppoſed by the popiſh faction under cardinal Beaton, archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, a prieſt of unpopular manners and a perſecuting ſpirit; he had been dignified by the pope, to procure him greater reverence from the people and the greater ſway with his maſter, whom he kept firm to the ſee of Rome; he therefore naturally attached himſelf to the French intereſt, in oppoſition to the Engliſh, and was ſupported by the queen-mother, who was ſiſter to the duke of Guiſe, and a zealous papiſt. Beaton had, upon the death of James, publiſhed his will (which the Scots ſay was forged), by which that prince left the government to him, jointly with the earls of Argyll, Huntley, and Murray, during his daughter's minority; but the nation, not bearing to ſee a prieſt at the helm of affairs, on the meeting of their parliament, in the beginning of this year, choſe the earl of Arran ſole regent: and the will produced by Beaton was ſet aſide.

Sir Ralph Sadler, who had accompanied the captive noblemen from England, as Henry's envoy to the Scottiſh parliament, propoſed to that aſſembly the marriage between prince Edward and their young queen. This propoſal was ſo warmly ſupported by the Engliſh party in Scotland, that, after a long debate it was accepted, and the parliament appointed the earl of Angus, his brother ſir William Douglas, and ſome other perſons, to conduct the treaty of marriage and peace, which was concluded on the firſt day of July, importing, "that the young queen ſhould be brought into England, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould have attained the tenth year of her age; and that in the mean time the Scottiſh

* The places and dominions mentioned on king Henry's part are the kingdoms of England and Ireland, the iſlands of Wight, Jerſey, Guernſey, and Man, the caſtle and earldom of Guiſnes, and the towns of Calais and Berwick: and on the emperor's part are named the kingdom of Spain (regna Hiſpaniarum), the provinces of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Anow, Artois Limburg, Luxemburg, Namur, Friezeland, and counties of Dureſſel, Utrecht, and Mechlin. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiv. p. 769, 770.

† Rymer's Fœd. vol. xiv. p. 775.

parliament

parliament ſhould ſend three hoſtages of diſtinction to reſide in London till the nuptials ſhould be completed: that the kingdom of Scotland ſhould be ſtill called by that name, and enjoy all its laws and lawful liberties, as they had been always juſtly and uninterruptedly maintained, obſerved, and approved of by the ſaid kingdom of Scotland: and laſtly, that the regent, the earl of Arran, ſhould be accountable to the prince of Wales for all his intromiſſions of the revenues of Scotland, after deducting the neceſſary expences for the queen's maintenance*.

But though Henry's party had thus carried it in the parliament of Scotland for a peace with England and the propoſed marriage, yet all their projects were rendered abortive by the intrigues of cardinal Beaton, who, by means of a large ſum of money which he received from the clergy, who apprehended their ſuperſtition was in danger, ſhould this event take place, gained over ſuch a number of partizans, that the people in general exclaimed againſt the treaty with England as a union which would be productive of their own ſlavery. The Engliſh ambaſſador was inſulted by the populace to the hazard of his life; and the regent had no longer any power to give him ſatisfaction, much leſs to ſend the hoſtages ſtipulated in the treaty. Sadler, foreſeeing the conſequence of theſe proceedings, ſummoned the priſoners to return to England according to their promiſe; but none of them had ſo much honour to perfom their engagements, except Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Caſſils, whoſe noble behaviour ſo pleaſed Henry, that he loaded him with preſents, and diſmiſſed him without ranſom; at the ſame time he was ſo highly incenſed at the perfidy of the other priſoners, the affront offered to his envoy, and the clamour raiſed by Beaton and his adherents againſt the Engliſh alliance, that he reſolved without delay to declare war againſt Scotland.

Mean while the queen dowager and the cardinal, to ſtrengthen their intereſt againſt the party of the Hamiltons, perſuaded Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox to return from France, where he had reſided ſome time, aſſuring him that he ſhould eſpouſe the queen-dowager, and, in caſe of the infant Mary's death, be advanced to the throne in preference to Arran, whoſe legitimacy was liable to ſome objections. Tempted by this project, the earl of Lenox repaired to Scotland, and, on his arrival, conſented to the breaking off the match between the queen and the prince of Wales, and aſſembled a body of men, in order to wreſt the young queen from the hands of the regent, who, either unable or unwilling to contend with his enemies, propoſed an accommodation, which was effected. And now the queen and the cardinal, who had gained this important point, and had no farther occaſion for Lenox, wrote to the king of France to recall him into that kingdom; which coming to the earl's knowlege, as alſo that a conſpiracy was formed againſt his life, in caſe he ſhould continue his ſtay in Scotland, quitted the court ſuddenly, and withdrew to his caſtle of Dumbarton; and the following year he threw himſelf into the arms of the Engliſh.

During theſe tranſactions in Scotland, Henry, notwithſtanding the many misfortunes he had met with in his former marriages, ventured once more to enter into that ſtate by eſpouſing a ſixth wife, in the perſon of Catherine Parr, widow to Neville, lord Latimer, and daughter to ſir Thomas Parr, of Kendal. The marriage was conſummated on the twelfth of July. The new queen was a favourer of the reformed, but ſhe had the mortification to behold, a very few days after the celebration of her nuptials, a freſh proſecution commenced againſt her own party, three of whom, Anthony Perſonne, a prieſt, Robert Teſtwood, a ſinging-man, and Henry Fulmer, a taylor, at the inſtigation of Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, were burned at Windſor, for reading the writings of the reformed; nor dared Catherine interceed for them. But while the bloody Gardiner, ſupported by his ſtill more bloody maſter, was thus perſecuting the reformers, his own German ſecretary was convicted of denying the king's ſupremacy, and executed. This ſeems to have been done with a view of Henry's continuing his character of impartial cruelty to proteſtants as well as papiſts. The reſt of this year was ſpent in immenſe preparations for the enſuing campaign; and we are told, that, upon this occaſion, caſt pieces of iron cannon and mortars were firſt made in England, at Buckſtead, in Suſſex, by Peter Baud, Ralph Hoge, and Peter Van Colen, Flemiſh artificers ‡. On the twenty-third of December, the king, to ſhew his great regard for the queen, who, by her extraordinary tenderneſs and ſubmiſſion to his will, daily gained upon his affections, created her brother, the lord Parr, earl of Eſſex; and her uncle, ſir William Parr, was made chamberlain of her houſhold, with the title of lord Parr of Horton.

While theſe things paſſed in England, the war between the emperor and the king of France was carrying on in ſeveral places. In the beginning of the ſpring of this year, Francis gained ſome advantages in the Low Countries, where he took Landrecy, Emery, Bapanume, Maubeuge, and Luxemburgh; but Charles arriving, about the end of the ſummer, with a ſtrong ſupply of Spaniſh troops, Francis, being inferior in numbers, was obliged to keep upon the defenſive. This gave the emperor an opportunity to inveſt Landrecy, of which, however, he was forced to raiſe the ſiege, upon Francis's finding means to throw in ſuccours; but he made himſelf amends by taking Cambray. At the ſame time Barbaroſſa, admiral of the Turks, coming to Marſeilles with an hundred and ten Turkiſh gallies, found there the count d'Enghien, of the houſe of Bourbon, with two-and-twenty French gallies, and they both ſailed together, and attacked Nice on the tenth of Auguſt, and on the twentieth became maſters of the town; but the caſtle made ſo brave a defence, that the Turkiſh admiral, finding he loſt both time and reputation before the place, retired and wintered in Provence, from whence he returned to Turky in the beginning of the following year †. As for Henry, during the whole campaign, he aſſiſted the emperor only with a ſmall body of troops, under the command of ſir John Wallop, who left Calais on the twenty-ſecond of July, and had the good fortune, after ravaging all the French lands through which they paſſed, to join the Imperial army while it lay, with Charles at its head, before Landrecy: but they both formed vaſt projects the next year, and it was reſolved that

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xiv. p. 786, 797. and vol. xv. p. 4.

‡ Stowe, p. 584. Hollingſhed, p. 960.

† Mezeray. Du Bellay.

both

both together ſhould raiſe an army of ninety thouſand foot and twenty thouſand horſe; that Henry ſhould enter France by the way of Picardy, and Charles by that of Champagne; and that both armies ſhould join in a certain place and march directly to the gates of Paris: but the ſequel will ſhew us, that the emperor's views in this alliance were very different what he profeſſed, and that at the bottom he only wanted to make Henry his dupe.

The parliament meeting on the fourteenth of January, 1544, its firſt act was to regulate the different degrees of thoſe who, after the king's death, might lay claim to the ſucceſſion. And here it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that the negociation preceding the late treaty made with the emperor was attended with one difficulty: Charles demanded that Henry ſhould own his daughter Mary as his legitimate offſpring; and the king of England flatly refuſed to comply with his requeſt: nevertheleſs he promiſed to aſſign her a rank in the ſucceſſion according to the power beſtowed upon him in parliament, and at laſt Charles was ſatisfied with this verbal promiſe; and Henry being now deſirous to ſtrengthen the friendſhip which had been re-eſtabliſhed between him and the emperor, reſolved to perform this promiſe. His parliament, ſervilely compliant with his will, now paſſed an act to ſettle the ſucceſſion in the perſon of Edward, prince of Wales, and his iſſue; in default of whom the crown was to go to the lady Mary, but with certain conditions, to be limited by the king's letters patent, or by his laſt will in writing, ſealed with his own hand: upon failure of her and her iſſue, the crown was to deſcend to the lady Elizabeth and her iſſue, with the conditions aforeſaid. But the two ladies failing to perform the conditions, the ſucceſſion was ſettled upon ſuch perſon or perſons as the king ſhould appoint, by his letters patent, or his laſt will in writing: but in caſe the king left no ſuch conditions, the ladies were to enjoy the crown abſolutely. By the remaining part of this act, in caſe of the deceaſe of the king's three lawful iſſue, leaving no iſſue, Henry was empowered to diſpoſe of the crown by his will, ſigned with his own hand. Then follows a new oath againſt the biſhop of Rome's authority, with penalties annexed to all who ſhould refuſe to take it or endeavour to interrupt the act of ſucceſſion.

Another act of this parliament declared where, and before whom, all treaſon committed out of England ſhould be tried: that the following titles ſhould for ever be annexed to the imperial crown of England, viz. "king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith and church of England and alſo of Ireland, on earth the ſupreme head." It was likewiſe enacted, that nothing but the oath of twelve men, before authorized commiſſioners, could bring any perſon to his trial upon the offences comprehended in the ſtatute of the Six Articles; and that all ſuch preſentments ſhould be made within one year after the offence committed; that no perſon ſhould be impriſoned without ſuch indictments; and that all indictments againſt preachers, or readers, for ſuch offences from the pulpit, ſhould be within forty days. Thus the bloody ſtatute of the Six Articles was in ſome meaſure qualified as to its penalties. By another act, the king was remitted all ſums he had borrowed ſince the firſt of January, in the thirty-third year of his reign, by which all claims againſt him, through his iniquitous loans, was at one daſh ſtruck off. Another act provided excellently for the preſervation of woods, neceſſary for keeping up the royal navy of England.

The parliament roſe on the twenty-ninth of March, and ſoon after the king ſent an armament to invade Scotland. The fleet amounted to near two hundred ſhips, and had on board a body of ten thouſand men: Dudley, lord Liſle, commanded the navy; and the earl of Hertford conducted the land forces, as lieutenant-general, with the earl of Shrewſbury under him. The troops were diſembarked in the neighbourhood of Leith, and, after defeating a ſmall body which oppoſed them, they took that town, and then advanced to Edinburgh, the gates of which they ſoon forced, and the Engliſh firſt pillaged, and then ſet the town on fire, which continued burning three days. The regent earl of Arran, who had been entirely gained over by cardinal Beaton, was in no condition to reſiſt ſo ſtrong an army, and therefore retired with his forces to Stirling. The earl of Hertford directed his march eaſtward, and, being reinforced with ſix thouſand men, under the command of the lord Ewers, governor of Berwick, he ravaged the whole country, burned Haddington and Dunbar, and committed many outrages. All this time, Francis, who ought to have protected his allies the Scots, whom his intrigues had led into this war, ſent them only a few troops and a trifling ſum of money, under de Larges and de Broſſe, while the ſhips which carried them, with all their proviſions and ammunition, fell into the hands of the Engliſh, who, on the eighteenth of May, returned to England.

Henry ſhewed very little policy in this ſudden and violent invaſion, by which he inflamed the reſentment, without ſubduing the ſpirit, of the Scots; however, he put the beſt face he could on the diſappointment, for it can be called no other, which he met with in his expedition, and his next reſort was to keep the Scottiſh lords of his party firm to his intereſt. He had a fair opening for this by the application of the earl of Lenox, who was ſhut up in Dunbarton, but found means to ſend his brother, the biſhop of Caithneſs, with propoſals to Henry, at Carliſle. He accordingly met with the Engliſh commiſſioners, the lord Wharton and ſir Robert Bowes, and in a ſhort time it was agreed, "Firſt that the Scottiſh lords ſhould cauſe the pure word of God to be taught in their countries. Secondly, They ſhould continue the king's faithful friends. Thirdly, They ſhould take care that the queen be not ſecretly taken away. Fourthly, They ſhould aſſiſt the king to ſeize on ſome caſtles on the borders. Henry on his part promiſed to ſend armies to Scotland both by ſea and land, and to make the earl of Lenox, as ſoon as he could, governor of Scotland; and that he ſhould beſtow his niece, the lady Margaret Douglas, upon him. And for the performance of thoſe articles the biſhop of Caithneſs was left as hoſtage in England.

The earl of Lenox upon this agreement came to London, where it was confirmed on the twenty-ſixth of June, with theſe additional articles:

"Firſt, The earl of Lenox was to confirm the convention made at Carliſle, and to become Henry's ſervant againſt all who ſhould impugn his title or authority in Scotland, or elſewhere. Secondly,

condly, To ſurrender into Henry's hands the caſtle of Dunbarton, with the Iſle of Bute; and to help him to win the caſtle of Roſs. Thirdly, That the earl ſhould aſſiſt Henry in becoming the protector of the kingdom of Scotland; that he ſhould take care that the Scottiſh queen ſhould not be carried out of Scotland; that he ſhould do his beſt to deliver her into Henry's hands; that Henry ſhould make him governor of Scotland; but that he ſhould call no parliament, or do any acts of government, without Henry's direction."

The earl of Lenox was immediately diſpatched to Dunbarton † with thirteen ſhips; and, in conſequence of the treaty with Henry, endeavoured to perſuade the governor to deliver the caſtle to the king of England; but he, preferring his duty to his affection for the earl, rejected all his advantageous offers; ſo that being obliged to withdraw, Lenox vented his rage on the iſles of Arran, Bute, and Kyntire; which hoſtilities were revenged by the Scottiſh miniſtry on the perſons and eſtates of the earl's friends, till a body of troops, ſent from Carliſle, marched to their relief; who, in their inroads, took Jedburgh, Kelſo, Coldingham, and ravaged without mercy the counties of Tiviot, Marche, and Lauderdale, compelling the inhabitants to ſwear allegiance to the king of England.

In the mean time the emperor called upon Henry to fulfil his engagements, in joining with him againſt France. On this occaſion, Henry, finding that the grants of the laſt parliament were not ſufficient for the expences of his intended expedition, took an impolitic method of increaſing his finances, by raiſing the value of gold from forty-five to forty-eight ſhillings the ounce, and ſilver from three ſhillings and nine pence to four ſhillings; and by coining baſe money, not intrinſically worth above half its nominal value, which, after paſſing current in his reign, was cried down by Edward VI. and finally called in by queen Elizabeth.

Henry now appointed the queen regent in his abſence, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the earl of Hertford, were placed at the head of the council left to aſſiſt her, which was made up of Wriotheſley (lately made a baron, and, on the death of lord Audley) chancellor, Thirlby, biſhop of Weſtminſter, Peters, ſecretary of ſtate, and the queen's own uncle, lord Parr of Horton. Henry likewiſe provided for the peace of the ſeveral counties in his abſence, by appointing proper perſons to govern them.

Every thing being thus ſettled, Henry paſſed over to Calais on the eleventh of June, with thirty thouſand men, and attended by the flower of the Engliſh nobility*. Soon after his arrival he was joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thouſand infantry and four thouſand horſe, and the whole compoſed an army which nothing in that quarter was able to withſtand; the chief force of the French army was employed on the ſide of Champagne, reſiſting the progreſs of the Imperialiſts. It had been propoſed between the emperor and Henry, to join their forces together (which it was computed would amount to near one hundred thouſand men) and march up directly to Paris; and the king's council in this caſe had aviſed his landing in Normandy, a province rich, defenceleſs, and affording him an eaſy paſſage to that metropolis. This would have reduced France (as the cardinal du Bellay obſerves, who was in the ſcene of action) to the brink of ruin; but the emperor, after amuſing himſelf with taking Commercy and Luxemburg, formed the ſiege of Didier, inſtead of ſetting out on his march to join Henry. This opened Henry's eyes; he found that he had been deceived by the emperor, and therefore thought it was reaſonable that he ſhould take towns as well as Charles; and that the latter having failed in fulfilling his engagements, he would endeavour to indemnify himſelf by ſome uſeful conqueſt, therefore, inſtead of advancing directly to Paris, he inveſted the towns of Montreuil and Boulogne.

The duke of Norfolk commanded the forces before Montreuil, and the king in perſon headed thoſe before Boulogne: this laſt place was defended by Varvin, the governor, and held out till the fourteenth of September, when it ſurrendered, on the garriſon being allowed to march to Montreuil with its baggage. Monſtrueil ſtill held out againſt the duke of Norfolk.

During this ſiege the emperor had made himſelf maſter of Didier, after an obſtinate ſiege; and he afterwards ſurprized Eſpernay and Chateau Thierry: but the French army, under the dauphin and the duke of Orleans, being now increaſed to forty thouſand men, two thouſand gens d'armes, and as many light horſe, being poſted in his way to Paris, he was obliged to march towards Soiſſons. Finding it difficult, through a ſcarcity of proviſions, to keep his forces together, and impracticable, for want of ſtrong towns, to ſecure them to take winter quarters in the country, he hearkened to a treaty of peace propoſed by the king of France, who, knowing the extremities to which Boulogne and Montreuil were reduced, and fearing that the king of England would, after the reduction of thoſe places, advance with his army to join the emperor, was very eager to have it concluded. Charles on his part, in order to have a pretext to abandon his ally, diſpatched a meſſenger to the Engliſh camp before Boulogne to preſs Henry to perform his promiſe, and meet him with his army and proceed to Paris. Henry, who was by this time perfectly well acquainted with the perfidy of his ally, replied, that he was too far engaged in the ſiege of Boulogne to raiſe it with honour; and that the emperor himſelf had firſt violated the convention by forming ſieges.

This anſwer furniſhed Charles with the deſired pretext for concluding a peace with Francis, without including his ally of England. Accordingly a treaty was concluded between theſe two princes, at Creſpy, in the Laonnois, on the eighteenth of September, four days after the ſurrender of Boulogne. The principal conditions were, "That the duke of Orleans ſhould marry Mary of Auſtria, the emperor's eldeſt daughter, or the ſecond daughter of the king of the Romans; and that he ſhould have with her, as a fortune, the Milaneſe or the

† Or Dunbritton, the capital of a ſhire of that name in the weſt Highlands of Scotland, ſituated at the conflux of the rivers Leven and Clyde, twenty miles from Glaſgow.

* The van was commanded by the duke of Norfolk; the main body was led by the duke of Suffolk, under whom ſerved the earl of Arundel, as marſhal of the field, Pawlet, lord St. John, and ſir Anthony Brown, maſter of the horſe; the rear was lead by Ruſſel, lord privy-ſeal, which office he had obtained upon the death of the earl of Southampton, and under him ſerved the earls of Surry and Oxford, the lord Grey of Wilton, the lord Ferrers of Chartley, lord Montjoy, and ſir Francis Brian. In this diviſion marched the Welſh and Iriſh.

Low

Low Countries, with the earldoms of Burgundy and Charolois, at the option of the emperor; but if he gave them Milan and Cremona until there was a ſon from the marriage: and then ſhould give them the Low Countries, Francis was, for himſelf and heirs, to renounce for ever all pretenſions upon the Milaneſe and Naples." Many other articles were likewiſe inſerted, material to the hiſtory of thoſe two princes, but not for ours, only that all their late conqueſts on either ſide were given up; and Francis promiſed to ſubmit to Charles the arbitration of his differences with the king of England.

The firſt effect which the treaty of Creſpy had, was the withdrawing, by orders from Charles, all the Imperial troops at the ſiege of Montreuil, under the count de Buren, which weakened the duke of Norfolk ſo much, that Henry ſent him orders to raiſe that ſiege entirely, and to join him. This was done on the twenty-fifth of September, after the duke had laid the adjacent country waſte. And Henry hearing that the dauphin was in full march with all his army, to give him battle, left a ſtrong garriſon in Boulogne, under the command of the lord-admiral Liſle, whom he made governor, and departed for England on the thirtieth of the ſame month, gaining a few days march upon the French, who, upon this diſappointment, exerted all their efforts to retake Boulogne before the breaches were repaired, but without ſucceſs. The public records inform us, that whilſt theſe hoſtilities were going forward, overtures were made for a treaty between France and England, and that the earl of Hertford and ſir William Paget met the French commiſſioners at Calais for that purpoſe; but the French inſiſting upon the reſtitution of Boulogne as an indiſpenſable preliminary, the conferences were broken off.

From theſe and other proceedings of the French court, Henry having great reaſon to imagine that Francis would attempt an invaſion of England next year, on his return home he put Graveſend, Tilbury, Portſmouth, Dover, and all other places on the ſea-coaſts liable to ſurprize from the French fleet, in a poſture of defence.

The king had been at a very great expence in his French expedition*, and the keeping of Boulogne being likely to coſt him a great deal more, to provide for this growing charge, and to repleniſh his exhauſted Exchequer, he had recourſe to the extraordinary way of a benevolence. The commiſſioners appointed to levy it in London, meeting in January, 1545, at Baynard's caſtle, found the affair liable to very great difficulties, ſome of the richeſt citizens abſolutely refuſing, and others excuſing themſelves on account of inability, through their not being paid for the corn with which they had ſupplied the army: in a word, there appeared a general reluctance among ſuch as were able to advance money; and one alderman Read, who ſhewed himſelf more refractory than the reſt, was, by a deteſtable ſtretch of arbitrary power, ſent to ſerve as a ſoldier in the Northern Marches. This ſeverity ſo intimidated the reſt of the recuſants, that they at length conſented to the royal demand. It appears from authentic accounts, that Henry on this occaſion raiſed upwards of ſeventy thouſand pounds, excluſive of the cities of London and York, and the counties of Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Durham.

Henry's ſuſpicion of a French invaſion was ſhewn this year to have been well founded; for Francis had employed all the laſt winter and great part of this ſpring in making preparations for the recovery of Boulogne, and a deſcent on the coaſt of England. He had fitted out one hundred and fifty large ſhips of war with ſixty of a ſmaller ſize, and brought twenty-five gallies from Marſeilles to Havre de Grace. This fleet he ſent, under the command of admiral Annebaut, to invade England; who, ſetting ſail in July, arrived, on the eighteenth of that month, off St. Helen's in the Iſle of Wight, and, after ſome ſkirmiſhes with a ſquadron of ſixty Engliſh veſſels that lay at Spithead, but whom he durſt not follow cloſe in ſhore, for want of pilots, landed on the iſland, which he cruelly ravaged; but his troops being repulſed by the militia of the country, they fled to their ſhips, which ſoon after ſet ſail for France, but were again driven upon the coaſt of England, where they were again encountered by the Engliſh fleet, now encreaſed to upwards of one hundred ſail; both ſides engaged with equal fury, but night parting them after they had fought two hours, the French got into Havre de Grace, and the Engliſh admiral (lord Liſle), ſteering towards Normandy, ravaged the coaſts of that province, and took a great number of the French ſhips.

In the mean time Francis was exerting all his efforts to diſtreſs, block up, and take Boulogne, and had fitted out this great naval armament principally with a view to ſhut up that port; but his ſchemes for that purpoſe, though ſupported by a land army of two hundred thouſand men, proved abortive; all that the French monarch could do, was to ravage the little territory of Oye, whence the garriſon of Calais uſed to have their forage and ſome cattle for their ſubſiſtence; and this done, he retired to Amiens, diſmiſſing his forces. The Engliſh, in this campaign acted only on the defenſive; ten thouſand lancequenets and four thouſand horſe, which had been levied in Germany, being hindered by Henry's good ally, the emperor, from paſſing through his territories. While the French were thus employed, the duke of Orleans died at Chateau Montier, to the unſpeakable regret of his father Francis, whoſe peace with the emperor in a great meaſure depended upon the life of that young prince.

Francis ſeeing all his meaſures had miſcarried, that his kingdom was exhauſted, and himſelf threatened with a new war by the emperor, as the conditions of the treaty of Creſpy were diſſolved by the death of the duke of Orleans, began to be very deſirous of reconciling himſelf to Henry: for this purpoſe he engaged the princes of the Smalcaldic league to offer themſelves as mediators. This interpoſition appeared the more natural, as they were menaced by the emperor, who had entered into a negociation with the Turks, and could not be ſuppoſed to find out a better expedient for their own ſafety than effecting a reconciliation between the kings of France and England, and ſoliciting the protection of theſe two princes. They accordingly offered their mediation, which was accepted with great ſeeming cordiality, and they mediated ſo earneſtly, that conferences for a peace between the two

* Lord Herbert ſays five hundred and eighty-ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and eighteen pounds.

nations

nations were appointed between Ardres and Guiſnes: but as Henry would neither admit the Scots, with whom he was at war, to be included in the treaty, nor conſent to the reſtitution of Boulogne, the conferences broke off without any effect; though Henry, in order to frighten Francis into a compliance, ſent the biſhops of Wincheſter and Weſtminſter as his ambaſſadors to Charles, to propoſe terms of reconciliation with him.

On the other hand, Francis, who thought that a diverſion in Scotland would be the the moſt likely means to work upon Henry, ſent the ſieur de Lorges, count de Montgommeri, over thither with five thouſand men, and ordered him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the Scots to make a powerful inroad on the frontiers of England. Montgommeri arriving in Scotland, joined his troops with thoſe of the regent, and both, making together fifteen thouſand men, advanced towards the Tweed. For ſome days ſeveral parties paſſed the river, and did ſome damage to the Engliſh; but the French general could never perſuade the Scots to venture over with the whole army; on the contrary, upon news that the earl of Hertford was advancing, at the head of twelve thouſand men, they haſtily retired, and preſently after diſbanded as uſual. This was all that paſſed in Scotland, worthy notice, during the campaign of 1545.

The Engliſh parliament meeting on the twenty-third of November, the convocation continued for two years the ſubſidy given the king of ſix ſhillings in the pound: at the ſame time the commons ſuppreſſed, by an act, all the colleges and hoſpitals, and gave their lands to the king: the motive, or rather pretence of this ſuppreſſion, was the abuſe of theſe foundations, but the parliament really deſigned it towards the defraying the expence of the wars with France and Scotland; but this not ſufficing, the commons raiſed him a a much larger ſum: and then, after paſſing ſeveral acts, which cannot have a place here, the parliament was prorogued, on Chriſtmas-eve, till the fourth of November in the year following. However, before the ſeſſion ended, the king came to the houſe in great ſolemnity, and, having ordered the attendance of the commons and both houſes of convocation, he addreſſed them in a ſpeech, which, for its curioſity we ſhall here inſert, as handed down to us by the lord Herbert, in his Complete Hiſtory.

"Although my chancellor, for the time being, hath, before this time, uſed very elegantly and ſubſtantially to make anſwer to ſuch orations as hath been ſet forth in the high court of parliament, yet is he not ſo able to open and ſet forth my mind and meaning, the ſecrets of my heart, in ſo plain and ample a manner as I myſelf am and can do; wherefore I, taking upon me to anſwer your eloquent oration, Mr. Speaker, ſay, that where you in the name of our well beloved commons have both praiſed and extolled me for the notable qualities that you have conceived to be in me, I moſt heartily thank you all, that you have put me in remembrance of my duty, which is to endeavour myſelf to obtain and get ſuch excellent qualities and neceſſary virtues, as a prince or governor ought to have, of which gifts I recognize myſelf both bare and barren; but of ſuch ſmall quantities as God hath endued me withal, I render to his goodneſs my moſt humble thanks, intending, with all my will and diligence, to get and acquire to me ſuch notable virtues and princely qualities as you have alleged to be incorporated in my perſon. Thoſe thanks for your loving admonition and good counſel firſt remembered, I eftſoons thank you again, becauſe that you, conſidering our great charge (not for our pleaſure, but for our defence; not for our gain, but to our great coſt) which we have lately ſuſtained, as well in defence againſt our and your enemies, as for the conqueſt of that fortreſs which was to this realm moſt diſpleaſant, and ſhall be (by God's grace) hereafter to our nation moſt profitable and pleaſant, have freely of your own mind granted to us a certain ſubſidy, here in an act ſpecified, which verily we take in good part, regarding more your kindneſs than the profit thereof; as he that ſetteth more by your loving hearts, than by your ſubſtance. Beſides, this hearty kindneſs, I cannot a little rejoice when I conſider the perfect truſt and confidence which you have put in me, as men having unfeigned belief in my good doing and juſt proceedings for you, without my deſire or requeſt, have committed to mine order and diſpoſition all chantries, colleges, hoſpitals, and other places, ſpecified in a certain act, firmly truſting that I will order them to the glory of God, and to the profit of the common wealth. Surely if I, contrary to your expectation, ſhould ſuffer the miniſters of the church to decay, or learning, which is ſo great a jewel, to be diminiſhed, or poor and miſerable people to be unrelieved, you might ſay that I, being put in ſo ſpecial a truſt as I am, in this caſe, were no truſty friend to you, nor charitable to mine, even as a Chriſtian; neither a lover of the public, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account muſt be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not, I pray you, but your expectation ſhall be ſerved more godly and goodly, than you will wiſh or deſire, as hereafter you ſhall plainly perceive. Now, ſith I ſince find ſuch ſucceſs in your part towards me, I cannot chuſe but love and favour you, affirming that no prince in the world favoureth his ſubjects more than I do, nor no ſubject or commons more love and obey their ſovereign lord than I perceive you do, for whoſe defence my treaſure, or (if neceſſity required) my perſon, ſhall not be unadventured. Yet although I wiſh you, and you wiſh me, to be in this perfect love and concord, this amity cannot continue except you, my lords temporal and my lords ſpiritual, and you my loving ſubjects, ſtudy and take pains to amend one thing, which ſurely is amiſs and out of order, to which I moſt heartily require you; which is, that charity and concord is not among you, but diſcord and diſſention beareth rule in every place. St. Paul ſaith to the Corinthians, in the thirteenth chapter "Charity is gentle, charity is not envious, charity is not proud," and ſo forth: in the ſame chapter behold then, what love and charity is amongſt you when one calleth another "heretic, anabaptiſt," and he calleth him again, "papiſt, hypocrite, phariſee." Be theſe tokens of charity amongſt you? Are theſe ſigns of fraternal love between you? No, no; I aſſure you, that this lack of charity among yourſelves will be the hindrance and aſſwaging of the fervent love betwixt us. As I ſaid before, except this wound be ſalved, and clearly made whole, I muſt judge the fault and occaſion of this diſcord to be partly by the negligence of you, the fathers and preachers of ſpirituality; for if I know a man that liveth in adultery, I muſt judge him a lecherous and carnal

carnal perſon: if I ſee a man boaſt and brag himſelf, I cannot but deem him a proud man. I hear daily, that you, of the clergy, preach one againſt another, without charity or diſcretion; ſome be ſo ſtiff in their old mumpſimus; others be too buſy and curious in their new mumpſimus: thus all men almoſt be in variety and diſcord; a few or none preach truly and ſincerely the word of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I judge you charitable perſons, doing this? No, no; I cannot do ſo. Alas! how can the poor ſouls live in concord, when you preachers ſow among them, in your ſermons, debate and diſcord? Of you they look light, and you bring them to darkneſs. Amend theſe crimes, I exhort you, and ſet forth God's word, both by your preaching and good example given; or elſe I, whom God hath appointed his vicar and high miniſter here, will ſee theſe diviſions extinct, and theſe enormities corrected, according to my very duty, or elſe I am a very unprofitable ſervant and untrue officer. Although, I ſay, the ſpiritual men be in ſome fault, that charity is not kept amongſt them, yet the temporality be not clear and unſpotted of malice and envy: for you rail on biſhops, ſpeak ſlanderouſly of prieſts, and rebuke and taunt preachers, both contrary to good order and Chriſtian fraternity. If you know ſurely that a biſhop or preacher erreth, or teacheth perverſe doctrine, come and declare it to ſome of our council, or to us, to whom is committed by God the high authority to reform and order ſuch cauſes and behaviours, and be not judges of yourſelves, of your fantaſtical opinions and vain expoſitions. In ſuch light cauſes you may ſlightly err; and although you be permitted to read the holy ſcriptures, and to have the word of God in your mother-tongue, you muſt underſtand, that it is licenſed you ſo to do only to inform your own conſciences, and to inſtruct your children and families, and not to diſpute and make the ſcriptures a railing and taunting-ſtock againſt prieſts and preachers, as many light perſons do. I am very ſorry to know and hear how irreverently that moſt precious jewel, the word of God, is diſputed, rhimed, ſung and gangled in every alehouſe or tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the ſame: and yet even I am as much ſorry that the readers of the ſame follow it in doing ſo faintly and ſo coldly: for this I am ſure, that charity was never ſo faint amongſt you, and virtuous and godly living was never leſs uſed, nor God himſelf among Chriſtians was never leſs reverenced, honoured, or ſerved. Therefore, as I ſaid before, be in charity one with another, like brothers; love, dread, and ſerve God, to which I, as your ſupreme head and ſovereign lord, exhort and require you; and then I doubt not but that love and league which I ſpake of at the beginning, ſhall never be broken or diſſolved betwixt us.

"To the making of the laws which you have now made and concluded, I exhort you the makers to be diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in the making and farthering the ſame, or elſe your labour ſhall be in vain, and your commonwealth nothing relieved. And now, to your petition concerning our royal aſſent to be given to ſuch acts as have paſſed both houſes, they ſhall be read openly that you may hear them."

In the courſe of this year died Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, who had always continued in the higheſt degree of favour with the king, and univerſally beloved and eſteemed by all ranks of people for his courteouſneſs and readineſs on all occaſions, to aſſiſt the diſtreſſed: he was, in his heart, a friend to the reformed, but did not chuſe to hazard his intereſt with the king by any unſeaſonable or violent interpoſition in their favour, though he let ſlip no opportunity of doing them ſervice, when he found the king in a favourable diſpoſition for ſuch a tentative. He died on the fourth of Auguſt, and lies buried in St. George's chapel, at Windſor, near the remains of Henry VI. He had four wives: his third was Mary, daughter to Henry VII. and widow of Lewis XII. of France; he had a ſon by her, who died before him, and two daughters: he had two other ſons by his laſt wife, who both died without iſſue.

The beginning of the campaign in the year 1546, was unfavourable for the Engliſh in France. The earl of Surry, who had been ſent to command in Boulogne, inſtead of the lord Liſle, met with a rude check in attempting to intercept a convoy of proviſions going to the fort of Outre Eau, which the French had built at the mouth of the port. This was followed by a more conſiderable defeat given the Engliſh, under the ſame general, by the marſhal de Biez, who, being attacked as he was conducting a much larger convoy, routed the earl, killing about eight hundred of his men, among whom was ſir Edward Poynings, and taking one hundred and twenty priſoners. The king, who did not like unfortunate generals, made William, lord Grey of Wilton, governor of Boulogne, and at the ſame time recalled the earl of Surry, and ſent over the earl of Hertford with a body of forces, to oppoſe the enemy, and provide for the ſecurity of the place, which he did by erecting forts at Ambleteuſe and Blackneſs, places that the French had intended to ſeize and fortify, in order to cut off the communication between Calais and Boulogne. But while the war ſeemed to be recommencing with greater fury than ever between France and England, the Proteſtant princes again endeavoured to get their mediation accepted, and met with all the ſucceſs they could wiſh.

Henry, whoſe animoſity againſt Francis was not violent or perſonal, had ſufficiently gratified his humour by the ſhort war he had carried on againſt him; and having reaſon to apprehend, from his great increaſe in corpulency, and viſible decay of ſtrength, that his end was not far off, he was deſirous of finiſhing a quarrel, which might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority: Francis likewiſe, on his part, was not averſe to an accommodation with England, becauſe, having now loſt his ſon, the duke of Orleans, he was afraid that Charles ſhould again attack him when he was unprovided either of men or money to make a ſuitable defence.

With ſuch circumſtances on both ſides the two princes readily liſtened to the propoſals of their friends, and agreed to treat at Campes, a place between Ardres and Guiſnes; the plenipotentiaries for Henry were the lord Liſle, ſir William Paget, and Dr. Hatton: thoſe for Francis were the admiral Annebault, and Mr. Raymond, firſt preſident of the parliament of Rouen. After ſeveral conferences, a treaty was concluded on the ſeventh of June, the purport of which was to the following effect:

"That the king of France ſhall pay regularly the penſion due by the treaty of Moore, the thirtieth of Auguſt, 1525, confirmed by ſeveral ſubſequent treaties; as alſo the penſion of ſalt, in a treaty of the twenty-fifth of April, 1527, valued afterwards at ten thouſand crowns a year. But as Henry pretends the ſaid penſion, given in lieu of the ſalt, is to be perpetual, and as Francis maintains on the contrary, that it is to ceaſe on Henry's death, it is agreed that if the diſpoſition ſhall be found to be perpetual, Francis ſhall pay it to Henry and his ſucceſſors for ever.

"Moreover, Francis ſhall pay to the king of England, on the feaſt of St. Michael, 1554, or within a fortnight after, the ſum of two millions of crowns de ſoleil, as well for the arrears of the penſion of the ten thouſand crowns, as for Henry's expence of the ſiege of Boulogne, undertaken ſolely to procure his money, in keeping and maintaining that place.

"As to the article of the five hundred thouſand crowns, which Henry preſented to Francis, on condition he punctually obſerved the treaties; as the two kings differ in point of fact, it is agreed the diſpute ſhall be decided by commiſſioners appointed on both ſides, within ſuch a time; or by four impartial lawyers, in caſe the commiſſioners end not the affair.

"It is farther agreed, that the king of England ſhall keep Boulogne, with its territories (the limits whereof are ſettled by the treaty), till he receive whatever is due to him.

"That when all the ſums ſhall be paid to Henry, Boulogne ſhall be reſtored to France; and nothing that is faſtened to the ground, ſhall be impaired or carried away.

"That, from the date hereof to the ſurrender of Boulogne, neither of the two princes ſhall raiſe any fort or new fortification within the territory of Boulogne; but thoſe already begun may be finiſhed."

The emperor was included by both parties in the peace: as for Scotland, Henry agreed it ſhould be included, on condition that the Scots gave him no cauſe to make war upon them; and in caſe they did, they were to be included no otherwiſe than according to the treaty of April 5, 1515.

The wax was hardly cold upon this treaty, when a new quarrel had like to have ariſen between the two kings; for the earl of Hertford, purſuant to the laſt article, going on to complete a fort which he had begun about three weeks before the treaty, the French ſet to work in erecting another fort, called Chaſtillon's Garden, at Portet, near the mouth of the harbour of Boulogne, on pretence that the marſhal de Biez had formerly began one there, by entrenching himſelf on the place; but the difference between a trench and a fortification was too well known to Henry for him to ſuffer this piece of chicanery, and the lord Grey demoliſhed it by his orders. The peace was hereupon proclaimed in London, on the thirteenth of June, though it was not ratified by the king of France till the firſt day of Auguſt, fifteen days after the term preſcribed for the ratification was expired.

Some time before the treaty was in agitation, the Proteſtants of Germany ſent Philip, brother of the elector Palatine, to demand ſuccours from Henry, and in particular to ſolicit a ſupply of one hundred thouſand crowns, for the defence of the league; but, inſtead of money, he ſent them ſeven propoſitions, containing the terms upon which he was willing to engage in a defenſive league with them. In the mean time the emperor and the pope formed an alliance for their deſtruction; his holineſs ſupplied him with money and a ſtrong body of troops, under the command of Octavian Farneſe. The Proteſtants armed in their own defence, under the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe; but neither ſide cared to hazard an engagement. At length the king of the Romans falling into the territories of the elector of Saxony, that prince was obliged to go to the relief of his own ſubjects; and the landgrave being weakened by his departure, retired into his own dominions, ſo that the emperor, being left maſter of the field, reduced Francfort, Ulm, and ſeveral other towns of the league.

While Henry, againſt all the maxims of right policy, continued an unconcerned ſpectator of Charles thus ſwallowing up the liberties of Germany, thoſe who favoured the reformation in Scotland, were perſecuted by that hot-headed zealot cardinal Beaton, who governed every thing with an uncontrouled ſway, though under the maſk of the regent's authority: ſeveral perſons were condemned to the flames for hereſy, and the cardinal is ſaid to have taken an inhuman pleaſure in being ſpectator of their ſufferings: but he did not long triumph in his cruelty, for he was himſelf this year aſſaſſinated by Norman Leſly, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Rothes, on account of ſome quarrel between them.

Nor were the Proteſtants leſs harraſſed in England, where daily perſecutions were carried on againſt them. This ſeverity was chiefly encouraged by Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, and the lord Rich, aſſiſted by Wriotheſley the chancellor; nor was the duke of Norfolk behind-hand in promoting the ſame cruel meaſures: and Henry's natural ferocity being increaſed by the anguiſh of an inveterate ulcer in one of his legs, he readily gave into all the ſchemes of bloodſhed and barbarity that Gardiner and his popiſh counſellors thought proper to inſpire him with. Among other perſons who ſuffered on account of their opinions, was Mrs. Anne Aſkew, or Aſcue, a gentlewoman of good birth and excellent parts, who was well known to many perſons at court: this lady, being convicted of denying the real preſence in the euchariſt, was condemned to the flames, and choſe to ſuffer death, rather than purchaſe pardon at the expence of abjuring her faith. Chancellor Wriotheſley, who was a zealous papiſt, imagining that her reſolution proceeded from the encouragement given her by perſons of diſtinction about the court, who were friends to the reformation, cauſed this poor woman to be put to the rack in priſon, though already under ſentence of death; and is even ſaid to have aſſiſted with his own hands in adminiſtering the torture, which was done in ſuch a mercileſs manner, that almoſt all her bones were diſlocated. This ſhe bore, however, with amazing fortitude; nor could they extort a ſyllable from her in accuſation of any one: at length ſhe was conveyed to the ſtake, where ſhe ſuffered with four men, condemned on the ſame account; Shaxton, biſhop of Saliſbury, who had been impriſoned for refuſing to conform to the Six Articles, but had ſaved his life by recanting, attending them to the place of execution, where he preached a ſermon, reproaching them in the harſheſt terms for their obſtinacy and hereſy.

Gardiner

Gardiner and the popiſh faction perceiving that the king was now more furiouſly than ever incenſed againſt the ſacramentarians, made another effort to deſtroy Cranmer, but ſtill without effect; for Henry, retaining his affection for the archbiſhop, preſerved his perſon from the plots of his enemies, and even obliged them to be outwardly reconciled to him; but they were very near wreaking their vengeance on a perſon of ſtill higher dignity.

The queen was then paſt the bloom of life, but continued ſtill agreeable; ſhe had lived with prudence, and free from envy; and in the main, her conduct was irreproachable. In her heart ſhe was a favourer of the reformed, but ſhe underſtood the king's humour ſo well, that ſhe never preſumed to ſtand up openly in their defence: this prudent conduct, and her extraordinary ſubmiſſion to Henry's will, had ſo greatly won upon his affections, that he even ſuffered her to have ſermons preached in her privy-chamber, before ſome of her ladies. The popiſh faction could not obſerve this without great regret, and they at laſt ventured to whiſper in the king's ears, that ſhe was the life of all the hereſy with which the land was peſtered. The king, at firſt, took no notice of theſe inſinuations, and even ſuffered her to diſpute with himſelf on ſome religious points, imagining that ſhe did it only for inſtruction. This liberty, however, being by cuſtom carried ſomewhat too far by the queen, Henry expreſſed his diſlike at her preſuming to differ in opinion from him, and ſhewed more coolneſs than uſual towards her; he even went ſo far as to diſcover his diſlike to Gardiner, who failed not to cheriſh his reſentment by aggravating the queen's known attachment to the Lutheran principles, and the pains ſhe took to inſtil her religion into the ladies of the court, who attended on her. This being alſo confirmed, and other accuſations of the like ſort laid againſt her by Wriotheſley, who had the bloody impudence to propoſe taking off the queen's head, as the only means to cruſh for ever thoſe of her ſect, Henry was at once ſo weak and inhuman as to ſubſcribe the articles urged againſt her, and upon which ſhe was to be tried for her life.

The two blood leeches, Gardiner and Wriotheſley, now exulted in the ſuppoſed ſucceſs of their ſchemes, and looked upon the queen's ruin as inevitable: but Heaven, who delights to turn the wiſdom of the wicked into folly, interpoſed to ſnatch the innocent victim from the toils of her enemies. The lord-chancellor dropping the copy of the articles, with Henry's ſubſcription to it, it fell into the queen's hands, who, upon ſeeing it, concluded her life loſt: however, being adviſed by one of her friends to go to the king and try to appeaſe him, ſhe took their advice, and, being a little recovered from her conſternation, ſhe went into the king's apartment, who received her with his cuſtomary kindneſs, and began with her, as uſual, upon the head of religion; but ſhe declined the ſubject, and expreſſed uncommon deference to his majeſty's opinion, to whoſe learning and judgment ſhe ſaid ſhe perfectly reſigned herſelf. "Not ſo, by St. Mary! (replied Henry, in ſome perturbation), you are become a doctor, Kate, to inſtruct us, as we take it, and not to be inſtructed or directed by us." The queen, feigning much ſurprize, anſwered very mildly, "that ſhe ſhould never have preſumed to argue with him upon any ſubject, except to amuſe the pain of his infirmities, or with a view to profit by his ſuperior erudition in theſe matters." "And is it even ſo, ſweetheart (replied Henry, kiſſing her with great tenderneſs), then we are friends again." He then diſmiſſed her, with very tender aſſurances of his inviolable love to her.

This reconciliation paſſed in the preſence only of a third perſon, the lady Herbert, the queen's ſiſter, ſo that Wriotheſley and Gardiner ſtill thought their work of death went ſmoothly on; but they were ſoon undeceived, to their no ſmall mortification; for on the morrow, which was the day appointed for carrying the queen to the Tower, the king, going to take the air in the garden, ſent for her; and ſoon after came in the chancellor, with forty of the guard, in order to arreſt her; but the king, taking him aſide, was obſerved to ſpeak to him in a very angry tone of voice, and even overheard to order him, with reviling language, out of his preſence. Upon the king's return to the queen, ſhe perceiving him in a rage with the chancellor, endeavoured to intercede for him; but ſhe received no other anſwer from Henry, than that ſhe little knew how ill he deſerved at her hands.

However liable Henry was to be wrought up to a fury by the artful ſuggeſtions of evil-intending perſons, to the prejudice of any one, he never liked the accuſers: this appeared ſtrongly in the preſent inſtance, for he took ſuch a diſlike to Gardiner, for the baſe part which he had acted with regard to the queen, that he could never after bear the ſight of him; and though the biſhop ſought by the vileſt adulation to reinſtate himſelf in his favour, he totally diſcarded him; and Henry at this time being to make his will, it was propoſed that Gardiner ſhould be one of the executors; but the king would not hear of it, ſaying "that he was ſo contentious and troubleſome a fellow, that he would be continually ſtirring up diſſention amongſt the other executors."

If the reformed were over-joyed at the diſgrace of their rancorous perſecutor Gardiner, they had ſtill greater cauſe to triumph in the downfal of the duke of Norfolk, a nobleman equally averſe to their religion, and, by his great credit and influence at court, capable of hurting them in a more effectual manner than even the biſhop. It is more than probable that Norfolk had a hand in the late attempt againſt the queen; at leaſt it is certain that he took the lead in all the deſigns formed againſt Cranmer, whom he had lately treated with the greateſt indignity at the council-board, for which he received a moſt ſevere reprimand from the king himſelf. Whether the part he had acted in theſe affairs contributed to his diſgrace, or whether Henry, who had lately began to diſcourage the popiſh party in his councils, and, finding his end aproaching, thought it unwiſe to leave them in a capacity of making head againſt the future government, the ruin of the duke of Norfolk and his ſon, the earl of Surry, ſeems about this time to have been concluded on.

The duke, though poſſeſſed of no great genius, had all the requiſites of a complete courtier, and had acquired no inconſiderable degree of military fame; long experience in buſineſs had rendered him wiſe and cautious; and he had ſerved the king with fidelity and ſucceſs. His ſon, the earl of Surry,

Surry, was a young gentleman of great courage, an aſpiring mind, quick parts, and uncommon learning for the age he lived in; but proud, ambitious, headſtrong, vindictive, raſh; capable of ſaying any thing in a paſſion, and of doing every thing to gratify his reſentment. He had been greatly incenſed at being recalled from the government of Boulogne, and at the earl of Hertford's being ſent to command the forces in that country; this had provoked him to ſay, that "within a little time they ſhould ſmart for it," and to uſe other expreſſions ſavouring of revenge, and ſhewing as well a diſlike of the king as a hatred of his counſellors.

The old duke, his father, to prevent the ill conſequences of his ſon's reſentment, and the ruin which the diſſention between him and the Seymour family might one day beget, as the earl of Hertford was likely, after the king's death, to be at the head of the adminiſtration, as guardian of the minor ſucceſſor, would fain have had the earl of Surry, then a widower, marry one of the earl of Hertford's daughters, to which the latter was not averſe; he likewiſe propoſed a match between his own daughter the ducheſs dowager of Richmond (relict of the duke of that name, the king's natural ſon), and ſir Thomas Seymour, brother to Hertford.

The high ſpirit of Surry would not brook this alliance, and the contemptuous manner in which he rejected it ſo exaſperated the Seymour family, that they inſinuated to Henry, that the earl entertained the ambitious hope of a marriage with the princeſs Mary, in which caſe the great intereſt the Howard family had, might endanger the government of young Edward: they even hinted, that he raiſed his aſpiring views to the crown, and that he actually bore the arms of Edward the Confeſſor, without any mark of difference or diminution. This was a matter which affected Henry in the moſt ſenſible part; and this conſideration, added to the ſentiments he already entertained, determined him to ſacrifice the Howards to his jealouſy; and the diviſion that prevailed in that illuſtrious family contributed greatly to facilitate his deſign.

There was a ſecret grudge ſubſiſting between the earl of Surry and his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Richmond: the earl had alſo had a diſpute with his father, and they were ſcarcely reconciled at this time. The duke of Norfolk had alſo a quarrel upon his hands with his own ducheſs, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stafford, late duke of Buckingham; and, by an effect of his free way of living, or her jealouſy, they had been parted for four years, and expreſſed their rancour againſt each other ſo openly as gave no ſmall ſcandal. On this occaſion, the ducheſs, eager to ſatisfy her revenge, informed againſt her huſband to the miniſtry, and diſcloſed all ſhe knew of his ſecrets or reſentments; and was joined in this perfidious part by Mrs. Holland, a woman whom the duke had kept for ſome years, but had lately turned off; though all their evidence amounted to ſcarcely the colour of an accuſation. That of the ducheſs conſiſted in little more than complaints of the duke's infidelity to her, and his uſing her ill. Mrs. Holland ſwore that the duke had, in confidence, told her that he was hated by the king's council, many of whom were upſtart noblemen; and, becauſe of his affection to the popiſh doctrines and ſacraments, that he even thought himſelf ſlighted by the king, who had not of late called him to the cabinet or privy-council: ſhe likewiſe ſaid, that the duke bore the arms of England, with a badge of labels of ſilver, which were appropriated to the prince of Wales.

The ducheſs of Richmond depoſed againſt her brother, the earl of Surry, that he had expreſſed an averſion to the earl of Hertford; and that he had ſaid, if the king died, the new men (meaning the council) ſhould ſmart for the affront they had put upon him, in ſending that nobleman to ſuperſede him in command. She, ſaid alſo, that her brother had diſſuaded her from reading the ſcriptures; and diſcloſed ſome other trifling indecencies of which he had been guilty. Upon theſe general accuſations the king ordered both father and ſon to be arreſted, which was accordingly done on the twelfth of December; the one was carried to the Tower by water and the other by land, without either knowing of the other's apprehenſion. After that, declaration was publicly made in the king's name, that all perſons who had any accuſation to prefer againſt the two impriſoned noblemen, ſhould be graciouſly heard; and that the royal pardon and protection ſhould be granted to any one concerned in any plot with them, who would come and make a diſcovery. Upon this ſir Richard Southwell, a member of the privy-council, declared that he had ſome matters of treaſon to diſcloſe againſt the earl of Surry; but the latter diſclaimed his charge, and offered to maintain his innocence againſt his accuſer in ſingle combat, which was denied him.

In the beginning of January, 1547, the unfortunate earl was brought to his trial, by a jury of commoners, picked by the court, and before the lord-chancellor, the lord-mayor, and other commiſſioners, at Guildhall in London; when, notwithſtanding a moſt ſpirited and eloquent defence made by the noble priſoner, the jury, being commanded rather than inſtructed, found him guilty of high-treaſon, and he received ſentence of death, which was executed by beheading him upon Tower-hill, on the nineteenth of January *.

The old duke preſaged his own fate in that of his ſon; and, by the advice of the few friends adverſity had left him, he endeavoured to appeaſe the king's reſentment by the moſt ſubmiſſive letters: but Henry's breaſt was inſenſible to all the emotions of pity; and neither the duke's ſubmiſſion, nor his innocence, could ſatisfy the tyrant, unleſs he ſhould own himſelf guilty, under his own hand. A com-

* Henry Howard (eldeſt ſon of Thomas, third duke of Norfolk, by Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham) died much pitied, being a man of great parts and high courage, with many other noble qualities. His ſentence was generally condemned as an act of high injuſtice and ſeverity, which loaded the Seymours with a popular odium they could never overcome. Sir Richard Southwell depoſing, that he knew certain things of the earl, which touched his fidelity to the king, the earl vehemently affirmed himſelf a true man, and offered to fight in his ſhirt with his accuſer. As to the uſing the arms of the Confeſſor, he ſaid he did it according to the opinion of the king's heralds. His ſiſter Mary, ducheſs of Richmond, being examined, confeſſed that the earl her brother ſhould ſay, "Theſe new men, (meaning the Seymours) loved no nobility; and if God called away the king, they ſhould ſmart for it;" with ſome other paſſionate words and circumſtantial ſpeeches little for his advantage. He was buried at Framlingham in the county of Suffolk. Herbert, p. 263, &c. Burnet, vol. i. p. 345, &c. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 275.

mittee

mittee of council was ſent to examine him; and, after ſome conference, obtained from him, partly by threats and partly by promiſes of the royal clemency, a paper intituled his voluntary confeſſion, ſigned by his own hand, and containing the following articles: "I. That he had, at ſundry times, and to different perſons, diſcloſed the ſecrets of the king's council. II. That he had concealed his ſon's treaſon in uſing the arms (called Edward the Confeſſor's) appropriated to the king of England, and to which neither he nor his children, nor his anceſtors, had any title. And, III. That he had, ever ſince his father's death, borne in the firſt quarter of his arms the arms of England, with a difference of the labels of ſilver, being the proper arms of prince Edward, which was done to the prejudice and diſheriſon of the king and prince, and gave occaſion for diſturbing or interrupting the ſucceſſion to the crown, and deſtroying the prince's inheritance." This he acknowleged to be high-treaſon, and confeſſing he deſerved to be attainted for it, humbly threw himſelf upon the king's mercy.

The parliament, which was then ſitting, taking this paper into conſideration, and having been properly prepared for the bloody compliment they were to pay their inhuman maſter, paſſed a bill of attainder againſt the duke of Norfolk and his ſon, the earl of Surry, well knowing that the accuſation againſt the duke was too frivolous, and too ill ſupported, to bear his being brought to a public trial before his peers; and this act received the royal aſſent on the twenty-ſeventh of January, by the lord-chancellor and other commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe by Henry, who was unable to ſtir abroad, and immediately thereupon a warrant was ordered for cutting off the duke's head: and this ſeems to have been the laſt act of Henry's life.

He had, ſo far back as the thirtieth of December, made his will; but before that time he was grown ſo unwieldy and diſeaſed that he could not write: ſir Anthony Denny, John Gates, and William Cheek, three of his domeſtics, were empowered to ſign all acts of government; as were a committee of council to put a ſtamp, imitating the king's hand-writing, and the royal ſignet, to all acts which required either. Thoſe circumſtances furniſhed matter to the advocates for the poſterity of his eldeſt ſiſter, Margaret, who apprehended they were unequally dealt by therein, to diſpute the validity of this will, denying that it was ever ſigned by Henry: and even ſo late as the reign of queen Anne, this diſpute was again revived, when a committee of the houſe of commons were appointed to ſearch for it, but the original was not to be found; they did indeed find, in the chapter-houſe of Weſtminſter, a roll conſiſting of ſeveral ſheets of paper tacked together with a braid of green and white ribbond, written in a mean and ſlovenly character, and pretended to be ſigned by king Henry's own hand on the top of the firſt and the end of the laſt page; but, upon comparing the ſame with his ſtamp and his uſual hand-writing, it agreed with neither, being fairer than ever he could write, and ſtiff like a counterfeit hand: and Maitland, ſecretary to Mary, queen of Scots, in a letter of his to Cecil, queen Elizabeth's ſecretary, inſiſted, "that as this will was not ſigned, but only ſtamped, and that not being according to the act of parliament, which in ſuch extraordinary things muſt be ſtrictly taken, the will was of no force." The objections of the Scottiſh writers have, indeed, been ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, and an attempt made to refute them by the late learned Mr. Horrabin, in his treatiſe of the Hereditary Right of the Crown of England. But, be this matter as it may, it was taken for granted that Henry had made his will, in which, according to the power given him by parliament, in the year 1543, he ſettled the ſucceſſion to the crown of England in the following manner.

"Firſt, upon the prince of Wales and his poſterity. Secondly, upon the children of his preſent queen, or thoſe of any future marriage he might make. Thirdly, upon the princeſs Mary and her iſſue, but with the expreſs condition, that ſhe ſhould marry with the conſent of the executors of his will and teſtament. Fourthly, upon the lady Elizabeth, with the ſame proviſo. Fifthly, upon the lady Frances Brandon, daughter to his ſiſter the queen of France, by the duke of Suffolk. Sixthly, upon the lady Eleanor Brandon, youngeſt ſiſter to Frances. Laſtly, failing all thoſe, upon the next of kin." By other clauſes of his will he named ſixteen executors, who were as follow, viz. the archbiſhop of Canterbury, lord chancellor Wriotheſley, the earl of Hertford (young Edward's uncle), lord St. John, lord Ruſſel, lord viſcount Liſle, biſhop Tunſtal, ſir Anthony Brown, ſir Edward Montagu, juſtice Bromley, ſir William Paget, ſir Anthony Denny, ſir William Herbert, ſir Edward Wotton, and Dr. Wotton his brother. To the lords who were his executors he left five hundred marks each, and to the commoners three hundred; and ordered his executors to pay all his debts. He made the prince of Wales heir to all his moveables, but charged him to be ſubject to the advice of his council until he was eighteen years old. He left three thouſand pounds a year to each of his daughters, with ten thouſand pounds of addition, as their whole fortune, if the executors thought proper. To the queen he left three thouſand pounds in jewels or plate, with a thouſand pounds in money."

Henry perceiving that his diſſolution was faſt approaching, was abſolutely bent to ſend his noble priſoner, the duke of Norfolk, out of the world before him, and had for this purpoſe ſent to the lieutenant of the Tower to have the duke executed on Tower-hill, on the twenty-ninth of January; but, fortunately for that nobleman, Henry himſelf was called to anſwer for the wickedneſs of his paſt life the very night preceding.

The rapid approach of Henry's laſt moments was very viſible to all about him; but as, by an act paſſed in his reign, it had been declared high-treaſon to foretel the king's death, no one would run the riſk of acquainting him with his ſituation, not knowing but, in the violence of his paſſion, he might execute the law in all its rigour upon the author of ſuch friendly intelligence, eſpecially as he had ſo lately given an inſtance in his treatment of the Howard family, that his cruelty was not at an ebb with his life.

At length, however, ſir Anthony Denny ventured to diſcloſe to him the fatal ſecret, and exhorted him to prepare for that tranſition which was ſo near at hand, as his legs were already mortified; for which Henry, contrary to all expectation, thanked him, and deſired that Cranmer might be ſent

for; but he was ſpeechleſs before the archbiſhop arrived. When that prelate beſought him to give ſome ſign of his truſt in God, through the merits of Chriſt, he ſqueezed his hand with great fervency, and immediately afterwards expired, in the fifty-fifth year and ſeventh month of his life, and the thirty-ſeventh year and tenth month of his reign, on the twenty-eighth of January, 1547, about two in the morning.

The conduct of Henry VIII. was ſo different and inconſiſtent with itſelf in the ſeveral periods of his life, that it is extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to give a juſt deſcription of his character, which, as his hiſtorian, the lord Herbert, obſerves, may be beſt learned from his actions. While the natural modeſty of youth reſtrained the violence of his turbulent paſſions, Henry's government was the admiration of foreigners, and cauſed him to be almoſt adored by his own people: but in his more advanced years he became rapacious, arbitrary, froward, fretful, and ſo cruel that he ſeemed to delight in the blood of his ſubjects. The gratification of his own ſenſual and brutal appetites appears to have been the grand object of all his purſuits: to this he ſacrificed every obligation of juſtice, every dictate of conſcience, and every feeling of humanity: the cruel fate of the unhappy Anne Boleyn will fix an eternal mark of infamy on his character. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be owned, that, with all his vices, foibles, and imperfections, Henry had many great and agreeable qualities, both by nature and education: he had a deep judgment in all affairs to which he applied; he was not only liberal and indulgent to his family and court, but even to ſtrangers. He made choice of able and good men for the clergy, and of able counſellors for his ſtate affairs. It is full as undeniable (as ſir Thomas More obſerved) that he was ſuperior to all the princes his cotemporaries in knowlege and learning; that he was a great encourager of the ſciences, and literature; that his court was fuller of learned men than moſt univerſities, he making them his companions as well as counſellors, and advancing them to high dignities both in church and ſtate. He was particularly careful to give his children a taſte for learning; and by his example introduced a faſhion among the nobility, of educating theirs in the ſame manner. There were two fundamental defects in Henry's nature, to which all his faults in government may be aſcribed, theſe were pride and avarice; to the latter of theſe paſſions cardinal du Bellay, who knew him well, aſcribes the proſecution of Wolſey, in order to get poſſeſſion of that prelate's riches: as for the pride of his heart it was immeaſurable, and hence aroſe that exceſſive obſtinacy and wilfulneſs, which (as Wolſey with his dying breath told ſir William Kingſton) "would make him ſacrifice half his realm, rather than not have his will." After all, it muſt be owned, that this nation under him roſe to a very high pitch of honour and conſideration among its neighbours; and it is inconteſtable, that he was the firſt who delivered the Engliſh church from its ſlaviſh and diſgraceful ſubjection to the ſee of Rome; and by that ſtep laid the foundation of civil liberty: though in this work he ſeems to have been actuated rather by the impulſe of his vicious and unruly paſſions, than by the motives of conſcience or religion. We ſhall conclude this ſhort character of the eighth Henry with the following remark, that while his political abilities entitle him to the appellation of a Great Prince, his tyranny, cruelty, and oppreſſion ſeem to exclude him from the character of a Good Sovereign.

Henry was goodly in his appearance; his preſence had the ſtamp of majeſty: he poſſeſſed a ready wit, an eaſy and flowing eloquence, and an incomparable activity, grace, and dexterity, in thoſe military exerciſes and elegant diverſions which were the uſual entertainment of thoſe times

The following account of the ceremonies of Henry's interment cannot be diſpleaſing to the curious reader, as it will furniſh him an opportunity of drawing a compariſon between the ideas of magnificence in thoſe days, and the taſte which prevails in this enlightened age.

His body remaining privately in a chamber, was there cered and put in a coffin of lead, while a ſumptuous hearſe of virgins wax was prepared within the chapel at Whitehall, with ſix goodly pillars, weighing by eſtimation two thouſand pounds, under which hearſe was a canopy of rich cloth of gold, whoſe valences were half gold and half black ſilk, into which the corpſe was conveyed, covered with a pall of cloth of tiſſue; an altar being erected at the eaſt end, richly adorned with black velvet and eſcutcheons of the king's arms; the hearſe was railed about with timber, covered with black cloth, with which the chapel, cloiſter, hall, and chamber, were likewiſe hung. Within the rail were ſeats for the twelve lords mourners, to kneel or ſit; and here the corpſe remained from the ſecond of February to the fourteenth, ſerved with day and night-watches, a herald ſtanding at the weſt end of the hearſe, and deſiring the people to pray, ſaying, "You ſhall of your charity pray for the ſoul of the moſt famous prince, king Henry VIII. our late moſt gracious king and maſter."

On the fourteenth of February, about ten in the morning, the king's body ſet forward towards Windſor, in a ſtately chariot, his effigies lying on the coffin, with the true imperial crown on the head, and under it a night-cap of black ſattin ſet full of precious ſtones, and apparelled with robes of crimſon velvet, furred with minever powdered with ermin; the collar of the Garter, with the order of St. George, about the neck; a crimſon ſattin doublet, embroidered with gold; two bracelets of gold about the wriſts, ſet with ſtones and pearls; a fair armouring ſword by the ſide; the ſceptre in the right hand and the ball in the left; a pair of ſcarlet hoſe, crimſon velvet ſhoes, gloves on the hands, and ſeveral diamond rings on the fingers; drawn by eight horſes trapped with black, adorned with eſcutcheons and a ſhaffedon on their heads, on each of which rode a child of honour, carrying a bannerole of the king's arms. Thus, with an exceeding great train, of four miles in length, the body was conducted to Sion, where it was received at the door by the biſhops of London, Briſtol, and Gloceſter, who performed dirge that night, and next morning the corpſe, being brought into the church, was placed in a hearſe like that at Whitehall, but the effigies was conveyed into the veſtry.

The next morning, about ſix o'clock, after the third ſound of the trumpets, the whole company, the marquis of Dorſet being chief mourner, proceeded for Windſor, and brought the corpſe to the caſtle college gate about one of the clock; from which place to the weſt door of the church a large way was railed in on both ſides, and hung with black

black cloth and eſcutcheons; the church and choir being likewiſe hung round with black; the biſhops of Wincheſter, London, and Ely, in their pontifical robes, with the ſub-dean of the king's chapel, and all the ſinging-men of the ſame, and the dean of Windſor, with all the canons and their whole choir, received the corpſe at the aforeſaid place, whence, after incenſing and ſuch like ceremonies, it was carried into the church, the ſinging-men of the king's chapel on the right hand, and thoſe of Windſor on the left, preceding it. Thus the effigies was firſt conveyed into the choir by divers knights and gentlemen, and then the coffin, by ſixteen yeomen, with black ſtaves in their hands, was brought into a hearſe made in the midſt of the choir, under which was provided a goodly vault to bury the corpſe in, over which was laid a grate, whereon ſtood the ſaid hearſe with the coffin and picture. The hearſe was like that at Whitehall, only it conſiſted of thirteen great pillars, and weighed, by eſtimation, four thouſand pounds, having about it the twelve banners of deſcents. Thus the uſual ceremonies being performed, the body remained there that night.

Wedneſday being the ſixteenth of February, about four o'clock began the Communion of the Trinity, performed by the ſub-dean of Windſor and the ſub-dean of the king's chapel, where, after an offering of gold by the chief mourner, of the knights of the Garter of St. George, and of the king's hatchments, banneroles, banners, and other trophies, as alſo of the king's hearſe, richly trapped, came four gentlemen uſhers, and took away the pall of cloth of tiſſue, the picture being conveyed away before by ſix knights into the veſtry; after which ſixteen ſtrong yeomen of the guards took the coffin, and with five ſtrong linen towels, which they had for their fees, put it into the vault, near unto the body of queen Jane Seymour, his third wife, the grate being firſt taken way: then the lord chamberlain, the lord great-maſter, the treaſurer, the comptroller, and the ſerjeant-porter, breaking their white ſtaves upon their heads in three parts, as did likewiſe all the gentlemen uſhers, threw them into the grave; when Garter, aſſiſted by the biſhops of Canterbury and Durham, declared the ſtate and the name of the moſt goodly prince their maſter, king Edward the ſixth. Thus the funeral ending, the trumpets ſounded in the rood loft, and the company departed.

Henry had iſſue as follows.

By his firſt wife, Catherine of Spain, he had a ſon named

Henry, born January 1, 1511, who died on the twenty-ſeventh of February following.

Another ſon, born the latter end of the year 1514, who died an infant. And a daughter,

Mary, born February 11, 1516, who came, after her brother Edward's death, to be queen of England.

By the ſecond, Anne Boleyn, he had the famous queen Elizabeth. And

A male child, ſtill-born on January 19, 1539.

By the third, Jane Seymour, he had a ſon, named

Edward, who ſucceeded him immediately in the throne.

By his three laſt, Anne of Cleves, Catherine Howard, and Catherine Parr, he had had no iſſue.

By Elizabeth, daughter of John Blount, and widow of ſir Gilbert Taillebois, he had a natural ſon, named Henry Fitz Roy, who, not being yet ſeven years old, was, on the eighteenth of June, 1525, created knight of the Garter, earl of Nottingham, duke of Richmond and Somerſet, and made lieutenant of all the king's forces north of the Trent, and warden of the Marches of Scotland. On the twenty-ſixth of July next following, he was conſtituted admiral of England; and, about five years after, made lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The handſomeneſs of his perſon, the quickneſs of his parts, his expertneſs in all kinds of military exerciſes, his excellent diſpoſition, and the rare endowments of his mind, gained him the character of the fineſt youth of the age, and raiſed the expectation of the world very high in his favour. Theſe accompliſhments, the honours he had received, and the extraordinary fondneſs which Henry always expreſſed for him, raiſed a notion that, in defect of legitimate male iſſue, he would have found a way to raiſe this natural ſon to the throne. But whatever deſigns he had for his advantage, they proved abortive by this youth's too early death, when he was about ſeventeen years old, and before he had conſummated his marriage with the lady Mary Howard. He died on the twenty-fourth of July, 1536, and was buried at Thetford, in Norfolk.

Remarkable Occurrences.

In his ninth year happened a ſweating ſickneſs, whereof infinite multitudes in many parts of England died, eſpecially in London; and was ſo violent, that in three, and ſometimes two hours, it took away mens lives, and ſpared neither rich nor poor; for in the king's court the lord Clinton, lord Grey of Wilton, and many knights, gentlemen, and officers died of it. It began in July, and continued to the midſt of December.

In his fifteenth year, after great rains and winds, there followed ſo ſevere a froſt, that many died for cold, and ſome loſt fingers, ſome toes, and many their nails.

About his fifteenth year, divers things were newly brought into England; whereupon this rhyme was made:

Turkeys, carps, hops, piccards, and beer,
Came into England all in one year.

In his nineteenth year, by extremity of rain in ſeed-time, there followed a great dearth of corn, which would have cauſed great calamity, but that it was relieved in London by merchants of the Steel-yard, out of Germany, and a thouſand quarters ſupplied out of the king's own proviſion.

In his twentieth year, in the end of May, began in London another ſweating ſickneſs, which afterwards infected all places of the realm, by reaſon whereof the term was adjourned, and the circuit of the aſſize alſo; many died in the court, as ſir Francis Poynes, ſir William Compton, knights, and William Carew, eſq. of the king's privy-council: the king himſelf, for a ſpace, removed almoſt every day, till he came to Tittinghanger, a place of the abbot of St. Alban's, where he, with the queen and a ſmall number, remained till the ſickneſs was paſſed.

In his thirtieth year, the manner of caſting pipes of lead for conveying water under ground without uſing of ſolder, was firſt invented by Robert Brocke, clerk, one of the king's chaplains: a profitable invention. Robert Cooper, goldſmith, was the firſt that made the inſtruments, and put this invention in practice.

In

In his three-and-thirtieth year, there was a great mortality in the realm; and withal ſo great a drought, that ſmall rivers were clean dried up; much cattle died for want of water, and the Thames was grown ſo ſhallow, that the ſalt-water flowed above London bridge, till the rain had increaſed the freſh water.

In his ſix-and-thirtieth year was a great plague in London; ſo as Michaelmas term was adjourned to St. Alban's, and there kept.

In his ſeven-and-thirtieth year, on Tueſday in Eaſter-week, William Foxley, pot-maker for the mint of the Tower of London, fell aſleep, and could not be waked, either by pinching, burning, or any other means, till the firſt day of the next term, which was full fourteen days: and when he awoke, was found in all points as if he had ſlept but one night, and lived in perfect health forty years after.

EDWARD VI. the third King of ENGLAND of the Houſe of TUDOR. A. D. 1547.

EDWARD VI. the only ſon of king Henry VIII. by his third wife, Jane Seymour, was, at the death of his father, only nine years and three months old, but a prince of moſt promiſing parts, as appears by the united teſtimony of all his hiſtorians, both cotemporary and others. When the eighth Henry reſigned his breath, Edward was with his ſiſter, the princeſs Elizabeth, at Hertford, whither Edward, earl of Hertford, and ſir Anthony Brown, knight, were ſent by the council to bring the young king to London: but they did not inform him of their meſſage till they had brought him as far as Enfield, where they notified to him his father's death, and paid their homage to him as their ſovereign. The next day, the thirty-firſt of January, they conducted him ſafe to London, and, having lodged him the Tower, the council repaired in a body to pay their reſpects to him, and proclaimed him king of England on the ſame day.

We have before ſhewn that Henry, by virtue of an act of parliament, had ſettled the ſucceſſion of this prince by will; he had alſo appointed him a privy-council, being the ſame perſons whom he had nominated the executors of his will: therefore, on the firſt of February, theſe counſellors met, opened the will, and found that the late king had nominated them regents of the kingdom and governors of his ſon, till he ſhould attain the age of eighteen years. Theſe were,

Thomas Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury.
The lord Wriotheſley, lord-chancellor.
The lord Ruſſel, privy-ſeal.
The earl of Hertford, lord high-chamberlain.
The viſcount Liſle, lord admiral.
Cuthbert Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham.
Sir Anthony Brown, maſter of the horſe.
Sir William Paget, ſecretary of ſtate.
Sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentation.
Sir Edward Montagu, lord chief-juſtice of the Common pleas.
Judge Bromley, Sir Anthony Denny, Sir William Herbert, } chief gentlemen of the privy-chamber.
Sir Edward Wotton, treaſurer of Calais.
Dr. Wotton, his brother, dean of Canterbury and York.

Beſides theſe ſixteen, who were to exerciſe the ſovereign authority during the minority of the preſent king, Henry had nominated twelve other perſons to be as aſſiſtant counſellors to them, to be called in as need ſhould require. Theſe were

Henry Fitz Allan, earl of Arundel.
William Parr, earl of Eſſex, brother to the queen dowager.
Sir William Petre, ſecretary of ſtate.
Sir Richard Rich, counſellor at law.
Sir John Baker.
Sir Ralph Sadler.
Sir Thomas Seymour, the king's uncle, and brother to the earl of Hertford.
Sir Richard Southwell.
Sir Edmund Peckham.
Sir Thomas Cheney, treaſurer of the houſhold.
Sir John Gage, comptroller.
Sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain.

The executors having taken the proper oaths, notifications were made to all the courts of Europe concerning the new eſtabliſhment; and all the commiſſions to judges and juſtices under the great ſeal, were renewed. But no ſooner had the regents ſettled the form of government agreeable to Henry's laſt will, which was publicly read, but a change was propoſed: ſome of the regents obſerved, that it would be very troubleſome for the people, and particularly for foreign miniſters, to be forced to apply to ſixteen perſons of equal authority, and moved that one ſhould be choſen from amongſt them, to be head and preſident, with the title of Protector of the king's realm, and Governor of his perſon."

How reaſonable ſoever this change might appear to the majority, for the diſpatch of buſineſs, the lord-chancellor Wriotheſley, fearing, as in fact it happened, that the choice would fall upon the king's uncle, the earl of Hertford, who was not his friend, and that this would abſolutely deprive him of that ſway in the government, which otherwiſe he might have expected from his high office of chancellor, oppoſed this propoſal with all his might, declaring that the regents had no power to depart from the late king's will, authoriſed by act of parliament: but matters had been ſo well prepared before hand, that the chancellor's objections were over-ruled; it was reſolved to appoint a protector, and that the earl of Hertford ſhould be the perſon. He was accordingly declared, on the firſt of February, Governor of the king's perſon and Protector of all his realms; but, at the ſame time, he was bound down to act nothing without the conſent of the other

other regents, ſo that, in fact, he had only pre-eminence without power. On the ſixth of the ſame month the new protector exerciſed the firſt act of his high authority, by knighting the young king, in the preſence of the lord-mayor of London and many other lords and gentlemen; then the king, riſing up under his canopy of ſtate, dubbed the lord-mayor (Henry Hobberthorn) knight; which appears to have been the firſt act of ſovereignty done by Edward VI.

The next thing which fell under the care of the regents and council was to make preparations for the funeral of the deceaſed king, and the coronation of his ſucceſſor. The firſt of theſe ceremonies was performed in the manner we have related at the end of the former reign, on the fifteenth of February; and two days after (on the ſeventeenth), the regency took an extraordinary ſtep, on pretence of fulfilling the intention of the late king, who had reſolved to make ſome promotions among his courtiers: evidence was examined touching Henry's deſign, and, in conſequence of their depoſitions, the following promotions were made, though with ſome little difference from Henry's intention:

The earl of Hertford was created duke of Somerſet, with the high offices of lord-treaſurer and earl-marſhal, vacant by the attainder of the duke of Norfolk, then under ſentence of death.

The earl of Eſſex, marquis of Northampton.

Dudley, viſcount Liſle, earl of Warwick.

The lord-chancellor Wriotheſley, earl of Southampton.

Sir Thomas Seymour, lord Sudley.

Sir Richard Rich, ſir William Willoughby, and ſir Edmund Sheffield, had the title of barons, by the names of their families *.

It had been at firſt reſolved, that the coronation ſhould have been performed on the nineteenth of February, and the marquis of Dorſet had commiſſion for being high-conſtable of England that day; but it was thought more proper to defer the ceremony till the twentieth, which was Shrove Sunday, and the lord Ruſſel was made lord-high-ſteward for the ſame day. Accordingly, the young king, being conducted in great ſtate from the Tower through the city of London, took up his lodgings in his palace of Weſtminſter on the nineteenth, and the day following was crowned with the royal diadem, anointed in a ſolemn manner, and conſecrated by Thomas Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, aſſiſted by other biſhops and all the chief nobility of the realm. There was a new form for the coronation of this king, which the curious reader may ſee in biſhop Burnet's Collections.

To grace this ceremony forty knights of the Bath were made †; and, on the Tueſday following, the king dubbed fifty knights of the carpet ‡. At the ſame time a free pardon was granted and proclaimed throughout all the king's dominions, out of which were excepted the duke of Norfolk, cardinal Pole, Edward Courtney, eldeſt ſon to the marquis of Exeter (lately beheaded), Mr. Throgmorton, and Dr. Richard Pates, or Pate, who, having been biſhop of Worceſter in the late king's reign, had, ſome years before, gone out of the kingdom to Rome, rather than acknowlege the king's ſupremacy over the church of England. It appears as if the council thought that the releaſe of theſe perſons would be too conſiderable an acceſſion to the Romiſh party, and check the ſchemes of reformation that had been already planned.

But now the ſecret enmity between the protector's family and the lord-chancellor Wriotheſley, earl of Southampton, broke out into a violent flame, which brought on the diſgrace of the latter, and in the end proved the ruin of the protector. Southampton was an obſtinate, reſtleſs, proud, man, impatient of the leaſt controul, and, from the time of Somerſet's elevation, had determined to make him as uneaſy as poſſible in his high ſtation by oppoſing all his meaſures; and, that he might give himſelf up entirely to the affairs of the cabinet, he, without any warrant from the king, lord-protector, or other of the regency, of his own authority ventured to put the great-ſeal in commiſſion, and appointed four lawyers, Southwell, Tregonel, Oliver, and Pallaſir, to execute, in his abſence, the office of high-chancellor of England. A meaſure ſo replete with arrogance and preſumption, could not fail of giving great umbrage to the government, who, influenced by the protector, gladly ſeized ſuch an opportunity of ruining Southampton. The judges being conſulted, declared, that the commiſſion he had granted was contrary to the laws of the land; and that the chancellor, for ſuch an unconſtitutional ſtep, ought not only to be deprived of the ſeals, but might likewiſe be ſubjected to the ſevereſt puniſhment: thereupon the council ſummoned him to attend, when his behaviour was ſo indecent and haughty, defending his own power, and calling theirs and the protector's in queſtion, that he provoked them to uſe him with greater ſeverity than they at firſt perhaps intended. Accordingly he was commanded to his own houſe, not to ſtir from thence till farther orders; and then the council came to this reſolution, to deprive him of the chancellorſhip, and to keep him under arreſt, to prevent his interfering in the regency, from

* According to the evidence, Henry declared his intention to be that the earl of Hertford ſhould be made duke of Somerſet, earl-marſhal, and lord-treaſurer, two great offices vacant by the attainder of the duke of Norfolk; and his ſon to be earl of Wiltſhire, with eight hundred pounds a year of land, and three hundred a year out of the next biſhop's land that fell void; the earl of Eſſex to be marquis of Eſſex; the viſcount Liſle to be earl of Coventry; the lord Wriotheſley to be earl of Wincheſter; ſir Thomas Seymour, to be baron and lord-admiral; ſir Richard Rich, ſir John Leiger, ſir William Willoughby, ſir Edward Sheffield, and ſir Chriſtopher Danby, to be barons.

† Their names not being found in our general hiſtorians, we ſhall give them here, from an authentic record, for the honour and ſatisfaction of their poſterity.

The duke of Suffolk, the earl of Hertford, the lord Talbot, the lord Charles Brandon, the lord Scrope's ſon and heir, ſir Francis Ruſſel, ſir Anthony Brown, ſir John Gates, ſir Alexander Umpton, of Oxfordſhire, ſir Valentine Knightley, ſir George Vernon, of the Peak, ſir —— Holcraft (Thomas, who perhaps was knight marſhal), the earl of Oxford, the earl of Ormond, the lord Herbert, the lord Cromwell, the lord Windſor's ſon and heir, ſir Richard Devereux, ſir Henry Seymour, ſir Thomas Houſſelyn, ſir Edward Molineux, ſir William Balthrope (Babthrope perhaps,) ſir Thomas Nevyl, of Hold, ſir Henry Tirrel, ſir Wymond Carew, the lord Maltravers, the lord Strange, the lord Liſle, the lord Haſtings, ſir Anthony Cook, of Eſſex, ſir George Norton, ſir Robert Litton, ſir John Port, of Derbyſhire, ſir Chriſtopher Barker, Garter, ſir James Hales, ſir Thomas Brycknell, ſir Angel Marcin, ſir John Cutts, of Eſſex, ſir William Scarington, and ſir William Snathe.

‡ The chief of whom were ſir John Radcliff, ſir Thomas Grey, ſir Anthony Augier, ſir John Maſon, ſir John Wyndham, and ſir John Vaughan.

which they did not presume to remove him, as he sat there by the same authority by which they themselves acted. The seals were given, on the seventh of March, to sir William Paulet, till another chancellor should be appointed. The earl of Southampton was not released from his confinement till the twenty-ninth of June following, when he entered into a recognizance of four thousand pounds to pay what fine they should be pleased to impose upon him.

The protector, exulting in the downfal of a person from whom he naturally expected much opposition, now thought himself at full liberty to controul the councils of his sovereign, and aspired at nothing less than to engross the sole management of affairs into his own hands. With this view he resolved to get his powers put upon a broader foundation, and obtained from the young king a patent constituting him protector, with full regal power, and appointing him a council, composed of all the former executors, or regents, except Southampton; but he had also power given him of chusing any other counsellors at pleasure, and was at liberty to consult such only whom he should think proper. By this patent, which was passed on the thirteenth of March, Somerset made himself absolute master of the government, though in so doing he entailed upon himself the hatred and envy as well of the co-executors of the late king's will (which had in this case been manifestly infringed), as of many other noblemen.

The commotions and revolutions in the regency did not, however, so far engross their attention as to render them forgetful of the public weal, for we find in the records of state *, two new treaties concluded with France; one to renew the ancient alliances subsisting between the two crowns, and the other to explain the articles of peace which the late king Henry had made with Francis, relating to the bounds and territories of Boulogne, and the fortifications erecting by both parties in the neighbourhood of that place. Both these treaties were signed at London, on the eleventh of March; but Francis I. dying the thirty-first of the same month, prevented their being ratified: he was succeeded by his son the dauphin, who assumed the sceptre by the name of Henry II.

The death of Francis introduced a considerable alteration in the affairs of Europe, and a total one in those of France; for the new sovereign, ruled by the pernicious counsels of the cardinal of Lorraine and his brother, the duke of Guise, could not be prevailed upon to confirm the treaties with England; and the two brothers being zealous champions for the popish authority and religion, resolved at all events to prevent the projected marriage of Edward with Mary, queen of Scots, their niece: with this view they persuaded their master to recover Boulogne out of the hands of the English at any rate, to reject the treaties, and even to disown the ambassadors which had been sent by the deceased king Francis to London, to conclude them. In this state stood affairs at this time between England and France.

As to those of Germany, the Protestants, who had been ill used by the emperor in the last campaign, found themselves, by the death of Francis I. and Henry VIII. wholly deprived of the assistance which they expected from France and England: Henry II's ministers did not think proper that he should engage in a war with the emperor, to support a religion for which they had an implacable hatred; but, as policy seemed to require that some efforts should be made by France to oppose the progress of the Imperial arms, which had, during the last year's campaign, carried every thing before them, they intimated to Henry the expediency of first recovering Boulogne, after which it would be still time enough to protect Germany, in case the emperor grew too powerful there. Mean while, the princes of the Smalcaldic league having sent to Edward for aid, fifty thousand crowns were privately given them by the regency, as it was not thought prudent to offend the emperor just at this time.

In this condition stood matters at the commencement of the new government; and we cannot chuse a more proper place for introducing the reader to a knowlege of the characters and views of the several chief personages that had the management of affairs at home; the more especially as the history of this reign will be found not so much the history of the king himself, as of his governors and ministers.

We shall begin with Edward, duke of Somerset, the protector, whose character is thus collected by a late impartial writer. He was a person of very great virtues, eminent for his piety, courteous and affable in his greatness, sincere and candid in all his transactions, a patron of the poor and oppressed, but a better general than a counsellor: and though he was not without his faults, yet they were only such as human infirmity exposes most men to, when they are advanced to a high station. He had, indeed, a tincture of vanity, and a fondness for his own notions; and being a man of no extraordinary parts, was too much at the disposal of those, who by flatteries and submissions insinuated themselves into his esteem and confidence. He made likewise too great haste to raise a vast estate, to be altogether innocent. But, to balance these defects, he was never charged with personal vices, nor guilty of falsehood, of perverting justice, of cruelty, or of oppression.

Of a very different character was his brother, Thomas Seymour, lord Sudley; he was proud, haughty, and ambitious. Being uncle to the king, he could not bear the distinction made between him and the duke of Somerset by their royal nephew, thinking himself, by his birth and natural endowments, as worthy as his brother Edward, of having a share in the administration of the government, and finding himself excluded therefrom by the will of the deceased king, he immediately made his addresses to the princess Elizabeth, hoping by that means one day to compass the throne itself. However, his project being not like to succeed, he, for the present, fed his ambition by taking up with the relics of royalty, and married the queen dowager, before her royal consort had been dead a month, which he kept private till he found means, unknown to the protector, to procure a letter from the king, recommending him to the queen for an husband. Upon this the marriage was declared, without using any ceremony with his brother. From this event we may date the breach between the protector and admiral, which was never made up,

* Rymer, vol. xv. p. 126, 135, 139.

though

though the protector, who was a man of great moderation, prevented the quarrel from breaking out: But the admiral, looking upon every promotion and act of power in his brother, to be a leſſening or eclipſing of his own birth and affinity to the crown, gave way to all the means that paſſion, envy, and malice, could invent, to ſupplant him; he joined the diſcontented and plotting nobles, and attempted to corrupt the king himſelf in prejudice to the duke.

Wriothesley, the earl of Southampton, ſeems to have been a man of parts; but he was too troubleſome to his equals, and too violent in his meaſures, to keep his footing in this government. The ſeverity, however, that it had ſhewn him did not diſcourage him from continuing his intrigues; and, perhaps, he was the author of that dark management which wrought the downfal of the protector-duke. But he was perſonally, and not undeſervedly, hated for the cruelty of his perſecutions when in power.

The character of Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, is ſufficiently known by what has been ſaid of him in the foregoing reign; we ſhall only add two things: the firſt, that he did not much love to meddle with ſtate-affairs, for which he was not very properly qualified by reaſon of certain maxims of candour and ſincerity, which he followed, and which were very oppoſite to thoſe generally obſerved in the government of ſtates. The ſecond thing concerning Cranmer, is that he was extremely zealous to promote the reformation. Since he was no longer reſtrained by ſuch a maſter as Henry, he was ſo far from concealing his opinions, that he even laboured with all his power to eſtabliſh them by public authority: he was the firſt mover of whatever was done with regard to the reformation. But his zeal was tempered with a maxim which he believed abſolutely neceſſary, namely, to proceed by degrees, and retrench firſt the groſs abuſes, that the people might be gradually accuſtomed to the changes before the tenets of greater conſequence were cruſhed.

John Dudley, earl of Warwick, was ſon of Edmund Dudley, who had ſuffered for oppreſſing the people in the beginning of the late reign: king Henry VIII. however, was pleaſed, after he had ſacrificed the father to the reſentment of the people, to dignify his ſon John with the title of lord Dudley; and after with that of viſcount Liſle. The young favourite improved this happy revolution of his affairs by a diligent obſervance of the king's pleaſure: he made a conſiderable figure in thoſe employments at court with which he was entruſted, to the king's ſatisfaction, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo remarkably by his bravery and conduct in the wars, that he was firſt made governor of Boulogne, and afterwards admiral of a fleet fitted out againſt France. He was, in a word, both a brave ſoldier and an artful courtier, but of very indifferent morals: he was blindly addicted to his pleaſures, and would ſometimes run into exceſſive debaucheries; nor was he very ſcrupulous with regard to honour and virtue, for as his ambition was boundleſs, he did not ſtick at the worſt of means to accompliſh his ends; from whence we may readily ſuppoſe that he was not very ſcrupulous in religious matters: while Henry VIII. reigned he kept ſtrictly the bounds preſcribed by that prince; and he no ſooner ſaw the majority in king Edward's council for the reformation, but he declared openly on their ſide, as the only way to pleaſe the king, and to advance his own fortune. But as his ſcheme to make religion only a means to raiſe himſelf, was eaſily diſcovered by the Proteſtant party, they never put any confidence in him, nor would conſent to his promotion to the chancery, as he expected, upon the diſgrace of Wriothesley; and therefore, from this diſappointment, we may date his diſguſt with the protector, and a reſolution to try to ruin him, as we ſhall find he effectually did, though he had attained by his means the titles of earl of Warwick and duke of Northumberland; and gained his daughter in marriage for his ſon viſcount Liſle. So implacable is hatred founded upon ambition, that neither the ties of gratitude, nor affinity, are able to reconcile it.

Theſe characters, properly conſidered, will furniſh the reader with a juſt idea of the ſeveral revolutions in the miniſtry during this ſhort reign; and for that reaſon we thought it neceſſary to introduce them. It may have been expected, that we ſhould have begun with the character of Edward himſelf; but the reader is to conſider, that he was at this time only nine years of age, and conſequently could not be ſaid to have any determinate character: he indeed, before his death, acquired a character; but this is not the proper place to treat of it: we ſhall therefore defer, to another opportunity, any farther account of the diſpoſition of Edward, and reſume the thread of our hiſtory.

Henry VIII. had, ſome time before his death, determined to force the Scots to give their young queen Mary in marriage to his young ſon Edward; and this match appearing moſt advantageous to the crown of England, Henry had, during his laſt illneſs, given poſitive directions to execute his project at all events; therefore the protector reſolved to put in force the dying injunctions of his royal maſter, and, if poſſible, to unite the two kingdoms by uniting the hands of their two youthful ſovereigns. Previous, however, to taking the neceſſary ſteps for that purpoſe, he thought it adviſeable to ſettle the internal government of the kingdom, and to put the reformation, for which he was a ſtaunch friend, upon ſuch a footing as might enable it to baffle the attacks of its open or concealed enemies.

In this he was not a little aſſiſted by the affection young Edward himſelf had to the reformed principles, and by the cool and politic councils of Cranmer. This prelate had, without being ſeen to ſtir in the matter, procured ſeveral of the beſt books written abroad againſt popery, to be tranſlated and publiſhed in England. The queen dowager, Catherine Parr, not only aſſiſted in publiſhing, but tranſlated great part of the Paraphraſe of Eraſmus upon the New Teſtament. Cranmer had likewiſe publiſhed a Catechiſm, which he tranſlated and improved from the Latin, and which was chiefly aimed againſt the aboliſhed worſhip: he alſo compoſed ſeveral Homilies, to be delivered by prieſts in the nature of ſermons. A book, of which the late king was the reputed author, concerning the true difference between the regal and the eccleſiaſtical powers, was tranſlated and publiſhed: at the ſame time an excellent treatiſe of reformation, by Herman, archbiſhop of Cologne, was rendered into Engliſh, and printed; part of the Engliſh ſervice for the Evening Prayer, was already, before any

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act of parliament paſſed for that purpoſe, openly performed in the king's chapel: the ſacrament had for ſome time been adminiſtered in both kinds, the doctrine of purgatory was exploded among the reformed, and the marriage of the clergy was allowed.

The chief oppoſers of the reformation were the princeſs Mary, Wriotheſley, earl of Southampton, Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham, Bonner, biſhop of London, and Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, with ſome other of the biſhops, and many of the inferior clergy, conſiſting of the ſuppreſſed monks, who had been recommended to livings; theſe ſtuck out againſt every meaſure that did not ſquare exactly with the ſtate of things as they were left by king Henry VIII. and the hint was given to all the papiſts in the nation to purſue the ſame argument, in which they were warmly ſeconded by their leaders, who charged the protector with deſtroying the form of government and religion eſtabliſhed by Henry's will, from which alone all their authority was derived.

But all theſe remonſtrances and efforts produced no effect; an act of parliament had beſtowed a legiſlative power on the crown, and royal proclamations, even during a minority, poſſeſſed all the force and authority of laws: the protector availed himſelf of this ſtatute, and, the preſent juncture being ſo favourable for the reformation, he, and ſuch of the council as were of his ſentiments, reſolved to improve it. To that end they ordered a general viſitation of all the churches: the whole kingdom was divided into ſix circuits, each of which was aſſigned to a certain number of viſitors, who were partly laymen and partly eccleſiaſtics. The chief purport of their inſtructions was to aboliſh certain groſs abuſes that were introduced into divine ſervice, and particularly with regard to images; but at the ſame time they were directed to proceed with the greateſt delicacy and reſerve. With this viſitation commenced the execution of the deſign already formed of perfecting the reformation, which was properly but juſt begun in the former reign.

The protector now turned all his attention to the war with Scotland; and in proſecution of this plan aſſembled an army of eighteen thouſand men, and equipped a fleet of ſixty ſail, one half of which were ſhips of war, the other loaded with proviſions and ammunition; the command of the fleet he beſtowed upon lord Clinton, while himſelf, aſſiſted by the earl of Warwick, was to conduct the land forces. While this armament was getting ready, the French ambaſſador, by orders from his court, applied to the regency, deſiring them to conſent to a negociation, in order to compromiſe matters if poſſible without the effuſion of blood. The protector, who was deſirous of keeping fair with the French court, readily prevailed on the regents to comply with the ambaſſador's requeſt, and Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, and ſir Thomas Rowe, were appointed, on the part of England, to meet the Scottiſh commiſſioners at Newcaſtle, at which place conferences were opened on the fourth of Auguſt; but as Tonſtal and his collegue had orders to break up the congreſs immediately, if the Scottiſh ambaſſadors had no power to conſent to the marriage, and as they declared no ſuch powers were veſted in them, the negociation proved fruitleſs, and the protector-duke, with his army, entered Scotland, by the way of Berwick, on the ſecond of September.

The pretence for theſe hoſtile proceedings was to revenge ſome depredations committed by the Scottiſh borderers: but, beſides that the protector renewed the ancient claim of the ſuperiority of England, which was pompouſly aſſerted in a letter ſet forth by biſhop Tonſtal; and the protector himſelf iſſued a manifeſto, in which he enforced the neceſſity and expediency of a marriage being immediately concluded between the young queen of Scots and Edward, by a variety of arguments. Theſe were deduced from the ſituation of the two kingdoms, which nature, by cutting them from all communication with foreign ſtates, and ſurrounding them by the ocean, ſeemed to have deſigned for one empire; from the ſimilarity of the inhabitants in laws, language, manners, and cuſtoms, by which means they might the more eaſily be united into one people; the equality of the young king and queen in point of age and fortune; the imminent danger to which Scotland was perpetually expoſed from the hoſtile attempts of a richer and more powerful neighbour; the many and great advantages that muſt neceſſarily reſult to the natives of both countries from living in a ſtate of peace and ſecurity: and the protector added, that, beſides all theſe conſiderations, poſitive engagements had been made for concluding this alliance; and that the Scots were bound in honour to perform what their intereſt and ſafety ſo loudly demanded.

He ſoon found, however, that all theſe remonſtrances were rendered ineffectual by the arts and intrigues of the queen-dowager of Scotland, who was warmly attached to the intereſts of France and to the Roman catholic religion: and, much againſt his will, found nothing left but to compel the Scots by force of arms to ſubmit to a meaſure, which no motives of policy or prudence could induce them to embrace: accordingly, leaving Berwick, he continued his march towards Edinburgh, without meeting with any reſiſtance, except from ſome ſmall caſtles which were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion.

The earl of Arran, governor of Scotland, had collected the whole force of the kingdom, and his army, which was twice as numerous as that of the Engliſh, had taken poſt at Muſſelburgh, on a very advantageous ground, ſecured by the banks of the river Eſke, about ſix miles from Edinburgh. The Engliſh army lay at Preſton Pans. Several encounters happened while they were in this ſituation, and one in particular, in which the earl of Warwick was in great danger of being taken priſoner. It is not improbable that the Engliſh army, notwithſtanding all the precautions that had been taken, found itſelf greatly diſtreſſed in its late march; for we find that the protector-duke, on the approach of the Scottiſh army, ſent a letter to the earl of Arran, in which he aſſured that nobleman of his good intentions towards the kingdom and people of Scotland, and declared himſelf ready to return to England, and to pay all the damages they had ſuffered from his army, provided they would allow their infant queen to be educated in England, and to continue unbetrothed till ſhe ſhould come to years of diſcretion, and that then ſhe ſhould be left to her own liberty to make choice of a huſband. All theſe offers were rejected by the Scots, and ſeveral bravading meſſages came from their camp, which expoſed their inſolence rather than diſcovered their courage.

The

BRITISH
9 JAN 65
MUSEUM

Engrav'd for Mortimer's History of England.

EDWARD VI.

London, Printed for J. Wilson & J. Fell, in Pater Noster Row.

S. Wale delin.

C. Grignion sculp.

The protector-duke now reſolved upon a general engagement as ſoon as a proper opportunity ſhould offer for the ſame with a proſpect of advantage. The river Eſke ran between the two camps, and both armies continued inactive until the Engliſh ſhips arrived in the Firth of Forth, and lay ſo as to flank the Scots: the Engliſh then made a feint, as if they deſigned to take up a ground which commanded the enemy's camp; this had the deſired effect, for when the Scots ſaw the protector-duke alter his poſition, and advance towards the ſeaſhore, they made not the leaſt doubt that he intended to re-embark and make his eſcape on board his ſhips, which at that very time moved into the harbour of Muſſelburgh. Deluded by theſe appearances and their own vanity, orders were given for advancing to charge the flying foe, which they could not do without paſſing through a plain which lay before the Engliſh camp, and expoſe themſelves to all the fire as well from the ſhips in the harbour as the enemy's army.

The Scottiſh regent drew up his men in three bodies; the earl of Angus commanded the firſt line, which was formed of their beſt troops; the ſecond line was commanded by the earl of Arran himſelf; the third by the gallant George Gordon, earl of Huntley; and the earl of Argyll headed a body of Highland archers, who ſerved upon the flanks of the ſecond and third lines, and as a guard to their artillery.

The protector-duke was not a little delighted when he ſaw the Scots make their movement, which aſſured him a cheap and eaſy victory. He drew up his troops in two lines; the earl of Warwick commanded the firſt, the protector-duke the ſecond, and the lord Grey of Wilton commanded a reſerved body of cavalry, with orders to attack that flank of the enemy which was not expoſed to the fire from the Engliſh ſhipping. While the enemy were advancing on the plain, they received a full diſcharge from the cannon on board the ſhips in the harbour, which threw the Highland archers into ſuch confuſion, that the lord Grey could not reſiſt the tempting opportunity of attacking them before they could recover themſelves; but this diſobedience of orders had well nigh loſt the Engliſh the victory, for the Scots rallying behind a deep ſlough, and Grey attacking them there with his heavy-armed horſe, met a ſevere repulſe; he himſelf was dangerouſly wounded, lord Edward Seymour, ſon to the protector-duke, was unhorſed, the Engliſh ſtandard was narrowly ſaved from falling into the enemy's hands: but the earl of Warwick and the duke of Somerſet, being determined either to die or to conquer, advanced with ſo much ſpeed to the ſupport of the cavalry, that the latter formed again behind their infantry, and the battle became more obſtinate. The ill-armed Scots could not long ſuſtain the diſpute: the camp-artillery of the Engliſh, which was planted conveniently for the purpoſe on an eminence, played full upon their flank, while the ordnance from the ſhipping (anchored cloſe in ſhore) galled them on the other; and the lord Grey, eager to repair his error, charged them in front with his rallied horſe with ſo much reſolution, that their firſt line gave way. The Highland archers taking to flight, ſpread the alarm of a general rout through all the ranks, and rendered the whole one general ſcene of confuſion, terror, flight, and conſternation. The braveſt of the Scots were put to the ſword, and the rout and ſlaughter became ſo general, that, from the field of battle to Edinburgh (a ſpace of upwards of five miles) the whole ground was covered with the dead and dying. Never was victory more deciſive: according to the loweſt calculation, there fell in the fight above ten thouſand of the Scots, and about fifteen hundred ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. The Scottiſh nobility behaved very gallantly, and many of them were either killed or taken priſoners. The loſs ſuſtained by the Engliſh was ſo inconſiderable as hardly to deſerve mention, it being aſſured that not above two hundred were ſlain in the action.

So dreadful a defeat, with other misfortunes that followed it, ſeemed to threaten Scotland with utter ruin. The regent retired to Edinburgh, and, after he had garriſoned the caſtle, ſhut himſelf and the queen up in Stirling, with the remains of his army. The protector marched directly to Leith, which he took without oppoſition; and entering Edinburgh, made an attack upon the caſtle; but being repulſed, to make amends for the diſappointment, he plundered the town, while the fleet, under lord Clinton, burned all the places on the ſea-coaſt, and took all the ſhipping of the Scots in the firth of Forth.

The duke of Somerſet, had he taken all the advantages his late victory gave him, muſt doubtleſs have forced the young queen out of the Scottiſh regent's hands, and compelled him to agree to any terms he might have thought proper to impoſe: but he was impatient to return to England, where he heard that ſome of the regency, and even his own brother, were forming cabals againſt his authority. Accordingly, after having given orders for fortifying the iſland of St. Columba, which, with the help of the Engliſh fleet, commanded the Forth and the caſtle of Broughty, which lay in the mouth of the Tay (the two chief rivers of Scotland), he departed for England on the eighteenth of September, taking his route through the counties of Marche and Tiviotdale: he left a garriſon in the caſtle of Hume, and made ſir Ralph Palmer governor of Roxburgh, which he ordered to be repaired; and, at his return to London, on the eighth of October, the mayor and aldermen went in their formalities to meet him in Finſbury Field*.

In the mean time the buſineſs of the reformation proceeded with great advances: nor were any of the prelates found hardy enough to obſtruct the commiſſion of viſitation iſſued by the crown, except the biſhops Gardiner and Bonner, who were thereupon committed to priſon: and though the princeſs Mary, on this occaſion, wrote to the protector, ſignifying her diſlike of all the changes which were making in religion, he replied, in very ſtrong terms, that he did not think himſelf obliged to conform to her ſentiments. About this time archbiſhop Cranmer, in the king's name, invited into England the famous Peter Martyr, a native of Florence; Ochinus, who was made a canon of Canterbury, with a diſpenſation of reſidence; Fagus, who was made Hebrew profeſſor at Cambridge, with a penſion of one hundred pounds per

* Now called the Artillery-ground.

annum; Bucer, who was ſeated in the divinity-chair at Oxford, as Peter Martyr was at Cambridge, each with a penſion of one hundred pounds a year.

The protector was no ſooner arrived at London, than he found that his brother Thomas, who had been lately created by patent lord high-admiral of England, had not only caballed with his enemies, but had made vigorous efforts to ſupplant him in his high poſt, having gained ſuch an aſcendancy over Edward, that he had perſuaded him to write, with his own hand, a letter to the houſe of commons, recommending him to their choice as governor of the king's perſon, a poſt to which he ſaid he was intitled by the former uſages of parliaments, as being uncle to the king. This pretenſion ſtruck at the root of all the protector's greatneſs, but ſtill he endeavoured to reclaim his brother by methods of gentleneſs and munificence; but finding him ſtill determined to puſh his point, the duke ſaw that nothing but a parliament could either ſave or ſerve him. Summons were therefore iſſued for holding a ſeſſion on the fourth of the following month.

In the mean time he informed the council of the letter his brother had obtained from the young king, and that he propoſed to offer the ſame to the houſe at its meeting; whereupon ſeveral lords were ſent by the council to diſſuade the admiral from ſo groſs a proceeding: and when they returned with a report of his confirmed reſolution to carry the letter, they next day ſent an order to him to appear before them in council, which he at firſt refuſed to comply with, till they threatened to deprive him of all his offices, commit him to the Tower, and indict him upon the ſtatute which made it death for any perſon to diſturb the eſtabliſhed government. Theſe menaces brought him a little to conſider the danger he ſhould run by diſobeying the council, and at laſt to pretend a reconciliation with his brother, and ſubmiſſion to the regency; I ſay to pretend a reconciliation, for he never ceaſed privately to incenſe the king againſt the protector and his other miniſters, which was diligently obſerved by the ſpies ſet over him, and made the protector ever after look upon him as a very dangerous enemy.

The chancellorſhip being at this time vacant, ſince the diſgrace of Wriotheſley, a few days before the parliament met, the privy-counſellor lord Rich was made chancellor. He was grand-ſon to Richard Rich, a wealthy mercer, and ſheriff of London; this gentleman had been bred a lawyer, and, by his pliant temper, raiſed himſelf to the pinnacle of the law. On the third of November, the day before the meeting of the parliament, the council ordered the great-ſeal to be fixed to a patent, to warrant the protector "to ſit in parliament upon a ſtool under the cloth of ſtate, on the right hand of the throne, whether the king was preſent or not." The duke, by the ſame patent, was intitled "to all privileges and pre-eminences ever enjoyed by any former uncle, either by father's or mother's ſide, to a king of England, or by any protector of the kingdom during the minority, with a Non obſtante to all ſtatutes to the contrary*." Theſe honours were not ſo neceſſary as they were invidious, particularly to the old nobility, and created the duke a great many enemies, who ſcrupled not to take occaſion from hence to accuſe him of aſpiring too high, and of an intention to deſtroy the form of government eſtabliſhed by the late king.

But if Somerſet diſcovered his vanity and weakneſe in aſſuming ſo much ſtate and grandeur, he merits the higheſt praiſe on account of the laws enacted, through his influence, in the ſeſſion of parliament, which now met on the fourth of November, and by whom the rigour of former ſtatutes was greatly ſoftened, and ſome ſecurity given to the privileges of the people. The firſt act was to repeal all laws which extended the crime of treaſon beyond the ſtatute of 28 Edw. III. All laws paſſed during the late reign extending the crime of felony; all the former laws againſt Lollards, or heretics, together with the bloody ſtatute of the Six Articles; no perſon was to be accuſed of words but within a month after they were ſpoken. By theſe repeals ſome of the moſt ſevere laws that ever were enacted in England were annulled, and the people began to have the happy proſpect of enjoying ſome ſhare of civil and religious liberty. Hereſy, however, was ſtill a capital crime by the common law, and was liable to the penalty of burning; but there was no preciſe ſtandard by which that crime could be aſcertained, a circumſtance which might either be advantageous or prejudicial to the public ſecurity, according to the rigour or lenity of the judges.

The parliament alſo repealed that law, the deſtruction of all laws, by which the king's proclamation was made equal to a ſtatute; they likewiſe mitigated that other law, paſſed in the twenty-eighth of the late reign, by which the king was empowered to annul all laws enacted before he had attained his twenty-fourth year: at the ſame time they left him at liberty, after he ſhould come to the ſaid age, to annul them for the future by his letters patent; but he could not reverſe any effects which had already enſued from them.

There were likewiſe ſeveral laws enacted, which contributed greatly to promote the reformation; the cup was reſtored to the laity; private maſſes were aboliſhed; the king was inveſted with a power of creating biſhops, without any election of the chapter; and all proceſſes in the biſhops courts (thoſe of Canterbury excepted) were to be carried on in the king's name, and ſealed by his ſeal, as in courts of common law.

In this parliament a ſtatute was made againſt vagrants, by which it was enacted, "That any man or woman not being diſabled by age, accident, or ſickneſs, and not having lands or other means ſufficient to maintain them, that wandered up and down idly for three days together, without employment, ſuch perſons, being brought before two juſtices of the peace, were to be ſlaves two years to the perſon that brought them, and marked with the letter V."

It appears upon the face of this act, that it was chiefly levelled againſt the ouſted monks, and other religious perſons, who being deſtitute of all proviſions, except a ſmall ill-paid penſion, which ſome of them had, were obliged to go about the country for ſubſiſtance, and, it ſeems, gave the people unfavourable impreſſions of the reformation.

But the bill, which made the greateſt noiſe in this parliament, was that which gave chantries and col-

* Rymer, vol. xv. p. 164.

leges

leges to the crown. The pretext for puſhing this bill, was to enable the king to pay part of his debts; the reaſon was, the hopes which the courtiers had, by ſales or gifts of them, to enlarge their own eſtates. Cranmer and ſeveral biſhops were of opinion, that the revenues of the church, by the impropriation of the tythes, and other methods of alienation were already too much reduced; he therefore ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the bill, and was joined by the biſhops of London, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Wincheſter, and Chicheſter: but it paſſed the houſe of peers; and, notwithſtanding ſome oppoſition, that of the commons likewiſe. An act had paſſed in the late reign, granting thoſe chantries to the crown; but, it ſeems, the commiſſioners entruſted with this act had neglected to take poſſeſſion of them, and therefore this new act became neceſſary. By this act no fewer than two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chantries and other religious foundations fell to the crown, with a few reſerves of penſions to be paid to the ouſted incumbents.

It was likewiſe decreed, that all who denied the ſupremacy of the king, or maintained that of the pope, ſhould, for their firſt offence, forfeit their goods and chattels, and be impriſoned during pleaſure; for the ſecond offence, ſhould be ſubject to Præmunire; and for the third offence, be attainted of high-treaſon.

The penalties of this laſt crime were denounced againſt all who ſhould endeavour, by writing, printing, or any overt-act or deed, to deprive the king of his eſtate or titles, particularly of his ſupremacy, or to beſtow them on any other, as well as againſt the heirs of the crown who ſhould attempt to uſurp upon one another, and to break the eſtabliſhed order of ſucceſſion.

The convocation aſſembled at the ſame time with the parliament; and as it appeared the freedom of their debates were greatly hampered by the rigour of the Six Articles, the king indulged them with a diſpenſation from that ſtatute, before it was annulled by parliament.

The lower houſe of convocation preſented a petition, deſiring that they might have the liberty of ſitting with the commons in parliament; or, if this privilege, which they pretended to claim by ancient right, was denied them, they required that no law concerning religion might be enacted in parliament without their conſent and approbation.

But the principles of that age were more favourble to the civil than the eccleſiaſtical power; and, though it is probable that the lower clergy had a right of ſending repreſentatives to the houſe of commons, yet that practice had been diſcontinued for above two centuries, and the preſent juncture was by no means a proper ſeaſon for endeavouring to revive it.

This parliament, having gone through its buſineſs, broke up on the twenty-fourth of December, after having granted the king a ſubſidy, and paſſed an act of grace, by which biſhop Gardiner and Bonner were diſcharged from the Fleet, none being excepted but ſuch priſoners as were confined in the Tower of London.

In the courſe of this year the face of affairs in Germany was entirely changed; the emperor defeated and took priſoner John Frederick, elector of Saxony, and declared his couſin Maurice elector, who at the ſame time took poſſeſſion of the electoral dominions. After this diſaſter, the landgrave of Heſſe, finding himſelf unable to maintain the war, made the beſt terms he could with the emperor, and came to him upon the faith of a ſafe-conduct, which expreſly ran, that he ſhould not be liable to *any* impriſonment; but, by a groſs fraud, inſtead of the German word *einig*, which ſignifies *any*, the word *eunig*, which ſignifies *perpetual*, was inſerted; by this baſe artifice he was detained a priſoner, to be releaſed at the emperor's pleaſure. The impriſonment of the two heads rendered the proteſtant party very weak, and the emperor's triumphant, who now made ſundry alterations, tending to deſtroy the reformation in Germany *.

In the beginning of the year 1548, the council made ſeveral alterations in the ceremonies of religion: it forbad the ſuperſtitious bleſſing of candles on the day of the Purification (February 2, thence called Candlemas-day), the bleſſing of aſhes on the firſt day of Lent (Aſh Wedneſday), and of palms on the Sunday next before Eaſter (or Palm Sunday); all Wakes and Plough-Monday days were forbidden, and ordered to be ſuppreſſed. A few days after, they approved of the people's zeal in pulling down images, and ordered that they ſhould be removed out of all churches. They alſo did what lay in their power to aboliſh auricular confeſſion, that badge of popiſh ſlavery which kept the deluded people in eternal ſubjection to the tricks and impoſitions of the prieſts. But theſe great points againſt popery were not carried without ſome oppoſition, though confirmed by the king's proclamation, in virtue of his ſupremacy: Gardiner, though ſo lately releaſed from confinement, once more attempted to obſtruct the great work of reformation, by publicly proteſting againſt all changes in religion during the king's minority. This drew upon him the reſentment of the adminiſtration a ſecond time, who ſent him to the Tower; and this act of ſeverity to their head intimidated the popiſh party to ſuch a degree, that they conformed to the new ordinances without heſitation.

The lord high-admiral Seymour had for ſome time continued pretty quiet; but now he returned to his former practices of caballing with the ſervants about the king's perſon. As the public had a very indifferent opinion of his morals, it was ſuſpected that the death of his wife (Catherine Parr, the queen-dowager), which happened about this time, in child-bed, was haſtened by his arts, that he might be at liberty to renew his addreſſes to the princeſs Elizabeth. It is certain that he was charged with this courtſhip before the council, and that it was afterwards made an article againſt him; nor did he deny it. But we are now to attend the affairs of Scotland.

Upon the return of the protector-duke laſt year from that country, he received a letter from the earl of Arran, in Stirling, begging he might be allowed to ſend commiſſioners to treat of an accommodation; on which Somerſet, who was very deſirous of terminating matters with the Scots in an amicable manner, named Berwick as the place of meeting, and inveſted the earl of Warwick with full powers to ſettle the preliminaries; but no com-

* Sleidan. Burnet.

miſſioners

annum; Bucer, who was ſeated in the divinity-chair at Oxford, as Peter Martyr was at Cambridge, each with a penſion of one hundred pounds a year.

The protector was no ſooner arrived at London, than he found that his brother Thomas, who had been lately created by patent lord high-admiral of England, had not only caballed with his enemies, but had made vigorous efforts to ſupplant him in his high poſt, having gained ſuch an aſcendancy over Edward, that he had perſuaded him to write, with his own hand, a letter to the houſe of commons, recommending him to their choice as governor of the king's perſon, a poſt to which he ſaid he was intitled by the former uſages of parliaments, as being uncle to the king. This pretenſion ſtruck at the root of all the protector's greatneſs, but ſtill he endeavoured to reclaim his brother by methods of gentleneſs and munificence; but finding him ſtill determined to puſh his point, the duke ſaw that nothing but a parliament could either ſave or ſerve him. Summons were therefore iſſued for holding a ſeſſion on the fourth of the following month.

In the mean time he informed the council of the letter his brother had obtained from the young king, and that he propoſed to offer the ſame to the houſe at its meeting; whereupon ſeveral lords were ſent by the council to diſſuade the admiral from ſo groſs a proceeding: and when they returned with a report of his confirmed reſolution to carry the letter, they next day ſent an order to him to appear before them in council, which he at firſt refuſed to comply with, till they threatened to deprive him of all his offices, commit him to the Tower, and indict him upon the ſtatute which made it death for any perſon to diſturb the eſtabliſhed government. Theſe menaces brought him a little to conſider the danger he ſhould run by diſobeying the council, and at laſt to pretend a reconciliation with his brother, and ſubmiſſion to the regency; I ſay to pretend a reconciliation, for he never ceaſed privately to incenſe the king againſt the protector and his other miniſters, which was diligently obſerved by the ſpies ſet over him, and made the protector ever after look upon him as a very dangerous enemy.

The chancellorſhip being at this time vacant, ſince the diſgrace of Wriotheſley, a few days before the parliament met, the privy-counſellor lord Rich was made chancellor. He was grand-ſon to Richard Rich, a wealthy mercer, and ſheriff of London; this gentleman had been bred a lawyer, and, by his pliant temper, raiſed himſelf to the pinnacle of the law. On the third of November, the day before the meeting of the parliament, the council ordered the great-ſeal to be fixed to a patent, to warrant the protector "to ſit in parliament upon a ſtool under the cloth of ſtate, on the right hand of the throne, whether the king was preſent or not." The duke, by the ſame patent, was intitled "to all privileges and pre-eminences ever enjoyed by any former uncle, either by father's or mother's ſide, to a king of England, or by any protector of the kingdom during the minority, with a Non obſtante to all ſtatutes to the contrary*." Theſe honours were not ſo neceſſary as they were invidious, particularly to the old nobility, and created the duke a great many enemies, who ſcrupled not to take occaſion from hence to accuſe him of aſpiring too high, and of an intention to deſtroy the form of government eſtabliſhed by the late king.

But if Somerſet diſcovered his vanity and weakneſe in aſſuming ſo much ſtate and grandeur, he merits the higheſt praiſe on account of the laws enacted, through his influence, in the ſeſſion of parliament, which now met on the fourth of November, and by whom the rigour of former ſtatutes was greatly ſoftened, and ſome ſecurity given to the privileges of the people. The firſt act was to repeal all laws which extended the crime of treaſon beyond the ſtatute of 28 Edw. III. All laws paſſed during the late reign extending the crime of felony; all the former laws againſt Lollards, or heretics, together with the bloody ſtatute of the Six Articles; no perſon was to be accuſed of words but within a month after they were ſpoken. By theſe repeals ſome of the moſt ſevere laws that ever were enacted in England were annulled, and the people began to have the happy proſpect of enjoying ſome ſhare of civil and religious liberty. Hereſy, however, was ſtill a capital crime by the common law, and was liable to the penalty of burning; but there was no preciſe ſtandard by which that crime could be aſcertained, a circumſtance which might either be advantageous or prejudicial to the public ſecurity, according to the rigour or lenity of the judges.

The parliament alſo repealed that law, the deſtruction of all laws, by which the king's proclamation was made equal to a ſtatute; they likewiſe mitigated that other law, paſſed in the twenty-eighth of the late reign, by which the king was empowered to annul all laws enacted before he had attained his twenty-fourth year: at the ſame time they left him at liberty, after he ſhould come to the ſaid age, to annul them for the future by his letters patent; but he could not reverſe any effects which had already enſued from them.

There were likewiſe ſeveral laws enacted, which contributed greatly to promote the reformation; the cup was reſtored to the laity; private maſſes were aboliſhed; the king was inveſted with a power of creating biſhops, without any election of the chapter; and all proceſſes in the biſhops courts (thoſe of Canterbury excepted) were to be carried on in the king's name, and ſealed by his ſeal, as in courts of common law.

In this parliament a ſtatute was made againſt vagrants, by which it was enacted, "That any man or woman not being diſabled by age, accident, or ſickneſs, and not having lands or other means ſufficient to maintain them, that wandered up and down idly for three days together, without employment, ſuch perſons, being brought before two juſtices of the peace, were to be ſlaves two years to the perſon that brought them, and marked with the letter V."

It appears upon the face of this act, that it was chiefly levelled againſt the ouſted monks, and other religious perſons, who being deſtitute of all proviſions, except a ſmall ill-paid penſion, which ſome of them had, were obliged to go about the country for ſubſiſtance, and, it ſeems, gave the people unfavourable impreſſions of the reformation.

But the bill, which made the greateſt noiſe in this parliament, was that which gave chantries and col-

* Rymer, vol. xv. p. 164.

leges

leges to the crown. The pretext for puſhing this bill, was to enable the king to pay part of his debts; the reaſon was, the hopes which the courtiers had, by ſales or gifts of them, to enlarge their own eſtates. Cranmer and ſeveral biſhops were of opinion, that the revenues of the church, by the impropriation of the tythes, and other methods of alienation were already too much reduced; he therefore ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the bill, and was joined by the biſhops of London, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Wincheſter, and Chicheſter: but it paſſed the houſe of peers; and, notwithſtanding ſome oppoſition, that of the commons likewiſe. An act had paſſed in the late reign, granting thoſe chantries to the crown; but, it ſeems, the commiſſioners entruſted with this act had neglected to take poſſeſſion of them, and therefore this new act became neceſſary. By this act no fewer than two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chantries and other religious foundations fell to the crown, with a few reſerves of penſions to be paid to the ouſted incumbents.

It was likewiſe decreed, that all who denied the ſupremacy of the king, or maintained that of the pope, ſhould, for their firſt offence, forfeit their goods and chattels, and be impriſoned during pleaſure; for the ſecond offence, ſhould be ſubject to Præmunire; and for the third offence, be attainted of high-treaſon.

The penalties of this laſt crime were denounced againſt all who ſhould endeavour, by writing, printing, or any overt-act or deed, to deprive the king of his eſtate or titles, particularly of his ſupremacy, or to beſtow them on any other, as well as againſt the heirs of the crown who ſhould attempt to uſurp upon one another, and to break the eſtabliſhed order of ſucceſſion.

The convocation aſſembled at the ſame time with the parliament; and as it appeared the freedom of their debates were greatly hampered by the rigour of the Six Articles, the king indulged them with a diſpenſation from that ſtatute, before it was annulled by parliament.

The lower houſe of convocation preſented a petition, deſiring that they might have the liberty of ſitting with the commons in parliament; or, if this privilege, which they pretended to claim by ancient right, was denied them, they required that no law concerning religion might be enacted in parliament without their conſent and approbation.

But the principles of that age were more favourble to the civil than the eccleſiaſtical power; and, though it is probable that the lower clergy had a right of ſending repreſentatives to the houſe of commons, yet that practice had been diſcontinued for above two centuries, and the preſent juncture was by no means a proper ſeaſon for endeavouring to revive it.

This parliament, having gone through its buſineſs, broke up on the twenty-fourth of December, after having granted the king a ſubſidy, and paſſed an act of grace, by which biſhop Gardiner and Bonner were diſcharged from the Fleet, none being excepted but ſuch priſoners as were confined in the Tower of London.

In the courſe of this year the face of affairs in Germany was entirely changed; the emperor defeated and took priſoner John Frederick, elector of Saxony, and declared his couſin Maurice elector, who at the ſame time took poſſeſſion of the electoral dominions. After this diſaſter, the landgrave of Heſſe, finding himſelf unable to maintain the war, made the beſt terms he could with the emperor, and came to him upon the faith of a ſafe-conduct, which expreſly ran, that he ſhould not be liable to *any* impriſonment; but, by a groſs fraud, inſtead of the German word *einig*, which ſignifies *any*, the word *eunig*, which ſignifies *perpetual*, was inſerted; by this baſe artifice he was detained a priſoner, to be releaſed at the emperor's pleaſure. The impriſonment of the two heads rendered the proteſtant party very weak, and the emperor's triumphant, who now made ſundry alterations, tending to deſtroy the reformation in Germany *.

In the beginning of the year 1548, the council made ſeveral alterations in the ceremonies of religion: it forbad the ſuperſtitious bleſſing of candles on the day of the Purification (February 2, thence called Candlemas-day), the bleſſing of aſhes on the firſt day of Lent (Aſh Wedneſday), and of palms on the Sunday next before Eaſter (or Palm Sunday); all Wakes and Plough-Monday days were forbidden, and ordered to be ſuppreſſed. A few days after, they approved of the people's zeal in pulling down images, and ordered that they ſhould be removed out of all churches. They alſo did what lay in their power to aboliſh auricular confeſſion, that badge of popiſh ſlavery which kept the deluded people in eternal ſubjection to the tricks and impoſitions of the prieſts. But theſe great points againſt popery were not carried without ſome oppoſition, though confirmed by the king's proclamation, in virtue of his ſupremacy: Gardiner, though ſo lately releaſed from confinement, once more attempted to obſtruct the great work of reformation, by publicly proteſting againſt all changes in religion during the king's minority. This drew upon him the reſentment of the adminiſtration a ſecond time, who ſent him to the Tower; and this act of ſeverity to their head intimidated the popiſh party to ſuch a degree, that they conformed to the new ordinances without heſitation.

The lord high-admiral Seymour had for ſome time continued pretty quiet; but now he returned to his former practices of caballing with the ſervants about the king's perſon. As the public had a very indifferent opinion of his morals, it was ſuſpected that the death of his wife (Catherine Parr, the queen-dowager), which happened about this time, in child-bed, was haſtened by his arts, that he might be at liberty to renew his addreſſes to the princeſs Elizabeth. It is certain that he was charged with this courtſhip before the council, and that it was afterwards made an article againſt him; nor did he deny it. But we are now to attend the affairs of Scotland.

Upon the return of the protector-duke laſt year from that country, he received a letter from the earl of Arran, in Stirling, begging he might be allowed to ſend commiſſioners to treat of an accommodation; on which Somerſet, who was very deſirous of terminating matters with the Scots in an amicable manner, named Berwick as the place of meeting, and inveſted the earl of Warwick with full powers to ſettle the preliminaries; but no com-

* Sleidan. Burnet.

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miſſioners from Scotland ever appeared, this propoſal of the Scots being only an artifice to gain time, until they could receive aſſiſtance from France, whoſe miniſtry had given them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of a powerful ſupport; and in the mean time they laid ſiege to Broughty caſtle, which the Engliſh had garriſoned. This obliged the protector, contrary to his inclination, to continue the war, and to ſend Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, againſt the Scots, in the character of his lieutenant-general, having granted him a commiſſion for this purpoſe by the authority of a new patent, which was afterwards urged as an article of accuſation againſt him. In the mean time the lord Grey of Wilton took and fortified Haddington, which gave him the command of the moſt fruitful part of Scotland, and from whence he made excurſions to the very gates of Edinburgh, from which it was diſtant not above twelve miles. Soon after he took the fort of Lauder alſo, without the Scots thinking proper to attempt the retaking either till they heard of the French ſuccours landing at Leith, about the beginning of June.

Theſe ſuccours conſiſted of ſix thouſand men, the beſt troops, and commanded by d'Eſſe, one of the beſt officers in France; they would not, however, act offenſively againſt England till the young queen of Scotland was put into their hands, and ſent into France: ſhe was accordingly committed to the care of Mr. de Villegagnon, the French admiral, who conducted her north-about, in order to avoid the Engliſh fleet, under the lord-admiral Seymour, who made ſeveral fruitleſs deſcents upon the coaſt; but having miſſed the chief object of his expedition, he returned home, after doing very little damage to the enemy.

The French having thus obtained their ends, joined the Scots in forming the ſiege of Haddington, which was nobly defended by Wilford, whom the lord Grey had made its governor. While they were before the place, they had the good fortune to ſurprize and cut off a party of thirteen hundred men, ſent under ſir Robert Bowes and ſir Thomas Palmer to its relief; but were themſelves forced to raiſe the ſiege at the approach of the earl of Shrewſbury, with twenty-two thouſand men, among whom were three thouſand Germans, hired of the princes of the league. With ſuch a force it would ſeem that the earl had it in his power greatly to diſtreſs the enemy; but, by an infatuation not to be accounted for, after having ſupplied the caſtle with proviſions, he retired abruptly into England, which gave the French ſo much ſpirits, that they made an inroad into England as far as Newcaſtle, and, meeting with no reſiſtance, returned laden with ſpoil. The French general, d'Eſſe, flushed with this ſucceſs, began to behave with ſo much imperiouſneſs towards the Scots, that the queen-dowager wrote over to his court to deſire he might be recalled; but the French miniſtry, though they granted her requeſt in this particular, gave her and the Scots much greater reaſon of complaint, by forcing upon them Mr. Montluc, biſhop of Valence, to be chancellor of Scotland, who was ſent over, under the protection of a new general, Mr. de Thermes.

While the war was thus carrying on in Scotland, the protector was indefatigable in puſhing the progreſs of the reformation. The public offices in the church were reviewed; a new Catechiſm was publiſhed by Cranmer; and a new Liturgy, drawn up after a long conſideration and debate. The protector, to take off as much as poſſible, all oppoſition to theſe proceedings, affected an extraordinary regard for the princeſs Mary, and procured for her a grant from the crown of lands to the amount of three thouſand five hundred pounds a year; but we do not find that all thoſe extraordinary indulgences made any impreſſion on her in favour of the reformation, on the contray, ſhe both ſpoke and wrote publicly againſt the late innovations. All this ſummer the plague raged in London and Weſtminſter, ſo that the court removed, in September, to Hatfield, from which place a proclamation was publiſhed for adjourning the term on the ſame account; and another was ſoon after publiſhed for preventing the exportation of all corn and other victuals, on account of the prevailing ſcarcity.

About this time the emperor, on occaſion of a diſpute between him and the pope, to ſhew his independence, propoſed articles of accommodation to the Proteſtants: theſe were known by the appellation of his Interim, becauſe they were no other than expedients to be uſed until a council ſhould be held in ſome town of Germany. Though the expreſſions were ſoftened, they at bottom contained almoſt all the doctrines of the Romiſh church; yet they allowed that a man's marriage ſhould be no objection to his receiving the order of prieſthood; and that the communion in both kinds ſhould be allowed to thoſe who might demand it in that manner. This interim was preſented in a a diet convoked at Augſburg, and enacted into a decree, notwithſtanding the proteſts of ſeveral towns of the empire. But all this while the emperor behaved with the greateſt complaiſance to Hoby, the Engliſh ambaſſador at his court, in hopes that by their means he might prevail on the Germans to accept his Interim; but, after repeated trials, finding he had nothing to hope for from England, he began to act with great haughtineſs. A tariff had been ſettled in the beginning of Edward's reign, which was to continue during all his minority, with regard to the Engliſh commerce in the Low Countries: this tariff was now broken, higher duties were exacted from the Engliſh than what had been ſtipulated, and they, receiving no redreſs for their complaints tranſmitted over to the council here, withdrew from Antwerp with all their effects.

As the proceedings of the French with regard to Scotland, and other matters, ſince the acceſſion of Edward, had greatly diſguſted the court of England, it was thought that a war between the two nations would ſoon be the conſequence of their mutual reſentments; hereupon the Danes offered their mediation between England and France, a motion which the protector was far from diſcouraging. Several ſteps were taken towards maturating this project, but in the end it proved abortive. Such were the ſtate of affairs at home and abroad, when the parliament met, on the twenty-fourth of November. This parliament diſtinguiſhed itſelf by confirming all the orders of council concerning the reformation in religion; and farther, allowed prieſts to marry, and confirmed the new Liturgy, in compiling which commiſſioners had been employed the preceding ſummer. This is nearly the ſame liturgy which is now uſed in the church of England.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in parliament, to the no ſmall ſatisfaction of the friends of the Reformation, the protector found himſelf called upon to exert all his power and abilities to counteract the attempts of his enemies, and to ſecure the king's perſon againſt the violent projects of the admiral, his brother, who, finding every other ſtep to the ſupreme power ſufficiently guarded againſt his deſigns, had determined to convey away the perſon of the young king to his houſe at Holt, in Denbighſhire, to diſplace the protector, and ſeize the government into his own hands, with the aſſiſtance of ten thouſand men which he had privately inliſted into his ſervice in divers places.

The council having gotten information of theſe his factious and treaſonable deſigns, iſſued a warrant, on January 19, 1549, for the apprehending Thomas Seymour, lord Sudley, lord high-admiral, and confining him priſoner in the Tower. They next iſſued a joint commiſſion to the earl of Southampton, the lord Ruſſel, and ſecretary Petre, to receive the depoſition of witneſſes againſt him; when, after having proceeded upon the matter, they reported to the council, on the twenty ſecond of February, that the admiral was accuſed "of committing many miſdemeanors in the diſcharge of his office of lord high-admiral; of protecting and taking a ſhare with pirates in their robberies, and of refuſing juſtice to thoſe that demanded it; of having obſtinately perſiſted in his courtſhip with the lady Elizabeth (notwithſtanding the admonitions of the lord-protector and the council), whom he deſigned privately to marry, as he had done the deceaſed queen-dowager; and laſtly (which ſerved to ſtamp his offence the deeper), his having engaged in a confederacy with one Sharrington, who had put the Mint of Briſtol into the admiral's hands, and had ſupplied him, by defrauding the king and kingdom, with vaſt ſums of money, to enable him to carry on his treaſonable purpoſes †."

Matters being carried to this length, the protector made another attempt to bring the admiral to a ſuitable temper, offering to ſtop all proceedings, if he would make a ſubmiſſion and retire from court and all public buſineſs: but nothing could cure his ambition, or moderate the hatred he bore to his brother. This unexpected ſtubbornneſs proved fatal to him; for the examinations being laid before the council, as has been already ſaid, a charge was drawn up againſt the admiral in thirty-three articles, the particulars whereof, (as they are entered in the council-book) were ſo manifeſtly proved by witneſſes, and by letters under his own hand, as not to admit of a denial. The chancellor and ſeveral members of the council went to him the next day, read the charge, and preſſed him for an anſwer thereto, either excuſatory or confeſſional; but he refuſed to make any anſwer, and demanded an open trial, and to be brought face to face before his accuſers: yet, though he was a peer of the realm, lord high-admiral of England, and uncle to the king, this point of juſtice was denied him, and a bill of attainder was ordered into the houſe of lords, which was read on the twenty-fifth and twenty-ſixth of February, and paſſed on the twenty-ſeventh.

This bill being ſent down to the commons, met with ſtrong oppoſition there, on account of paſſing an attainder in the abſence of the condemned party, and it was deſired that the admiral might be brought to the bar, and plead for himſelf: but, on the fourth of March, a meſſage came from the king to the houſe, importing, "that it was not neceſſary for the admiral to appear before them; but that, if the houſe required it, the lords ſhould attend to affirm their evidence*: upon this the bill was read the third time, and paſſed, in the fulleſt houſe known in thoſe days (upwards of four hundred members being preſent, and only ten or twelve voting in the negative); and the royal aſſent being given to the bill, the admiral was beheaded on the twentieth of the ſame month, by warrant from the regency, to which were ſet the hands of Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and of his brother the protector. On the ſcaffold his behaviour was very undaunted, and he perſiſted with his dying breath in declaring, that he had never committed, or intended, any treaſon againſt the king or kingdom. Thus fell Thomas Seymour, baron of Sudley, contrary to the moſt eſſential rules of juſtice, without being heard in his own defence. And here let every Briton congratulate himſelf on the invaluable acceſſion our liberties have obtained ſince that period, inaſmuch as the proceeding which was then held legal in the caſe of the greateſt ſubject, would now be deemed infamous in that of the meaneſt felon. We are told by Strype, that indefatigable collector of hiſtorical anecdotes, that the admiral's hatred to his brother was carried even beyond his life, for he left behind him two letters for the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth, calculated to incenſe them againſt the protector, whom he charged with endeavouring to alienate the king's affection from them, and to deprive them of their right of ſucceſſion.

Somerſet, when he ſigned the warrant for cutting off his brother's head, did in effect lay his own down upon the block; for they who had been moſt forward in puſhing the admiral to his fall, were the firſt to charge the protector with his blood. The nobility hated both, but thought it moſt prudent to attack them ſeparately; they received but too good encouragement from the protector's unguarded conduct: he had begun a magnificent palace, ſince called Somerſet-houſe, in the Strand; the aſhes of the dead were diſturbed that its foundations might be laid, and churches robbed of their ſacred ornaments to decorate the riſing pile. Whatever private ſentiments the protector might entertain of thoſe matters, it was certainly impolitic at ſo critical a juncture for him to give ſo fair a handle to his enemies; but he truſted to the popularity he had acquired, and in that to a broken reed, as the ſequel will ſhew.

In the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, the lords paſſed an act, giving licence to every one to incloſe his own grounds, if he pleaſed; but the bill was thrown out by the commons: nevertheleſs the lords and great men went on incloſing their lands. This bred an univerſal diſcontent among the lower people, who imagined that a ſcheme had been formed to ruin them, and reduce them to ſlavery; and their diſcontents now broke out into a ſtorm of civil commotion, ſhort indeed, but violent. The populace firſt took up arms in Wiltſhire and Somerſetſhire; but ſir William Herbert diſperſed them, and cauſed ſome to be hanged. Soon after

† Burnet, vol. ii. p. 98.

* Ibid. p. 99.

there were the like inſurrections in Suſſex, Hampſhire, Kent, Gloceſterſhire, Suffolk, Warwickſhire, Eſſex, Hertfordſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Rutlandſhire, and Worceſterſhire.

The protector, perceiving the flame was kindling all over the kingdom, ſought to prevent the direful conſequences of its ſpreading: pardons upon pardons, and proclamations upon proclamations, were iſſued in favour of the diſcontented, even after they had in many places committed overt-acts of rebeilion. This lenity, inſtead of curing, fed the diſeaſe; the people thought the protector to be on their ſide; that both the king and he were under awe of the great men; and that it was the buſineſs of the commonalty to give liberty to them, and relief to themſelves.

The chief inſurrections were in Devonſhire and Norfolk; in the former the people aſſembled in an armed body of fifteen thouſand ſtout able bodied men, under ſeveral leaders, the chief of whom was Humphrey Arundel, eſq. It was hoped at court, that this might as eaſily be diſperſed as the other riſings; and the protector, being averſe to extremities, ſent the lord Ruſſel, with a ſmall force, to ſtop their proceedings. This nobleman being too weak to encounter them in the field, treated with them at a diſtance, and encouraged them to make known their complaints, offering to ſend the ſame to the council. He hoped by this condeſcenſion to prevent the flames of rebellion from encreaſing to a rage too formidable; but the rebels, who in this county were more united than in other counties, being moſtly papiſts, and the prieſts having gotten in amongſt them, had the inſolence to inſiſt on the following articles, without which they declared they would not lay down their arms. They demanded,

"I. That all the general councils, and the ancient canons of the church, ſhould be obſerved.

"II. That the act of the Six Articles ſhould be again in force.

"III. That the maſs ſhould be in Latin, and the prieſt alone ſhould receive.

"IV. That the ſacrament ſhould be lifted up and worſhipped, and thoſe who ſhould refuſe to do it, ſhould ſuffer as heretics.

"V. That the ſacrament ſhould be only given to the people at Eaſter, in one kind.

"VI. That baptiſm ſhould be adminiſtered at any hour, and at all times.

"VII. That holy bread, holy water, and palms, be again uſed, and images ſet up, with all the other ancient ceremonies.

"VIII. That the new liturgy ſhould be laid aſide; and the old offices, as well as the proceſſions, be reſtored.

"IX. That all preachers, before their ſermons, and prieſts in their maſs, ſhould pray for the ſouls in purgatory.

"X. That the people ſhould be forbid to read the Bible.

"XI. That Dr. Moreman and Mr. Criſpin ſhould be reſtored to their livings.

"XII. That cardinal Pole ſhould be reſtored.

"XIII. That every gentleman might have only one ſervant for every hundred marks of yearly rent belonging to him.

"XIV. That half of the abbey-lands ſhould be taken from poſſeſſors, and adjudged to two of the chief abbeys in every county; and all the church-boxes for ſeven years ſhould be given to the ſaid houſes, that devout perſons might live in them, who ſhould pray for the king and commonwealth.

"XV. That for their particular grievances, they ſhould be redreſſed, as Humphrey Arundel and the mayor of Bodmyn ſhould inform the king and council."

The regency received theſe articles with that indignation they merited; and when the rebels found they were entirely rejected by the council, and ſolidly refuted by archbiſhop Cranmer, they reduced their demands to eight articles; but, as theſe were as intolerable as the former, the court broke off all manner of negociation with the Devonſhire rebels, who, on the ſecond of July, laid ſiege to Exeter, and reduced the citizens, who alone defended it, to ſuch extremities, that they were obliged to live on horſe-fleſh and every kind of vermin. They were chiefly encouraged to the noble defence they made by an aged citizen, who, in the beginning of the ſiege, brought forth all his ſtock of proviſion into the market-place, and openly declared, "that he would feed with one arm and fight with the other, before he would conſent to ſurrender the city to a rebel army." Which declaration ſo animated the proteſtants, that they held out till the lord Grey of Wilton joined the lord Ruſſel with a large body of forces, and giving the rebels battle on the ſixth of Auguſt, put them to a total rout, numbers of whom ſuffered by martial law; and Arundel with ſome of the chiefs were executed at London; while the citizens of Exeter, being relieved, experienced the gratitude of the king by grants of new privileges, and of their country by an univerſal applauſe of that loyalty which they inherited from their anceſtors.

This, and the* other inſurrections above-mentioned, and not yet entirely ſuppreſſed, made it neceſſary for the government to put each county into the beſt poſture of defence human policy and the preſent exigence of affairs required and ſuggeſted; and as the number of the king's forces were unequal to the ſervice they were daily called upon, it was prudently reſolved in a council to conſtitute and appoint lords lieutenants of counties, whoſe commiſſions are dated July 24, and are therein ſtyled the king's juſtices as well as lieutenants. They were, amongſt other very extenſive powers, commiſſioned to ſuppreſs all riots, routs, and rebellions, and to exerciſe martial law. Theſe commiſſions were to be renewed every year*.

The Devonſhire inſurrection was hardly quelled when another broke out in Norfolk, under the direction of of one Ket, a tanner, one Flowerden, a gentleman of fortune, and others. There, incloſures were firſt adopted as the chief grievance, as religion had been in Devonſhire; but when their numbers increaſed to twenty thouſand, nothing would ſerve them but the ſuppreſſion of the gentry, placing new counſellors about the king during his minority, and that ſomething ſhould be done in favour of what they called the old religion. The government rejecting theſe inſolent demands, the inſurgents marched to Norwich, their leader, Ket, aſſuming the title of Maſter and King of Norfolk and

* Strype's Mem. vol. ii. p. 178.

Suffolk,

Suffolk, forcing all perſons to follow his camp, and loading with irons all ſuch as made any oppoſition to his will. The rebels took poſt at Menſhold-hill, which overlooks the whole city, and which being deſtitute of all fortifications, they entered at pleaſure. Their leader, Ket, affecting great auſterity and regularity of conduct, held a court of judicature under a great oak (called the Tree of Reformation) on the top of the hill, forcing the neighbouring gentry to obey his lawleſs ordinances, and committing a thouſand enormities, under the pretence of redreſſing ſome abuſes.

The lord-protector ſought to heal up theſe ſores of the commonweal by gentle applications: but the rebels having refuſed, with aggravating inſolence, a pardon that was offered them, the marquis of Northampton, a better courtier than a ſoldier, was ſent againſt them, with about a thouſand Engliſh, and a body of Italian horſe, under Malateſta, an experienced officer; but the marquis advancing, contrary to his orders, to Norwich, he was routed, with the loſs of an hundred men ſlain (among whom was John lord Sheffield, anceſtor of the late duke of Buckingham), and about forty taken priſoners. The king then propoſed to ſend his uncle Somerſet, with a royal army, to put an effectual ſtop to theſe outrages, and, by letters under his royal ſignet, ordered all the gentry of Eſſex to join him, on an appointed day: but whether the duke was afraid of loſing his popularity, or was ſwayed by any other motive, he very impoliticly declined going on the ſervice, and ſuffered the command of ſix thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe to be given to his enemy the earl of Warwick; who marched with great expedition againſt the rebels, came up with them at Duſſingdale, and, after a bloody engagement, put them to flight, killing upwards of two thouſand: their chieftains being taken, Ket was hanged on the walls of Norwich caſtle, his brother William on the top of Windham ſteeple, and nine of his principal followers on as many branches of the oak where Ket had exerciſed his arbitrary judicature.

At the ſame time that the malecontents of Norfolk began to riſe, thoſe of Yorkſhire alſo took arms, but their numbers never exceeded three thouſand. They aſſembled at Semor in the North Riding, and committed ſeveral outrages at firſt; but the victorious Warwick, after ſuppreſſing the Norfolk rebellion, marched againſt, and quickly defeated them. Their ringleaders, Dare and Ambler, being taken, were hanged at York, on the twenty-firſt of September.

But whatever acceſſion of ſtrength accrued to the royal authority within the realm by the cruſhing of theſe rebellions, the raiſing of them was a great diſadvantage to the king's affairs in other countries. It had diverted the forces deſigned for Scotland; and Mr. de Thermes landing there, with freſh ſuccours from France, endeavoured to ſtarve the gallant garriſon of Haddington into a ſurrender. The place, however, was ſupplied, from time to time, during the ſummer, with proviſions, though with great hazard and difficulty; but it being thought impracticable to ſupply it in the winter, the earl of Rutland, lately made warden of the Eaſt Marches, in the room of lord Grey, marched thither with a ſtrong body of forces; and having demoliſhed the fortifications, on the firſt of October brought off the garriſon. De Thermes ſoon after took Broughty caſtle by ſtorm, putting all the defendants to the ſword, except the governor: ſo that nothing was left to the Engliſh of their conqueſts in that country, beſides the caſtles of Lauder, Douglas, Eymouth, and Roxburgh.

Nor were theſe all the ill conſequences of the late commotions. Henry II. of France, encouraged by the inteſtine troubles in England, made an effort to execute his favourite ſcheme of recovering Boulogne to his crown. The court had been for ſome time apprehenſive that he had ſuch a deſign, and had employed ſir William Paget, ambaſſador at the Imperial court, to renew the alliance between the late king and Charles V. and to engage that prince to join in the defence of Boulogne; but Charles being now at peace with France, and not thinking it convenient for his affairs to be involved in a new war with that crown, rejected the propoſal. In the mean time Henry, like a good French politician, entered the territory of Boulogne at the head of an army, took ſeveral caſtles, equipped a powerful fleet, and attempted a deſcent on the iſles of Guernſey and Jerſey; but a ſtout fleet of Engliſh men of war being ſent to ſea, attacked the French near Jerſey, and obliged Leo Strozzi, the French admiral (though an Italian by birth), to retire, with the loſs of a thouſand men ſlain in the action; and Boulogne was defended againſt the whole power of France for a conſiderable time.

But now Somerſet finding himſelf diſappointed in the wiſhed-for alliance with the emperor, began ſeriouſly to think of concluding a peace with France and Scotland: he not only found himſelf unable to ſupport ſuch ruinous and expenſive wars, but he alſo knew that he could not cope with the enemies of the ſtate without money, and had experienced the difficulties and dangers that attend miniſters in demanding and raiſing new ſubſidies; again, he was fully bent to fulfil the great work of reformation, which had been carrying on from the beginning; and in fine, a war gave the enemies of a prime miniſter too great an advantage over him, on account of the ill accidents it may produce; whereas a peace enables him to guard againſt their attacks; and he had received certain information, that the earls of Warwick and Southampton, his mortal enemies, were forming ſchemes deſtructive of his authority. In this ſituation then he reſolved to ſacrifice Boulogne, and to gain Henry to his aſſiſtance: but when he came to propoſe the reſtitution of that place in the council, though he backed his propoſal with the beſt arguments he could, it was rejected by the board with indignation; and ſeeing him unable to continue the war, they reſolved for that very reaſon to thwart his meaſures for an accommodation, and to embrace the firſt favourable opportunity that ſhould offer for depriving him of his dignity.

The preſent diſpoſition of the nation ſeemed to promiſe them great ſucceſs in the execution of their deſigns. The nobility and gentry were highly chagrined at the preference the protector ſeemed to have given the people in the affair of the incloſures, and the commotions conſequent thereupon; and as they imputed all the inſults they had lately received from the multitude, to his dilatory meaſures, and the countenance he had ſhewn the populace, ſo they dreaded a renewal of the ſame diſorders from his preſent affectation of popularity. He had erected a court of requeſts in his own houſe, for the

the benefit of the poorer people; and he readily embraced every other meaſure, by which he could promote their ſafety and welfare. But though Somerſet courted, and thought he had acquired (as he moſt certainly deſerved), the affections of the people, the intereſt which he had amongſt them was far from being conſiderable; the popiſh party, which ſtill made a great part of the vulgar illiterate commonalty, were his inveterate enemies, and greedily laid hold of every opportunity to condemn his conduct: the proſecution of his own brother, and the ſigning the warrant for his execution, appeared in the eye of the world ſo unnatural, that they exceedingly hurt his character; and the parade he ſhewed of his wealth in erecting that magnificent palace in the Strand, which ſtill bears his name, and the havock he made of ſacred edifices on that occaſion, gave great offence to all degrees of men. Theſe imprudent and impolitic actions had given Somerſet's enemies but too great advantages, and they were reſolved to make uſe of them as a plauſible pretext for effecting his ruin.

After ſeveral complaints, diſputes, and fruitleſs treaties for an accommodation, the lord St. John, preſident of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five other counſellors, met on Sunday, the ſixth of October, at Ely-houſe, in Holborn, where the earl of Warwick then reſided; and, aſſuming to themſelves the whole power of the council, ſent for the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, and, after arraigning the protector's conduct in every point for which they had the leaſt pretence, required them to obey no orders but ſuch as ſhould be iſſued by themſelves. The king being informed of this ſeparate meeting of his counſellors, ſent ſecretary Petre to demand the reaſon thereof; but the junto forced him to ſtay with them till they deliberated on the ſtate of the nation; when, after having laid all the troubles and miſcarriages in the affairs of the ſtate to the charge of the protector, they ſent orders to the lieutenant of the Tower and the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, expreſly forbidding them any longer to acknowlege Edward, duke of Somerſet, for protector*.

The protector, upon the news of this proceeding, removed the king to Windſor, and armed ſuch as he could aſſemble at that place and Hampton-court. This ſtep, by giving the diſcontented party an additional and plauſible pretext for complaint, added ſtrength to the council; for the lord-chancellor Rich, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewſbury, ſir Thomas Cheney, ſir John Gage, ſir Ralph Sadler, and the lord chief-juſtice Montagu, pretending to dread the fatal conſequences of ſuch a violence on the perſon of their ſovereign, joined the other counſellors the very next day after their meeting; and they then wrote a moſt dutiful letter to the king, ſetting forth, that they meant not in any wiſe to behave as undutiful or contumacious ſubjects, but that they were diſguſted with the conduct of the duke of Somerſet and his malverſation, particularly for his having gathered an armed force about the royal perſon of their ſovereign, and requeſted that the duke might be ordered to appear and give the council ſatisfaction.

Somerſet, having the perſon of the king in his power, was inclined to ſet all the attempts of the council at defiance, and it was even reported that he ſhould ſay, "the king ſhould die firſt, if they proceeded to extremities againſt him." This ſpirit, however, was but of ſhort duration; for, upon finding that the city and Tower had declared for his enemies, and that even his beſt friends and confederates had abandoned him, he laid aſide all thoughts of reſiſtance, and offered to ſubmit himſelf to the council, on condition they would promiſe to treat him gently; with the hopes of which he was for the preſent indulged: nevertheleſs, on the twelfth of October, he was committed to the Tower, with ſome of his friends and adherents, among whom was Cecil, who afterwards made ſuch a conſiderable figure at the court of Elizabeth. On the fourteenth, the duke was brought before the council, when they read to him his impeachment, which conſiſted of the following articles.

"I. That he had not obſerved the conditions on which he had been made protector.

"II. That he had treated with ambaſſadors, without notifying it to the council; and by his own authority had diſpoſed of governments and biſhoprics.

"III. That he had held a court of requeſts in his own houſe." The intent of this court was to hear poor men's petitions and ſuits; and upon hearing them he either decided their buſineſs, or ſent his letters to the Chancery in their favour: which was reckoned a ſtopping the proceedings of the court, or influencing the judges.

"IV. That he had embaſed the coin.

"V. That he had iſſued out proclamations in the affair of incloſures, againſt the mind of the whole council.

"VI. That he had not taken care to ſuppreſs the late inſurrections, but had even ſupported and encouraged them.

"VII. That he had occaſioned the loſs of the forts in the territory of Boulogne, by neglecting to furniſh them with proviſion and ammunition.

"VIII. That he had endeavoured to inſtil into the king a bad opinion of his counſellors, by perſuading him they intended to deſtroy him; and had even ordered ſome perſons to put the king continually in mind of it, leſt he ſhould forget it.

"IX. That he had cauſed the lords of the council to be proclaimed traitors.

"X. That he had maliciouſly not only put the king in great fear, by carrying him ſo ſuddenly to Windſor, but caſt him into a dangerous diſeaſe.

"XI. That he had armed himſelf and ſervants, and left the king's ſervants unarmed; and that he intended to fly to Jerſey or Guernſey."

The duke not being prepared with an anſwer, was remanded back to the Tower, and the king was the ſame day carried back to Hampton-court; the marquis of Northampton, the earls of Warwick and Southampton, with the lords St. John, Ruſſel, and Wentworth, being appointed governors of his perſon, while the principal adminiſtration of the government was tacitly depoſited in the hands of the earl of Warwick, without any title that might give him a particular authority. In the mean time a revocation was publiſhed, by letters patent, of the authority of the governor of the king's perſon and protector of the realm, granted

* Hollingſhed, fol. 1058. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 135, 136.

to the duke of Somerſet: the cauſe of this revocation was expreſſed to be, "becauſe of the ill government, rule, and direction of the king's perſon, whereby it was brought into great danger; the ſubjects, by civil diſſention, much annoyed; the laws ſubverted, and the king's realms brought into peril of utter ruin." But all the arts of the earl of Warwick, and his other enemies, could not bring the wiſer and the well-meaning part of the council to believe the duke guilty of any thing that was intentionally bad againſt the king or the conſtitution: they indeed thought him too obnoxious to the landed intereſt of England, to continue longer at the head of affairs, and therefore willingly engaged in meaſures that were taken for removing him, as well as for excluding him from ever returning to the ſame.

The diſgrace of the protector-duke, and the change in the adminiſtration filled the papiſts with the moſt pleaſing hopes, on the preſumption that the earl of Warwick, whoſe religious principles were thoſe of the popiſh communion, would reſtore the ancient faith and mode of worſhip; but herein they were miſerably miſtaken, for Warwick had no religion but ambition, and, finding the king had imbibed a ſtrong attachment to the proteſtant doctrines, he was reſolved to humour his inclinations, and not to run the riſque of loſing his point (which was to ſucceed Somerſet in his title and power) by any violent meaſures. With this view he publicly declared his intention to promote the reformation; and he threw ſuch diſcouragements on Southampton (who thought, by his intereſt, to have recovered the great-ſeal, and) who was the chief ſupport of the Romaniſts, and regarded by Warwick as a dangerous rival, that he withdrew from court, and ſoon after died of chagrin. Several other changes were alſo made, all tending to ſhew the popiſh party that they were to expect no merit from their being inſtrumental in the downfal of the duke of Somerſet. The earl of Warwick was made lord high-admiral of England, which office had been vacant ever ſince the execution of Seymour, the protector's brother; the lord St. John was created earl of Wiltſhire, and made treaſurer in the room of the duke of Somerſet; Wootton was made ſecretary of ſtate in the room of ſecretary Smith; and Bonner, biſhop of London, was committed to the Marſhalſea, for refuſing to comply with the late alterations and amendments made in the rites of the Engliſh church: and an attempt was made to oblige the princeſs Mary to diſmiſs certain prieſts ſhe kept to celebrate maſs in her houſe, and to conform herſelf to the new-eſtabliſhed liturgy; but the princeſs having gotten the emperor to intercede powerfully, that ſhe might be indulged in theſe reſpects, the court who did not chuſe to offend him at this juncture, winked at her conduct, and a ſtop was put to ſome proceedings that had been actually begun againſt her upon this head.

On the fourteenth of November the parliament ſat, agreeable to its prorogation in the beginning of the year. It was the ſame parliament that had been called together by the duke of Somerſet, and which had been ſo pliable to his will. We meet with but few acts of civil import paſſed in this ſeſſion: among the private acts, there was one for reſtoring Mary, daughter of the late lord-admiral Seymour, to her blood; and another for pardoning Sharrington, who had been concerned with that nobleman in ſeveral dangerous and infamous practices.

On the twenty-third of December, the late protector-duke of Somerſet was brought to ſubſcribe the articles againſt himſelf, and to petition the lords for their interceſſion for the king's pardon to himſelf and family: this being read in the houſe of lords, it was looked upon as ſo abject a ſtep, that they could not help ſuſpecting it had been extorted from him, and therefore four temporal lords and as many biſhops were deputed to know the truth from the duke's own mouth, who reported from him, that he had voluntarily ſigned the confeſſion. Upon this a bill was brought into parliament againſt him, upon the articles above-recited, and his ſigned confeſſion was urged as a proof of the charge: the bill went through the houſe; the duke was turned out of all his places, he was ſtripped of all his goods, and fined in two thouſand pounds a year in lands. That we may finiſh the period of this great man's fall, we ſhall obſerve, that, on the ſixth of February following, he was ſet at liberty from the Tower, but confined to live within four miles of his own houſe at Sion; nor was he to come to court or council, without being ſummoned: and for the performance of all this, he was obliged to give bond for ten thouſand pounds; after which he received the king's full pardon for all treaſons, offences, miſdemeanors, &c.

After this the parliament, which was truly proteſtant, to ſtem the current that was likely to run through the nation in favour of popery, upon the diſgrace of the duke of Somerſet, thought proper to take ſuch meaſures as might guard the infant church from any attacks: thus we find they confirmed the new Liturgy; ordered all the prayers to ſaints to be ſtruck out of the primers publiſhed by the late king, and all miſſals, breviaries, &c. to be delivered up to ſuch perſons as ſhould be appointed for that purpoſe; and commanded that they who had preſerved any images taken out of churches, ſhould burn or deface them by a day fixed: they then granted the king a ſubſidy, after which they were prorogued, on the firſt of February. It was during this ſeſſion that the eldeſt ſons of peers were firſt permitted to ſit in the houſe of commons, in the perſon of ſir Francis Ruſſel, who, by the death of his brother, becoming heir-apparent to the lord Ruſſel, it was carried, after a debate, that he ſhould abide in the houſe as he was before: ſo it is entered in the original journal of the houſe of commons, which is the firſt journal that was ever taken in that houſe *.

On the ſecond of February, 1550, the day after the riſing of the parliament, William Parr, marquis of Northampton, was made lord high-chamberlain of England; the lord Wentworth, lord-chamberlain of the houſhold; ſir Thomas Dacre, vice-chamberlain and captain of the king's guard; and ſir Anthony Wingfield, comptroller †.

The beginning of the year 1550 was taken up in negociations for a peace between France and England; for, notwithſtanding the violent clamours which Warwick and his party had raiſed againſt the adminiſtration of Somerſet, they found themſelves obliged, now that they were inveſted

* Hiſt. of the Reformation, vol ii. p. 143.

† Stowe, p. 603. Rymer, vol. xv. p. 203.

with the ſupreme authority, to purſue the ſame, or rather worſe meaſures than that nobleman had adopted; but as Warwick had particularly ſignalized himſelf againſt the propoſal for giving up Boulogne, he was forced to contrive to have it delivered up in ſuch a manner, that it might appear to be the act of the council, without himſelf being liable to the imputations he had ſo laviſhly caſt upon another on the ſame occaſion. For this end he employed one Guidotti, an Italian merchant of Southampton, to engage the French miniſtry to propoſe a treaty, upon aſſurances that they might obtain Boulogne, upon which their king had ſo much ſet his heart.

The artful Italian performed his commiſſion ſo well, that he prevailed on the French court to offer to make peace upon equitable terms, and to give a ſum of money in conſideration of the redelivery of Boulogne; which propoſal being laid before the Engliſh council, then entirely under the influence of Warwick, it was reſolved to ſend plenipotentiaries to treat with thoſe of France, at a certain place in Picardy. Monſieur de la Rochepot, of the houſe of Montmorency, Gaſpar de Coligny, afterwards the famous admiral de Coligny, and two more, were appointed by France; and the court of England made choice of Paget, lately created baron of Beaudeſert, the lord Ruſſel, ſecretary Petre, and ſir John Maſon: and in ſuch a hurry were the new miniſtry to have a peace at any rate, that by the end of February the treaty was concluded, the Engliſh being obliged to give up many of their ſtrongeſt demands. The terms of the treaty were as follow.

"I. All claims of either party to ſtand as they were. That the acts of private perſons, if not unpuniſhed by the maſters, ſhould not affect the peace: that there ſhould be on both ſides a general releaſe of priſoners, and commerce between the two crowns reſtored, and all ſhips of war to be recalled on either ſide.

"II. Boulogne, with the new conqueſts, to be reſtored to the French, with all the ordnance in it, which had belonged to the French, and that within ſix months.

"III. The French to pay four hundred thouſand crowns, each crown ſix ſhillings and eight pence (or one hundred and thirty-three thouſand three hundred and thirty three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence ſterling), for the charges and expence the Engliſh had been at upon the place; one half upon the delivery, the other ſix months after; and either ſide to give ſix hoſtages for due performance.

"IV. That the forts of Douglas and Lauder, built by the Engliſh, with all the cannon, &c. be delivered to the Scots, except the cannon that was brought from Haddington: but if theſe two forts be not in the hands of the Engliſh in the event, the king of England ſhall be obliged to demoliſh the towns and caſtle of Roxburgh and Eymouth; nor ſhall it be lawful for the Engliſh, French, or Scots to rebuild them.

"V. Though the king of England ſhall reſtore Douglas and Lauder, yet he ſhall demoliſh Roxburgh and Eymouth, provided the queen of Scotland do the ſame with the caſtles of Douglas and Lauder; in which caſe it ſhall not be lawful for the ſovereigns of France, Scotland, or England, nor their ſucceſſors, ever to rebuild Roxburgh or Eymouth.

"VI. The kingdom of Scotland ſhall be comprehended in this peace; and the Engliſh muſt not invade Scotland without a new and juſt offence given; and the queen of Scotland is obliged, within forty days after the date of this treaty, to certify to the king of England, under her great ſeal, that ſhe accepts the ſaid comprehenſion."

Thus, ſays Mr. de Rapin, all the pains taken by Henry VIII. to ſecure a penſion, or rather a tribute, in lieu of the title he pretended to have to the crown of France, were rendered fruitleſs by this treaty, which contained in favour of England only one indeterminate reſervation of the claim, which had occaſioned the effuſion of much blood ſince the reign of Edward III. There remains to the kings of England only the empty title of king of France; none of Edward VI's ſucceſſors having ever ſeriouſly thought of proſecuting their pretended right. This treaty, ſigned on the twenty-fourth of March, was duly executed by the contracting parties; and Boulogne being delivered on the twenty-fifth of April, lord Clinton, the governor, was made high-admiral, the arrears of the garriſon were paid, the foreign ſoldiers diſmiſſed, and the Engliſh well rewarded for their gallant defence: Guidotti had a preſent of a thouſand crowns, with a penſion of the ſame value for life to himſelf, and two hundred and fifty to his ſon, for the pains he had taken in accompliſhing the treaty. It doth not appear whether mention was made therein of a match between Edward and the French king's eldeſt daughter Elizabeth, which Henry offered the Engliſh monarch as a ſort of amends for diſappointing him of the queen of Scotland; but it became next year a ſerious affair. It ſeems, that when the treaty was brought to London to be ratified, the earl of Warwick feigned ſickneſs, not to be obliged to ſign a peace he had ſo much exclaimed againſt; but this was only to impoſe on the public, ſince it is notorious that he ſigned all the orders and inſtructions, in in virtue whereof the plenipotentiaries had concluded it.

Great were the rejoicings ordered by the government for the celebration of this peace, but the nation in general was far for being pleaſed with it; the reſtitution of Boulogne, the propoſal of which had been made ſuch a fault in the duke of Somerſet, opened the eyes of the people, who began to be ſenſible that the king's glory and the good of the ſtate are but too often made uſe of by thoſe at the helm to cover their own private ſchemes, without any regard to the public welfare. The murmurs on this occaſion ſoon reached the ears of the attentive and politic Warwick, who, to divert any bad conſequences that the public reſentment might bring againſt the adminiſtration, undertook the popular office of enquiring into certain miſdemeanors of thoſe who had been entruſted with the management of the public money, many of whom he brought to a ſevere account. He alſo thought it neceſſary to make all the friends and well-wiſhers of the duke of Somerſet eaſy, rather than to provoke them; the lord Ruſſel was made earl of Bedford; Cecil had a promiſe to be made ſecretary of ſtate; the duke of Somerſet had hopes given him of being reſtored to his ſeat in the council; and, as a mark of ſincere reconciliation, Warwick's ſon,

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the lord Liſle, was contracted to a daughter of the duke's, and ſeveral of that nobleman's friends, who had been impriſoned on his account, were diſcharged upon their own recognizances. All the church-preferments at this time went likewiſe in the channel of the reformation, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve elſewhere.

This year the famous Polydore Virgil, an Italian, who had been now forty years in England, had leave to go and ſpend the reſidue of his days in his own country, the king at the ſame time permitting him to enjoy his preferments here (viz. the archdeaconry of Wells and a prebend of Hereford), in conſideration of his having employed the beſt part of his life in writing an hiſtory of England.

This year likewiſe the city of London purchaſed of the king all the liberties of the borough of Southwark, for the ſum of one thouſand marks.

Little more remains of a domeſtic nature, deſerving the notice of this part of our hiſtory for the year 1550: however, before we proceed to the next, it will not be improper to mention what had paſſed in foreign countries, connected with this kingdom.

Paul III. dying on the thirteenth of November, 1549, the cardinals, who entered the conclave the twenty-ninth of the ſame month, agreed in a few days to raiſe cardinal Pole to the papal throne, and even came in the night to his chamber to adore him, according to cuſtom; but he deſired them to defer the ceremony till it was day, telling them it ought not to be a work of darkneſs. This ſcruple, unheard of till then, ſeemed to them ſo extraordinary, that ſome imputed it to ſtupidity; others were afraid, if Pole was pope, he would reform the court of Rome, and the college of cardinals in particular; however this might be, from that moment they thought of electing another pope. After which, being divided into three factions, they could not agree upon the perſon till the February following, when they choſe the cardinal de Monte, who took the name of Julius III. He gave a ſtrange omen of what advancements he intended to make, when he gave his own hat (according to the cuſtom of the popes, who beſtow their hats before they go out of the conclave) on a mean ſervant of his, who had the charge of his money; and being aſked, what he ſaw in him to make him a cardinal? He anſwered, as much as the cardinals had ſeen in him, to make him pope. But it was commonly ſaid, that the ſecret of this promotion was an unnatural affection to him*.

In Germany, the emperor, having opened the diet of the empire about the end of July, would have obliged all the proteſtants to ſubmit to the determinations of the council, now removed back to Trent. Maurice, elector of Saxony, ſtrongly oppoſed it, but with ſo much caution and regard to the emperor, that he did not loſe his favour; on the contrary, the emperor agreed that the diet ſhould declare him general of the army of the empire, to end the war by the ſiege of Magdeburg, the only proteſtant town which yet held out. Maurice had great deſigns which the emperor knew not, till it was too late to hinder the execution.

Scotland enjoyed great tranquility after the concluſion of the peace. James Hamilton, earl of Arran, in Scotland, and duke of Chatelereault, in France, ſtill governed the kingdom as regent; but he was himſelf governed by the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, his natural brother, a man of a very lewd and infamous life. Let us return now to England, and ſee what paſſed during the year 1551.

As ſoon as the king found himſelf diſembarraſſed from the war in Scotland, by that kingdom being included in the late peace with France, and that all foreign alarms were at an end, he followed the dictates of archbiſhop Cranmer, to promote the great work of reformation; and as the earl of Warwick was determined to preſerve the king's favour, he appeared very forward in aſſiſting therein. On the twenty-eighth of January a commiſſion paſſed, for certain biſhops, laity, and clergy, to enquire after, repreſs, and extirpate the errors of the anabaptiſts, libertines, and heretics. On the thirteenth of February, Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, and Bonner, biſhop of London, were deprived of their ſees for attempting to obſtruct the reformation; as were likewiſe Day, biſhop of Chicheſter, Heath, biſhop of Worceſter, and Veſſey, biſhop of Exeter; who, though they had ever complied with the new doctrine in ſome particulars, were yet unwilling to embrace it in its full extent, and were known to have a ſtrong attachment to the old ſuperſtition, and had even done their utmoſt to reſtore it. By theſe ſevere, but neceſſary, proceedings, the whole nation was ſoon brought to an uniformity of worſhip.

The princeſs Mary alone continued to adhere to the maſs, and to reject the new liturgy: ſeveral attempts were made, both by the king and council, to perſuade her to embrace the principles of the reformation, but to no purpoſe, ſhe perſiſting in her declaration of abiding by the religion of her forefathers. This ſubjected her to ſeveral mortifications, and ſhe was at length ſo apprehenſive of the effects of her brother's diſpleaſure, that ſhe actually reſolved to quit the kingdom, and had even concerted a ſcheme for that purpoſe with the governante of the Low Countries; but her deſign was diſcovered, and meaſures taken to prevent its execution. Her obſtinacy greatly incenſed the king, who had conceived an inveterate averſion to the errors of popery, and, in all probability, gave occaſion to the earl of Warwick's ſcheme to exclude her from the ſucceſſion, by ſetting up the lady Jane Grey upon the Engliſh throne at the demiſe of Edward, as will be more particularly related hereafter.

In April this year, the kingdom was viſited with the ſweating ſickneſs. It firſt began at Shrewſbury, and ſpread towards the North, continuing till the month of October. Whoever was ſeized with it, died or recovered within ten hours: if the patient took cold, death enſued in leſs than three; if he ſlept, he expired raving mad within ſix: and this peſtilence raged chiefly amongſt young men of robuſt conſtitutions: and as it did not affect foreigners in England, ſo it ſpread amongſt the Engliſh alone reſiding in foreign countries. This ſickneſs carried off ſeveral of the nobility alſo, amongſt whom was the duke of Suffolk, ſon of Charles Brandon by his ſecond wife; as alſo, four days after him, his brother, who had ſucceeded him, by which means the title of Suffolk became extinct in the family of Brandon, which was next in ſucceſſion to the crown,

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 147.

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after the two daughters of Henry VIII. The earl of Warwick, who had already formed a deſign upon the crown in favour of his own family, cauſed Henry Grey, marquis of Dorſet to be created duke of Suffolk, and himſelf duke of Northumberland, a title then alſo extinct by the death of Henry Piercy, the laſt earl of Northumberland: and he promoted his intimate friends, William Pawlet, lord St. John and earl of Wiltſhire, lord high-treaſurer, to the dignity of marquis of Wincheſter, and ſir William Herbert was created earl of Pembroke: at the ſame time William Cecil was made ſecretary of ſtate, and knighted; and ſir Robert Dudley, one of the duke of Northumberland's ſons (the ſame who was afterwards the great earl of Leiceſter), was ſworn one of the ſix ordinary gentlemen of the king's chamber, which perhaps (ſays ſir Richard Baker, in his Chronicle) had better never been, for after his coming into a place ſo near about him, the king enjoyed his health but a ſhort time: and indeed, by Warwick's forming his projects for the advancement of his family ſo early, it looked as if he knew that the king had not long to live.

Soon after theſe promotions, the marquis of Northampton, the biſhop of Ely, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction, to the number of twenty-ſix, were ſent in embaſſy to the court of France, to carry over to Henry the order of the Garter, and to deſire, in Edward's name, that commiſſioners might be appointed, on the part of France, to treat of ſome matters of high importance which they had in charge: hereupon the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke of Guiſe, and admiral Chatillon, were appointed to confer with the Engliſh ambaſſadors, who opened the conference by demanding that the young queen of Scots might be ſent over to England, in order to perfect the marriage between king Edward and her; but to this the French anſwered, that this could not be, it having been long ſince determined that the young queen ſhould eſpouſe the dauphin of France. Then the Engliſh propoſed a marriage between Edward and the lady Elizabeth, the French king's eldeſt daughter, which propoſal was very cordially received by the French commiſſioners; but when they came to treat of the portion to be given with the lady, the Engliſh demanded at firſt a million and half of crowns, then fell to fourteen, and at laſt to eight hundred thouſand. The French, on their part offered at firſt one hundred thouſand crowns, then roſe to two hundred thouſand, and higher they would not go, alleging it was more than had been given with a daughter of France. Upon this the conferences were broke up: however, Henry returned his brother of England's compliment, by ſending the marſhal de Montmorency, at the head of a ſplendid embaſſy, with the order of St. Michael to Edward. After this the affair of the marriage was again reſumed, the two hundred thouſand crowns were at laſt accepted, and the treaty of alliance and marriage actually ſigned at Angers; but the death of Edward happening before the princeſs Elizabeth was of age, prevented the conſummation of their nuptials.

During theſe tranſactions, the queen dowager, who had been on a viſit to her daughter and her own relations at the court of France, took England in her way back to Scotland, having obtained a ſafe-conduct from Edward, and landing at Portſmouth, was there met by ſeveral of the Engliſh nobility, who conducted her to London, where ſhe took up her lodgings in the biſhop's palace: after a ſtay of near a week, during which time ſhe was magnificently entertained by Edward at Whitehall, ſhe departed, being attended by the ſheriffs of all the counties, till ſhe arrived on the borders of Scotland. One Stuart, a Scotchman, being apprehended in England about the latter end of the ſummer, on a charge for intending to poiſon the young queen of Scots, was impriſoned, and afterwards ſent over to France, to be there dealt with according to juſtice. This ſummer likewiſe a treaty was ſet on foot for the marriage of the princeſs Elizabeth, the king's youngeſt ſiſter, with the king of Denmark's eldeſt ſon; but the negociation was rendered fruitleſs by the lady's poſitively declaring ſhe would not entertain thoughts of marriage with any one.

Very many excellent regulations were, in the courſe of this ſummer, ſet on foot for the furtherance of commerce, the meliorating the coin, and other purpoſes of national import: but all theſe uſeful ſchemes were likely to be interrupted, if not entirely defeated, by the civil commotions ariſing from the unbounded ambition of the earl of Warwick, now duke of Northumberland, who conſidered all increaſe of titles or poſſeſſions, either to himſelf or his adherents, only as ſteps to farther acquiſitions; and finding that the duke of Somerſet, though deprived of his dignity, and even leſſened in the public opinion by his late puſillanimous conduct, ſtill poſſeſſed a conſiderable degree of popularity, he reſolved to ruin a man whom he regarded as the chief obſtacle to the accompliſhment of his towering projects.

The alliance which had been ſo lately concluded between their families, had not been productive of any cordial union, and only afforded Northumberland the means of effecting with more eaſe the deſtruction of his rival. He began his infamous deſign by alienating the affections of the young king from his uncle, whom he repreſented as a moſt dangerous ſubject: he cauſed a report to be ſpread abroad, that the duke of Somerſet had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king in ſeveral counties, and that he was endeavouring to raiſe an armed force in order to poſſeſs himſelf of the king's perſon. His doors were watched, and notice given of all that went in or out; new inſults were every day offered him, in order to drive him into action. Thus beſet, the unwary Somerſet often let fall ſome menacing expreſſions againſt Northumberland; ſometimes he formed the raſh deſign of waſhing out the indignities offered him in the blood of his perſecutor; and at others reſolved to wait with patience till the king, being of age, ſhould be able to do him juſtice.

In the mean time his treacherous confidents, who had been placed as ſpies about him by Northumberland, informed his enemy of every paſſionate word which he uttered; they diſcovered the projects which they themſelves had ſuggeſted to him: and all this being made known to the king, who too readily believed the infamous tale, he abandoned his unfortunate uncle, and agreed to a motion which Northumberland made, to have him put under arreſt.

Accordingly, on the ſeventeenth of October, at night, the duke of Somerſet, the lord Grey, David

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and John Seymour, Hammond and Newdigate, two of the duke's ſervants, ſir Ralph Vane, and ſir Thomas Palmer, were apprehended and committed to priſon: next day the ducheſs of Somerſet, with her favourites, Crane and his wife, ſir Miles Partridge, ſir Michael Stanhope, Banniſter, and others, were taken into cuſtody. Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted the part of a ſpy upon the unfortunate duke, charged him, upon oath, with a deſign "to excite a rebellion in the North; to attack the horſe-guards on a muſter-day; to take poſſeſſion of the Tower; and to raiſe an inſurrection in London." But the accuſation which ſeemed to be beſt founded was, that Somerſet had formed a project to murder the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, at an entertainment which was to be made for them at lord Paget's. Crane and his wife corroborated Palmer's evidence with regard to this laſt deſign; and it appears that ſome raſh ſcheme of that nature had been propoſed, though no regular plot had been formed, nor any meaſures taken for its execution; and Hammond acknowleged that the duke had armed men to guard him one night in his houſe at Greenwich.

Upon theſe depoſitions, the duke was brought to his trial before his peers in Weſtminſter-hall, on the firſt day of December. He pleaded, "Not guilty," and deſired he might be confronted with his accuſers: but the meaſure he had given to his own brother was now returned into his breaſt; he was denied this reaſonable requeſt, and the court proceeded to trial, when the duke was acquitted of treaſon, but condemned to death for felony, on a ſtatute paſſed in the reign of Henry VII. declaring it felony for any perſon to harbour the thought of killing a privy-counſellor. And here we muſt obſerve, that among the peers who conſtituted his jury were Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, whom decency as well as juſtice ſhould have reſtrained from ſitting as judges on the trial of a man, againſt whom they had declared an open enmity: add to this, that the marquis of Wincheſter, another of his ſevere enemies, was appointed high ſteward on the occaſion.

After the court had paſſed ſentence, the duke fell on his knees, thanked them for the fair and open trial they had given him, and aſked pardon of the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, &c. for the enmity he bore them; but plainly declared that he never intended the leaſt act of rebellion againſt the crown or perſon of the king his nephew. The people, who ſincerely loved the duke of Somerſet, hearing the firſt part of his ſentence, by which he was declared "Not guilty of the treaſon," and ſeeing the axe thereupon turned from him, (becauſe he was condemned to be hanged), imagined he had been entirely acquitted, and manifeſted their joy by repeated ſhouts and acclamations, which was ſoon converted into ſorrow when they were fully informed of his doom.

We are now to attend the duke of Somerſet from the priſon to the block. From the time that he received ſentence his behaviour was calm, reſigned, and unaffected: he employed himſelf in reading and compoſing exerciſes of devotion. He made decent applications to the king for favour to his wife and family; and on the twenty-ſecond of January, 1552, he was brought to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, where he was to ſuffer. He was attended by Dr. Cox; and, after performing ſome devotions, he addreſſed himſelf in a ſpeech to the people, in which he declared his innocence towards the king, and his fidelity towards his country, both in words and deeds: he ſubmitted to his ſentence becauſe it was awarded by the law: he profeſſed his zeal and affection for the proteſtant religion, and a great ſatisfaction in what he had done to promote it.

When he had proceeded thus far in his ſpeech, a kind of panic all at once ſeized the people. Great precautions had been taken by the council for keeping the citizens of London within doors, until the execution ſhould be over; and its hour, which was ſeven in the morning, was ſo carefully kept a ſecret, that ſome of the inhabitants of the Tower Hamlets were not ſufficiently apprized of it, though it was their turn of duty to have aſſiſted in guarding the ſcaffold at the time of execution: when they heard that the duke was brought out, they came in great confuſion towards Tower-hill; and in preſſing through a poſtern-gate, through which they were to paſs, the confuſion increaſed ſo much, that the ſpectators at the execution were ſeized with a ſudden panic, as thinking ſome dreadful event to be at hand. Upon this every man began to ſhift for himſelf, and in the hurry ſeveral fell into Tower-ditch, and ſome were hurt otherwiſe. During the conſternation, which was increaſed by ſtill ſeeing the people running up to the ſcaffold, with arms in their hands, ſir Anthony Brown came up on horſeback, through curioſity probably; but the few who remained about the ſcaffold imagined he brought a pardon, and the air was filled with a general cry of "God ſave the king!" By this time the tumult ſomewhat abated, the guards took their poſts, and the people recovered from their fright: Brown declared he brought no pardon, and a mournful ſilence enſued. The duke, who well knew that his fate was determined, remained all this time unmoved upon the ſcaffold; but by his actions endeavoured to appeaſe the tumult, and then proceeded in his ſpeech.

He profeſſed all kind of regard for the perſon of the king; he exhorted the people to obedience, both to him and the council; he begged they would compoſe themſelves until he had received the penalty of the law; he declared that he died in peace with all mankind; he aſked pardon of all whom he had offended; and beſought the prayers of all preſent.

Having finiſhed his ſpeech, he adjuſted himſelf with the utmoſt calmneſs to the block, on which he received the blow which finiſhed his life.

Sir Ralph Vane, a brave old ſoldier, and ſir Miles Partridge, were hanged; and ſir Michael Stanhope with ſir Thomas Arundel beheaded, as the duke's confederates: they all died as Chriſtians, but denying to the laſt the crimes for which they were ſuffered. Arundel, Stanhope, and Partridge, ſeem to have died proteſtants, for there is an order in the council-book, dated the eleventh of February, for allowing them three proteſtant divines to attend them in their laſt moments. The lord Paget, chancellor of the duchy of Somerſet, and known to be in the intereſt of the duke, was, on ſome frivolous pretence, tried in the Star Chamber, and condemned in a fine of ſix thouſand pounds, with the loſs of his office: to render his puniſhment the more ſevere, he was degraded from the

order of the Garter, being deemed unworthy to enjoy that honour, on account of the meanneſs of his birth. Lord Rich, chancellor of the kingdom, was alſo deprived of his office, for having ſent a letter to Somerſet, warning him of the deſigns of the council: and it is remarkable that this lord, though a peer, and one of the higheſt officers of the ſtate, was not ſummoned to ſit upon the trial. The ſeals were given to Goodrich, biſhop of Ely, with the title of lord-keeper.

The day after the execution of Somerſet (January 23), the king convoked a parliament, in which ſeveral laws were enacted, as well of a civil as of a religious nature. A bill was brought in and paſſed, for authorizing a new Common Prayer Book, according to the alterations which had been agreed upon laſt year. Another act was made for the people's more regularly frequenting divine ſervice. Another bill paſſed, concerning treaſon; and to this bill the commons annexed a clauſe, which was of infinitely more conſequence than the bill itſelf, viz. "That none ſhould be attainted of treaſon on this act, unleſs two witneſſes ſhould come and to their face aver the fact for which they were to be tried, except ſuch as ſhould make a voluntary confeſſion; and that none ſhould be queſtioned (i. e. ſued) for any thing ſaid or written (againſt the king or government) but within three months after it was done*." This equitable and conſtitutional bill was ſtrongly oppoſed by all Northumberland's faction, as it carried on the face of it a direct condemnation of their late proceedings in the caſe of the unhappy duke of Somerſet: but, notwithſtanding all their arts, the bill paſſed both houſes, and has remained ever ſince one of the chief bulwarks of Engliſh liberty.

In this parliament the caſe of Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, made a great noiſe: he was one of the moſt eminent prelates of the age, as well on account of his learning and abilities, as of the unblemiſhed integrity of his life and manners. Though he had oppoſed, by his vote and influence, all the late innovations in religion, yet they were no ſooner paſſed into laws than he had always ſubmitted, and conformed himſelf to every ſyſtem of doctrine which was eſtabliſhed by authority: but not all his obedient and tractable conduct, or the unimpeached rectitude of his life and morals, could ſecure him againſt the rapacious Northumberland, who, having fixed his eyes on the rich revenues of the ſee of Durham, determined to get it into his hands, and to erect to himſelf a principality in the northern counties. To effect this ſcheme it was neceſſary to deprive Tonſtal of his ſee.

With this view he cauſed a bill to be brought into the houſe of lords, charging that prelate with miſpriſion of treaſon, in having neglected to give information of a deſign for raiſing a rebellion in the North, in the year 1548, which had been communicated to him. Northumberland had intereſt enough to carry the bill through two readings in the houſe of peers; but when it was ſent down to the commons, they inſiſted that witneſſes ſhould be examined; that the biſhop ſhould be confronted with his accuſers, and be permitted to ſpeak in his own defence: and that not being complied with, the bill was dropped. Nor was this the only mortification Northumberland met with from this parliament; for a bill ratifying the attainder of the duke of Somerſet and his confederates was likewiſe thrown out by the commons, though it had paſſed the upper houſe: the miniſter therefore determined to part with this parliament, and get one to his mind; accordingly it was diſſolved on the fifteenth of April, after having ſat near four years. Juſt before the breaking up of the ſeſſion, Northumberland procured the vacant Garter, which had been Paget's, for his own ſon, the earl of Warwick.

The affairs of Scotland underwent ſome alterations this year: the queen-dowager, on her return home from France, perſuaded Hamilton, earl of Arran, to reſign the regency, agreeable to the deſire of Henry II. and his miniſters, who, to lure him into a compliance, granted him a patent, by which he was created duke of Chatelerault in France, with a penſion to ſupport that dignity: and the earl, ſenſible that he could not hold his office againſt their will, acquieſced in the propoſal, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of his brother, the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, againſt his reſigning his dignity. The prelate then entered into a powerful league againſt the queen-regent; but ſhe having had the addreſs to promiſe the reformed a free exerciſe of their religion in their own houſes, found herſelf ſo ſtrengthened by their aſſiſtance, that ſhe eſtabliſhed herſelf in the government, in ſpite of the archbiſhop's attempts.

The revolution in the affairs of Germany, in the courſe of this year, was much more conſiderable. The emperor's detaining the landgrave of Heſſe in priſon, contrary to his word of honour given to Maurice, duke of Saxony, and the marquis John of Brandenburgh, had extremely irritated thoſe two princes; and neither they nor the other potentates and ſtates of the empire could ſee with patience the liberties of Germany invaded, and the freedom of religion deſtroyed. There was no way of procuring redreſs of theſe grievances, but by force; and making a league with the king of France, they reſolved to take this method, and made preparations for war with all poſſible ſecrecy. The emperor had entertained ſome ſuſpicions of Maurice's deſigns, but was outdone by him in his own talent of diſſimulation; this prince's apparent frankneſs, and the artful management of one of his chief counſellors, whom he knew to be in the emperor's pay, ſerving to diſpel all his jealouſy. Thus were matters carried on for ſome months, till Maurice and the marquis of Brandenburgh, having on a ſudden aſſembled their forces, came, on the firſt of April before Augſburg, and in two days time made themſelves maſters of that city. Then the confederates, ſeizing the paſſes of the Alps, to ſtop the march of foreign troops into Germany, forced the paſs de l'Ecluſe; and their way thus being opened into Tirol, they advanced with ſo much diligence thither, that the emperor, who, in order to be near the council, had reſided there for ſome months paſt, had only a few hours time to fly thence with his court into the mountains of Trente, and, after wandering there all night, got to Viſtach, a town of Carinthia, on the borders of the Venetian territories.

He was ſtill averſe to an accommodation, in which his brother Ferdinand acted as mediator; but the king of France having at the ſame time ad-

* See Statutes at large, temp. Ed. VI.

vanced

vanced into Lorraine, with a ſtrong army, and declaring that his only deſign was to aſſert the liberties of Germany, which the emperor meant to enſlave, found admittance into the cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and advanced as far as Straſburgh. Charles V. ſeeing no remedy, was obliged to enter into a treaty. The confederates hereupon put a ſtop to the king of France's farther advance into the empire: but this prince, though he complied with their requeſt, yet, not caring to loſe ſo fine an opportunity for conqueſt, fell with an army into the county of Luxemburg, took Damvillers and Stenay, and inveſted Iſoy. This progreſs of the French determined the emperor to ſubmit to the neceſſity of his affairs, and conſent to the famous pacification made at Paſſau, in the beginning of Auguſt. The chief conditions were, "That a diet ſhould be aſſembled in ſix months, to conſider the moſt eaſy and proper means for appeaſing all diſputes about religion, for which an equal number of pious, prudent, and pacific perſons on both ſides ſhould be choſen: that, in the mean time the emperor, nor any other perſon, ſhould force the conſcience, or put a conſtraint upon the will, of any body, in point of religion; nor, by any act of violence, or under pretence of inſtruction, do any thing to the prejudice or ſlight of any perſon whatſoever on the ſubject; but ſuffer all the world to live in peace and tranquility: that the princes of the Augſburg Confeſſion ſhould not moleſt the Romiſh eccleſiaſtics or ſeculars, but let them enjoy their eſtates and revenues, and exerciſe their juriſdictions and ceremonies: that the Imperial chamber ſhould do juſtice to all, without regarding their religion; and the proteſtants, having in it the number of ſeats belonging to them, ſhould, as well as the parties who had ſuits in the court, be at liberty to ſwear by "God and the ſaints," or by "God and the goſpels," at their option: and, in fine, that if they could come to no agreement in articles of religion, this agreement ſhould ſtill continue for ever in its full force and vigour." Thus was the Interim, which had been executed only in very few places, entirely annulled; the landgrave of Heſſe was ſet at liberty, as John Frederick, the deprived elector of Saxony, had been a little before; and all differences with the emperor in Germany were terminated.

This prince had ſtill a war on his hands with France, and applied to the court of England, purſuant to his treaty with Henry VIII. A. D. 1542, for a ſuccour of five thouſand foot, or ſeven hundred crowns a day for four months, and for a declaration of war againſt France, within a month after making the requeſt, according to the articles of that treaty, in caſe the Low Countries, in which Luxemburgh was deemed a province, was invaded. It was not proper for a king, during his minority, to be involved in an expenſive war, or to break with the crown of France after an amity ſo lately contracted and ſworn on both ſides; and the Imperial miniſter was told, "That Edward was not bound by his father's treaty againſt the intereſt of the realm; that the emperor, being preſſed to a new treaty, had declined the overture; that he had not performed the articles of that in queſtion, ſtopping the horſes, arms, and ammunition which the king had provided in the Low Countries for his late war with France; and not ſending him ſuccours againſt the French ravages about Calais, ſo that Edward was under no obligation to comply with his demands, though he was willing to aſſiſt him againſt the Turks, and ready to uſe his good offices for a peace with France, in quality of a mediator." Of all the powers in Europe, the king had certainly the moſt reaſon to be jealous of the emperor, whoſe projects for getting the princeſs Mary out of England were not calculated for his advantage, or for furthering his deſigns of a reformation in his dominions, for the better carrying on of which it was very convenient that he ſhould have no diſputes with any of his neighbours; and accordingly thoſe debatable lands on the borders of Scotland, were ſettled on the twenty-fourth of September, by the lords Wharton and Conyers, ſir Thomas Wharton, and ſir Thomas Chaloner, in conjunction with the Scottiſh commiſſioners.

Thus, at peace with all the world, he was not diverted from attending to the work he had moſt at heart, and cauſed the Common Prayer to be tranſlated into the French language, for the uſe of the inhabitants of the iſles of Jerſey and Guernſey. It was probably not ſo eaſy to find proper perſons capable of tranſlating it either into the Welſh or Iriſh languages, ſo that it did not appear in the former till the fifth of queen Elizabeth; and if it hath not been tranſlated ſince into the latter language, it had been chiefly owing to the power which the Romiſh prieſts had over the ignorant, and conſequently bigotted, people, for whoſe uſe it muſt have been intended, who would never ſuffer a book to remain in their hands, ſo uſeful for their inſtruction, and ſo proper to bring them to a conformity in religious worſhip.

The acts for aboliſhing the papal ſupremacy and aſſerting the regal, for ſuppreſſing monaſteries, levying the twentieth of eccleſiaſtical preferments, and appointing the order of conſecrating biſhops, with ſome other of the late king's regulations, had paſſed in the parliament of Ireland; but the council of England did not think it prudent, during Edward's minority, to puſh matters farther among a people ſo tenaciouſly addicted to the ſuperſtitions of the church of Rome, and of a nature not ſo tractable as the Engliſh: their chief concern was to keep that realm quiet; with the additional force of four hundred men they attained their end to a ſurprizing degree, there not being the leaſt diſturbance there during all this reign; a ſtrong argument of the prudence, integrity, care, and vigilance of thoſe entruſted with the government. Notwithſtanding this extraordinary precaution, the Engliſh liturgy was carried over thither, and, without any law of their own parliament to impoſe it, was uſed in moſt churches of the Engliſh plantations. John Bale was made biſhop of Oſſory; Goodacre, primate of Armagh; and other vacant ſees filled with perſons zealous for the reformation, which gained ground continually among the Engliſh, though, for want of inſtructors, the Iriſh ſepts remained in their wonted ignorance.

It was likewiſe about this time that Thomas Sternhold, a groom of the privy-chamber, tranſlated ſome of the Pſalms into a barbarous Engliſh metre, and the reſt being ſoon after put into verſe by John Hopkins and others, in imitation of what had been done abroad by Clement Marot and Theodore Beza, people, fond of foreign cuſtoms, eſpecially of the Geneva faſhion, began to ſing them in their private houſes: the practice ſpreading from thence

thence to the churches, they ſang them there, without any authority or licence, before and after the liturgy and ſermon; ſo that not interfering with the eſtabliſhed worſhip, it grew into a cuſtom by connivance, and hath continued ever ſince, without any expreſs allowance.

About this time the corporation of German merchants, who lived in the Steel-yard, was diſſolved, becauſe it was become detrimental to England, by engroſſing the whole woollen trade. The regent of Flanders and the city of Hamburgh earneſtly ſolicited to have the company reſtored, but it was to no purpoſe. The court alſo ſet on foot a project for the advancement of the trade of England, by opening the two ports of Hull and Southampton, as free ports: but the execution of this project was defeated by the king's death.

In the courſe of this year three great ſhips were fitted out, at the king's charge, for diſcovering a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies by the north ſeas: the chief pilot and director in this voyage was Sebaſtian Cabot. Theſe ſhips ſailed as far north as the confines of Ruſſia; but they loſt their commander, ſir Hugh Willoughby, who, with all his ſhip's crew, were frozen to death.

On the twenty-fourth of April this year, ſir Andrew Dudley and the earl of Weſtmoreland were elected knights companions of the order of St. George. Some time before this, Edward had felt ſome ſcruples in countenancing this order upon the legendary footing on which it then ſtood, and at laſt reſolved entirely to alter it. A commiſſion had been accordingly iſſued to the duke of Somerſet, and ſome other noblemen, for that effect; and, after mature deliberation, the popiſh ſtory of St. George was totally eraſed from the jewels and inſtitution of the order; and it was appointed that, inſtead of a George, the jewel pendant to the collar ſhould contain the figure of a knight, carrying a book upon the point of a ſword; the book to be intitled "VERBVM DEI (the word of God)," the ſword, "PROTECTIO (protection)." Some other ſtiff doctrinal alterations took place: and biſhop Burnet has, amongſt Edward's remains, publiſhed a paper, containing the whole. But thoſe alterations were diſuſed under queen Mary, and the old forms took place and ſtill continue.

The king had been at no extraordinary expence ſince the treaty of Boulogne, and had received four hundred thouſand crowns for the reſtoring of that place; and the companies of London had paid him twenty thouſand pounds by way of compoſition for the annuities charged upon their lands by donors thereof, to defray the charges of their obits, and the chantries they had endowed: immenſe treaſure had been brought into his Exchequer, by the ſpoil of images and ſhrines, and the ſale of lands belonging to chantries, colleges, and free chapels; yet he was plunged in a debt of two hundred and fifty-one thouſand pounds; which he was the leſs able to diſcharge, becauſe the old revenue ariſing from the crown-lands had been much impaired ſince his acceſſion. In this ſituation it was thought proper to reduce the expences of his houſhold, by ſuppreſſing the tables that uſed to be kept for young noblemen, the maſters of requeſts, the ſerjeants at arms, and others; and to call ſuch officers to account as had either fraudulently gotten any of his lands, or diverted any of his money to their private uſes. John Beaumont, maſter of the Rolls, was convicted of having defrauded the king to the amount of twenty thouſand pounds, beſides other crimes; and, confeſſing his guilt, forfeited all his offices, goods, and eſtate; but very little to the king's benefit, all his lands being immediately granted to the earl of Huntingdon, whoſe eldeſt ſon Henry, lord Haſtings, was on the point of being married to Catherine, the duke of Northumberland's daughter. Whatley, one of the receivers for Yorkſhire, was fined two thouſand pounds, and deprived of his office; he fared the worſe probably becauſe he had been a zealous partizan of the late duke of Somerſet, the proſecutions chiefly falling upon ſuch as lay under that imputation. It was not, perhaps, mere reſentment that put Northumberland upon exerciſing theſe ſeverities; his buſineſs was to force them by terror to be ſubſervient to his purpoſes, and particularly in the choice of a new parliament, that would be more compliant than the laſt was with his meaſures; a point in which he got the king to interpoſe by letters to the ſheriffs, recommending particular perſons by name, all courtiers, to be choſen for certain counties.

The new parliament, thus modelled, met on the firſt of March, 1553, and, by their proceedings, gave evident proofs of their attachment to Northumberland. They gave the king a very conſiderable ſubſidy, with two tenths and two fifteenths, to be paid in two years. This act of benevolence was introduced by a long preamble, inveighing againſt the late duke of Somerſet's adminiſtration and oppreſſions, &c. this was inſerted by Northumberland, to let the king ſee how acceptable he and his party were, and how hateful the duke of Somerſet had been. The houſe next proceeded to gratify Northumberland with an act for ſuppreſſing the biſhopric of Durham, Tonſtal having been previouſly deprived, on the fourteenth of Auguſt the preceding year. The king immediately diſpoſed of the ſaid biſhopric in this manner; he founded a biſhopric at Durham, with a revenue of two thouſand marks per annum; and another at Newcaſtle, with one thouſand; and its temporalities, being erected into a county-palatine, were beſtowed upon Northumberland; who, having got all that he wanted of the parliament, and having ſome deſigns that were not ſo proper for their notice, cauſed the two houſes to be prorogued on the thirty-firſt of March, after ſitting only one month.

Edward had, in the ſpring of the foregoing year, been ſeized with the meaſles, and then the ſmall-pox, and had got very well over both theſe diſtempers; but in the beginning of this year he had been attacked by a very bad cough, which ended at laſt in a conſumption. The original of this illneſs was imputed to his having over-heated himſelf in ſports and exerciſes, during a progreſs that he had made in the preceding ſummer: but ſome, who pretended to have looked more narrowly into the matter, would have it, that they had obſerved a viſible decay in his health from the time that ſir Robert Dudley (one of Northumberland's ſons) had been made one of the grooms of his chamber, and who was afterwards appointed his carver. It was hoped, however, that the king's youth, the approach of ſpring, and the medicines adminiſtered by his phyſicians, might by degrees get the better of his diſorder; but it proved of too malignant a nature, and increaſed ſo faſt, that when the parliament met in the beginning of March, the lords and commons

commons were obliged to attend him at Whitehall, to hear the reaſons of their being convened.

Every degree of decay in the king's health was a ſpur to Northumberland, who had for ſome time formed a deſign for raiſing his family to the throne upon Edward's deceaſe. He ſuffered none but his own confidents to approach the royal perſon; he affected the moſt anxious concern for the young king's health and recovery; and by theſe hypocritical expreſſions of duty, he quickly got the firſt place in his affections as well as confidence.

The reader may remember, that Henry VII. had two daughters; the eldeſt married the king of Scotland; the younger, who was queen-dowager of France, married Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk; and both left iſſue: but Henry VIII. who was by act of parliament enabled to ſettle the ſucceſſion to the crown, had entirely omitted all mention of the deſcendants from his ſiſter the queen of Scotland, and, failing heirs of his own body, and their deſcendants, had limited the ſucceſſion to the heirs of the lady Frances Brandon, daughter to his ſiſter the queen-dowager of France, by her ſecond huſband, the duke of Suffolk, and wife to Grey, marquis of Dorſet. The duke of Suffolk, by another wife, left two ſons, who were youths of great expectation; but both of them dying of the ſweating ſickneſs, the marquis of Dorſet, as we have already ſeen *, was created duke of Suffolk in right of his wife (Frances Brandon), who had borne him three daughters, the ladies Jane, Catherine, and Mary: thus the lady Jane Grey, the eldeſt of thoſe daughters, ſtood next in the parliamentary right of ſucceſſion by Henry VIII's will, to the crown, failing the iſſue of Henry, who were king Edward and the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth: and Northumberland ſeeing that the king was faſt approaching to his grave, reſolved to put the project he had formed for the aggrandizement of his family into immediate execution.

With this view he prevailed on the new duke of Suffolk, who was a good-natured eaſy man, and owed his advancement (of which he was not a little fond) wholly to his intereſt, to conſent to marry his daughter, the lady Jane Grey, to his (Northumberland's) fourth ſon, the lord Guildford Dudley; at the ſame time he ſo worked on the maternal tenderneſs of the ducheſs of Suffolk, the young lady's mother, that, though ſhe ſtood in the order of ſucceſſion before her daughter, ſhe not only conſented to give her the preference to herſelf, but alſo to give the ſame preference to any heirs male that might afterwards come of the ſaid lady Jane's body. But Northumberland thought it proper to ſtrengthen himſelf by other alliances, and therefore effected a match between the lady Catherine Grey, ſecond daughter to Suffolk, and lord Herbert, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Pembroke; at the ſame time he beſtowed his own daughter Catherine upon lord Haſtings, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Huntingdon. Theſe marriages were celebrated about the middle of May, this year, and with ſo great pomp and magnificence that the people, who hated the perſon and ſuſpected the deſigns of Northumberland, could not forbear expreſſing in the warmeſt terms their indignation at ſeeing ſuch public demonſtrations of joy, while the health of their beloved ſovereign was in ſuch a languiſhing condition.

Theſe previous ſteps taken, the crafty Northumberland prepared to put the finiſhing hand to the completion of his ambitious project, by perſuading the dying king to alter the ſucceſſion. For this purpoſe he took occaſion to repreſent to Edward, whoſe youth and bodily infirmities made him eaſily ſuſceptible of any impreſſion, and whoſe zealous attachment to the proteſtant religion made him dread and expreſs the moſt fatal conſequences to its profeſſors, ſhould ſo bigotted a papiſt as his ſiſter Mary aſcend the throne, that the only way of preventing the misfortunes which threatened his people and the new religion, was by excluding the princeſs Mary from the ſucceſſion, and transferring the crown to lady Jane Grey, a power with which he was inveſted equally with his father; he repreſented that the princeſs Elizabeth could not help ſharing her ſiſter's fate, becauſe the only pretence they could uſe againſt Mary was her illegitimacy, and that equally affected Elizabeth, as the marriages of both their mothers had been declared unlawful by act of parliament.

This expedient was well reliſhed by Edward; the intereſt of his religion was his prevailing care, which on this occaſion ſurmounted every other conſideration: he knew the lady Jane Grey to be a lady not more diſtinguiſhed by the accompliſhments of her perſon, than by the endowments of her mind, and that, moreover, ſhe was ſtrongly attached to the proteſtant religion, and every way worthy of a throne, and he therefore determined to leave her the crown; but it was neceſſary for his chief officers of ſtate and his judges to ſign his will.

On the eleventh of June, therefore, Montagu, the chief-juſtice of the Common Pleas, Baker and Bromley, two of the judges, the king's attorney and ſolicitor-general, attended the king and council, by order, when Edward gave them a ſcheme of what he deſigned concerning the ſucceſſion, which he ordered them to extend and engroſs in a proper form. After ſome debate, they refuſed to comply with this order, alleging, that in framing ſuch an act they ſhould render themſelves liable to the pains and penalties of high-treaſon, according to act of parliament. The duke of Northumberland was ſo incenſed at their refuſal, that he behaved in the moſt indecent manner, inſomuch that the lawyers were afraid of his proceeding to ſome perſonal violence againſt them. Edward himſelf ſeverely reprimanded them for their refractorineſs: in a word, partly by threats, and partly by letters of pardon granted in their favour by anticipation, they were prevailed upon to draw up the act of conveyance, which was ſigned by all the other judges, except ſir James Hales, who, though a friend to the Reformation even to a degree of enthuſiaſm, continued obſtinately to refuſe ſetting his hand thereto. Of the officers of ſtate Cranmer alone oppoſed this ſcheme, and endeavoured to diſſuade Edward from altering the ſucceſſion: he alleged that his hand could not without perjury go to Edward's deſtination of the crown, becauſe he had ſworn to the obſervation of Henry's will: nevertheleſs this great man ſuffered his hand to belie his conſcience; for, at Edward's earneſt intreaty, and Northumberland's authoritative inſtances, he ſigned this unjuſt will.

It was remarked, that after this ſettlement was made, Edward's diſeaſe grew daily worſe, and all

* P. 169. of this volume.

hopes of his recovery vaniſhed: to render the matter ſtill worſe, the phyſicians were diſcharged by Northumberland's advice, and he was committed to the care of an ignorant old woman, who engaged by her noſtrums to reſtore the king in a ſhort time to his former health and vigour. The conſequence of which was what may eaſily be ſuppoſed; every bad ſymptom was inflamed; his cough increaſed, and the putrefaction of his lungs daily got ground, till at length he reſigned his breath at Greenwich, on the ſixth day of July, 1553, in the ſixteenth year of his age, and after he had reigned ſix years, five months, and nine days. He died in the arms of ſir Henry Sidney, ſon-in-law to the duke of Northumberland. It has been already obſerved, that Edward, before his death, acquired a character, which the moſt accurate and faithful hiſtorians have thus handed down to us.

King Edward was in his perſon beautiful, of a ſweet aſpect, and eſpecially in his eyes, which ſeemed to have a ſtarry livelineſs and luſtre in them. He kept a book, in which he wrote the characters of all the chief men of the nation, all the judges, lord lieutenants, and juſtices of the peace throughout England, marking down their way of living and their zeal for religion. He had ſtudied the buſineſs of the mint, with the exchange and value of money: he alſo underſtood fortification, and deſigned well: he knew all the harbours and ports in his own dominions, as alſo in Scotland and France, with the depth of water, and way of coming into them. He had acquired ſo great knowlege in foreign affairs, that the ambaſſadors who were ſent into England, publiſhed very extraordinary things of him in all the courts of Europe. He took notes of almoſt every thing he heard, which he firſt wrote in Greek characters, that thoſe about him might not underſtand them; and afterwards copied out in the journal, or diary, that he kept: this journal, written with his own hand, is ſtill preſerved in ſir John Cotton's famous library, from whence the learned biſhop Burnet tranſcribed and publiſhed it, in his ſecond volume of his Hiſtory of the Reformation. In it the moſt conſiderable tranſactions in this reign are, perhaps, as well regiſtered (ſays biſhop Nicolſon) by the young king himſelf, as by any other hiſtorian.

Hieronymus Cardanus, the famous Italian philoſopher, as he paſſed through England, waited on young Edward, and was ſo charmed with him, that he every where ſpoke of him with the higheſt encomiums; and even after the king's death, when nothing was to be got by flattering, he wrote the following character of him.

"All the graces were in him: he had many tongues; when he was yet but a child, together with the Engliſh, his natural tongue, he had both Latin and French; nor was he ignorant of the Greek, Italian, and Spaniſh, and perhaps ſome more; but for the Engliſh, French, and Latin, he was perfect in them, and was apt to learn every thing: nor was he ignorant of logic, of the principles of natural philoſophy, nor of muſic. The ſweetneſs of his temper was ſuch as became a mortal; his gravity becoming the majeſty of a king; and his diſpoſition was ſuitable to his high degree. In ſhort, that child was ſo bred, had ſuch parts, and was of ſuch expectation, that he looked like a miracle of a man." Afterwards he adds, "He was a marvellous boy: when I was with him, he was in his fifteenth year of his age, in which he ſpoke Latin as politely and readily as I did. He began to love the liberal arts before he knew them, and to know them before he could uſe them; and in him there was ſuch an attempt of nature, that not only England, but the world, had reaſon to lament his being ſo early ſnatched away. When the gravity of a king was needful, he carried himſelf like an old man; and yet he was always affable and gentle, as became his age. He played on the lute; he meddled in ſtate-affairs; and in bounty, he did in that imitate his father; though his father, even when he endeavoured to be good, might have appeared to have been bad; but there was no ground of ſuſpecting any ſuch thing in the ſon, whoſe mind was cultivated by the ſtudy of philoſophy*."

But notwithſtanding theſe encomiums, we cannot help confeſſing, with a modern hiſtorian, that it is difficult to reconcile either to his boaſted humanity or penetration, his conſenting to the death of his uncle Somerſet, who had ſerved him faithfully, unleſs we ſuppoſe that he wanted reſolution to withſtand the importunities of his miniſters, and was deficient in that vigour of mind, which often exiſts independent of learning and culture.

Edward, before he died, had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his pious deſign of beſtowing a magnificent charity upon the city of London fully executed. There were vaſt ſwarms of beggars and poor people ſtrolling about the city of London; and biſhop Ridley, in a ſermon, the laſt year, before the king, had earneſtly recommended the ſettling ſome conſtant method for their relief: Edward, much affected with what he had heard, ſent for the biſhop; gave him great thanks for his good exhortation; and, diſcourſing with him about the proper means of bringing about ſo good a work, it was thought adviſeable to conſult the lord-mayor and aldermen on the ſubject. In conſequence hereof, a general contribution was made in the city, towards preparing and furniſhing the hoſpitals of Chriſt-church, and of St. Thomas, in Southwark; the ſcites whereof, with the lands and revenues of the diſſolved priories of Little St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas, had been given by Henry VIII. about a fortnight before his death to the city, but nothing had been done to fit them up for the purpoſe deſigned: a ſubſcription was likewiſe ſet on foot for a weekly contribution towards the maintenance of thoſe hoſpitals, till they ſhould be better endowed; and the citizens contributed very generouſly to both theſe charitable undertakings. The decayed buildings in both places were thereupon repaired, and the work carried on with ſo much diligence, that on the twenty-third of November, a great number of ſick and maimed people were taken into the hoſpital of St. Thomas, and no leſs than four hundred children put into Chriſt's hoſpital, all of them to be cloathed, lodged, and ſubſiſted at the charge of the city, till other means could be provided for their future maintenance. The king, delighted with the forwardneſs and liberality of the citizens, ſent for the lord-mayor and aldermen on the tenth of April, and gave for ever his palace of Bridewell to the city, to be employed for the relief of ſuch vagabonds and thriftleſs poor, as ſhould

* See the original in Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reformation, vol. ii. Collect.

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be ſent thither to receive chaſtiſement and be kept to labour. The hoſpital founded in the Savoy, by Henry VII. for the relief of pilgrims and travellers, had of late been made an harbour of idle fellows, vagabonds, and ſtrumpets; and the maſter and brethren being ſent for to the king, were perſuaded to reſign it into his hands, with all its goods, lands, and revenues. His majeſty, immediately upon this ſurrender, aſſigned a yearly rent of ſeven hundred marks, with all the beds, bedding, and other furniture, towards the maintenance of the work-houſe of Bridewell, and the hoſpital of St. Thomas. The letters patent confirming this grant, with a licence of mortmain for enabling the city to purchaſe lands to the value of four thouſand marks a year, for the better ſupporting thoſe other hoſpitals, were paſſed on the twenty-ſixth of June, about ten days before he died.

The remains of this young monarch were depoſited in the chapel of St. Peter's church Weſtminſter, near the body of king Henry VII. his grandfather, with great funeral pomp, and the unfeigned mournings of an affectionate people.

The INTERREGNUM between the Death of King EDWARD VI. and the Proclaiming the Lady MARY Queen.

THERE hath hardly ever been a breach in the order of ſucceſſion to the crown of any country, but it hath proved the ſource of a civil war; and England would at this time have been involved in that calamity, had not the general bent of the nation diſcovered itſelf ſo fully in favour of the true lineal heir.

Northumberland, by whoſe intereſt with the deceaſed king the ſettlement on lady Jane had been made, reſolved at all events to ſupport her right; but, conſcious of his own unpopularity, and abundantly ſenſible of the oppoſition he had reaſon to expect, he thought it neceſſary to proceed with the utmoſt caution. And firſt he concealed the king's death as well as he could for ſome days; and, in order to get the two diſinherited princeſſes into his power, perſuaded the council to write to them in their brother's name, deſiring their attendance, under pretext that his bad ſtate of health required the aſſiſtance of their counſel, and the conſolation of their company.

Mary readily accepted the invitation, and was actually come as far as Hunſdon, in Hertfordſhire, before ſhe diſcovered the ſnare laid for her. At this place ſhe received a letter from the earl of Arundel, acquainting her of the death of the king, of the ſettlement of the crown on the lady Jane Grey, and of the deſign to ſeize on her perſon. Theſe tidings convinced her of the neceſſity of immediately providing for her own ſafety; the ſudden death of a ſervant furniſhing her with a pretence that he died of the plague, ſhe returned back with ſo much haſte that ſhe travelled near fourſcore miles without ſtopping, and retired to Kenninghall, in Norfolk, from whence ſhe wrote, on the eighth of July, to ſir George Somerſet, ſir William Drury, ſir William Waldegrave, Clement Higham, and other gentlemen of that neighbourhood in her intereſt, ſignifying to them the king's death, and her right to the crown, and requiring them to attend her there without a moment's delay, and with all the power they could get in readineſs. Circular letters were ſent the next day to the principal nobility and gentry in every county of England, requiring them to aſſiſt her in the defence of her crown and perſon.

The ſame day (the ninth of July) ſhe likewiſe wrote to the council, upbraiding them with keeping her brother's death ſo long a ſecret from her, whom they knew to be the next heir to the crown; "and although (ſhe ſaid) ſuch a proceeding plainly indicated their having formed ſome undutiful deſign againſt her; yet ſhe promiſed to receive them into her favour, and to pardon what had been done amiſs, provided they would forthwith proclaim her queen." To which letter the council returned the following anſwer, ſigned by twenty-one of its members: "That ſhe could not pretend to the crown, ſince ſhe was born of an unlawful marriage, diſſolved by a legal ſentence, confirmed by more than one parliament: that ſhe ought to give over her pretenſions, and acknowlege queen Jane for her ſovereign, who was now in poſſeſſion of the throne, by virtue of the late king's letters patent, under the great-ſeal of England: they therefore ſtrictly charged her not to diſturb the peace of the nation, aſſuring her that, in caſe ſhe ſhewed herſelf obedient, they were ready to do her all the ſervice they could in duty; and at the ſame time threatening her with the evil conſequences of her non-acquieſcence *."

Mary, on receiving this letter, not thinking her perſon ſufficiently ſecure where ſhe then was, withdrew to Framlingham caſtle, on the coaſt of Suffolk, that ſhe might, if the ſituation of her affairs obliged her to it, have an opportunity to eſcape with more eaſe into Flanders. And here ſhe not only aſſumed the title of queen, but found many friends hearty enough to proclaim her title in the city of Norwich; and ſhe was daily joined by others, with all their followers.

And now Northumberland, finding that he could no longer diſſemble, reſolved to throw off the maſk, and act in a more open and undiſguiſed manner; he therefore engaged the council to depute him and the duke of Suffolk to Sion-houſe, a pleaſant ſeat on the banks of the Thames, where the lady Jane then was, to give her notice of being appointed by the deceaſed king to aſcend the throne. The young lady, though only ſixteen years of age, had a moſt accompliſhed perſon, the moſt amiable diſpoſition, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed parts: beſide the knowlege of the modern tongues, ſhe was thoroughly verſed in the Greek and Roman languages; wholly taken up in literary reſearches, her heart was a ſtranger to the calls of ambition: ſhe had been educated with the late king, for whom

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 235.

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ſhe had a moſt ſincere affection, ſo that ſhe received the news of his death with tokens of unfeigned concern: and as ſhe had never been conſulted about the ſettlement, or informed that his death was to ſet the crown upon her head, the notice now given her, that ſhe was called to the throne filled her with the utmoſt ſurprize. She was ſo far from receiving theſe tidings with joy, that ſhe even told the two dukes that ſhe would not accept of the crown, alleging the preferable rights of the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth, and warning them of the fatal conſequences that muſt neceſſarily attend ſuch a hazardous, and, in her opinion, criminal enterprize, earneſtly beſeeching them to let her continue in the private ſtation in which ſhe was born.

Overcome at laſt by the importunities, rather than reaſons, of her father and father-in-law, and, what had ſtill more weight with her, thoſe of the lord Guildford Dudley, her huſband, whom ſhe paſſionately loved, and who was indeed worthy of her affection, ſhe was perſuaded to give up her own ſentiments, and to regulate herſelf by their advice and direction: but this ſhe did with ſo much reluctance, that it might truly be ſaid her conſent was rather extorted than given. The kings of England were, at that time, wont to paſs the firſt days after their acceſſion in the Tower of London, and thither Northumberland immediately conducted the new ſovereign, the lovely victim of her family's ambition.

The next day, being the tenth of July, lady Jane Grey was proclaimed queen of England, with the uſual formalities, in the city of London; which being ſo contrary to the expectation of the people, who had not the leaſt notion of this lady's immediate acceſſion to the throne, they received the news with ſilent ſurprize, nor were any of thoſe acclamations heard, which are uſual on ſuch occaſions; even the heralds ſeemed to do their office unwillingly; and though orders were ſent for her being proclaimed throughout the realm, they were not obſerved farther than ten miles from London. The diſcontent of the people, which aroſe from their hatred to the duke of Northumberland, and his arbitrary meaſures, was not a little increaſed by an ill-timed act of ſeverity in the government, who ordered one Gilbert Pot, a vintner's ſervant, to be ſet on the pillory, with his ears cut off and nailed to it, on the very day the lady Jane was proclaimed, only for expreſſing himſelf in a ſlighting manner of the new queen.

As the council expected that Mary would exert all her intereſt to oppoſe their proceedings, it was thought neceſſary to notify queen Jane's acceſſion to the crown by proper ambaſſadors to foreign courts, and to the emperor in particular, to whom Richard Shelley, eſq. was immediately diſpatched, with inſtructions to omit nothing to ſecure the friendſhip of Charles, which would neceſſarily influence other courts in favour of the new ſettlement, and diſcourage the party of the princeſs Mary, which muſt chiefly rely on the emperor's aſſiſtance. Shelley left London indeed, but judging that the preſent ſtate of affairs muſt ſoon undergo an alteration, he waited in England to ſee what the alteration might be.

In the mean time Mary neglected nothing on her part to aſſert her title to the crown; and ſhe ſo managed, by poſitively promiſing to leave religion in the ſame ſtate ſhe found it, reſerving to herſelf no more than a liberty to profeſs her own faith, that ſhe engaged the people of Suffolk and Norfolk, though ſtrongly attached to the Reformation, to hazard their lives and eſtates in her quarrel. Theſe her promiſes being ſpread abroad, ſhe was joined by numbers of the nobility and gentry; in particular Bourchier, earl of Bath, and Ratcliffe, earl of Suſſex, ſir Thomas Mordaunt, ſir John Wharton, ſir William Drury, ſir Henry Bedingfield, and ſir Henry Jernegan, perſons whoſe intereſts lay in the adjacent counties, repaired to her ſtandard, and brought her a ſtrong reinforcement. Sir Edward Haſtings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, having been ordered by the council to levy troops for the ſervice of lady Jane, carried over to Mary all the forces he had aſſembled, amounting to no leſs than four thouſand men; even a fleet which had been ſent by Northumberland to cruize on the coaſt of Suffolk, and prevent the eſcape of Mary, or the landing of foreign forces to her aſſiſtance, being driven by a ſtorm into Yarmouth, put themſelves and their crews under her command.

Northumberland receiving advice of this unexpected event, ordered an army which was in readineſs in the neighbourhood of London, to march immediately towards Newmarket, appointing the duke of Suffolk for their general, being determined to remain himſelf with the lady Jane; but the counſellors, who wanted to remove him out of the way, repreſented to Jane the imminent danger to which her father would be expoſed, and at the ſame time perſuaded Northumberland to take upon him the command, extolling his known valour, his ſuperior military ſkill, and the dread which his name, already terrible in Norfolk, by his victory in the late reign, would ſtrike into the inſurgents.

The duke could have wiſhed to have been excuſed this ſervice, well knowing the neceſſity of his preſence in the council, of whoſe ſteadineſs he was not well aſſured; but as it was not entirely in his choice to accept or refuſe the command, he yielded to the entreaties of his daughter and the remonſtrances of the council, and made preparations for his departure the next day, ſending his ſon, the earl of Warwick, before him, with five hundred horſe, to Bury; and, having taken a ſolemn leave of the lords, none of whom embraced him with greater marks of affection, or more cordial wiſhes for his ſucceſs, than the earl of Arundel, he ſet out on Friday the fourteenth of July, towards Cambridge, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, the lord Grey of Wilton, with other noblemen, and a gallant troop of ſix hundred horſe, attending him thither; and having paſſed the Sunday in that place, he put himſelf the next morning, July 17, at the head of the army, which had rendezvouſed at Newmarket, and amounted to ſix thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, with which he advanced the next day to Bury.

Upon the news of his march, ſome of Mary's friends adviſed her to retire abroad; and had the duke advanced with an expedition proper to expreſs the reſolution of an intrepid and enterprizing general, ſhe might have perhaps taken that ſtep; but, inſtead of acting with the vigour the exigence of the caſe required, he made but very ſlow marches, and ſo gave Mary's friends an opportunity of coming and ſwelling the number of thoſe who had embarked in her intereſt. When Northumberland arrived

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QUEEN MARY.

rived at Bury, he found that great numbers of his men had deſerted, ſo that he was under a neceſſity of ſending to London for farther ſuccours; and he wrote in ſharp terms to the council upon the ſubject: but he ſoon found that perſons who govern by terror, are always hated; and whatever obſequiouſneſs is paid them, during their proſperity, they are ſure to be deſerted in their greateſt need, when that terror is removed by the diſturbed ſtate of their circumſtances.

The council conſiſted of the following perſons, viz. the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord-chancellor, the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, the marquiſſes of Wincheſter and Northampton, the earls of Arundel, Shrewſbury, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Pembroke, the lords Cobham and Darcy, ſir Thomas Cheney, ſir Robert Cotton, ſir William Petre, ſir William Cecil, ſir John Cheeke, ſir John Maſon, ſir Edward North, and ſir Robert Bowes: theſe were divided into three parties; the one ſecret papiſts, headed by the earl of Arundel; another, true proteſtants, headed by archbiſhop Cranmer; the third, and indeed the greateſt part, were of no religion, but blindly followed that which was uppermoſt, who, after having embraced the eſtabliſhment of Henry VIII. with the ſame eaſe had followed that of Edward VI. and were ready to reſume the Romiſh religion, whenever it ſhould ſuit beſt with their temporal intereſt. This may probably be ſaid to be the character of Northumberland himſelf, for though he profeſſed the reformed religion, the proteſtants had a very bad opinion of his integrity; ſo that, notwithſtanding Jane was a true proteſtant, it plainly appears that religious zeal alone was not ſufficient to keep the counſellors in her intereſt; on the contrary, they were diſpoſed to forſake her rather than remain under the ſlaviſh ſubjection of that duke, whoſe pride could bear no contradiction, and whoſe tyranny had brought upon him their almoſt unanimous hatred.

Pleaſed therefore with this opportunity, which Northumberland's letter gave them, to get out of the Tower, in which place they had all been as it were confined by the crafty miniſter, on the pretence of attending upon the perſon of Jane till her coronation, they left the place as if they intended to ſet about making levies to reinforce the duke; but, having aſſembled in Baynard's caſtle, a houſe belonging to the earl of Pembroke, they invited thither all the noblemen in town whom they conceived to be well affected to queen Mary; and when they were met, the earl of Arundel opened the conference by a ſpeech, in which he inveighed in the ſtrongeſt terms againſt "the cruelty and injuſtice of Northumberland, his inſatiable avarice and unbounded ambition, the criminal project which he was engaged in for altering the ſucceſſion, and the great wickedneſs in which he had involved the whole council; and concluded with moving, that they might return immediately to their duty and allegiance which they owed to their lawful ſovereign, by proclaiming Mary queen, as the only way left them to preſerve the ſtate, and recover their own loſt honours."

This propoſal was ſeconded by the earl of Pembroke, who, laying his hand on his ſword, ſwore he was ready to fight with any man who ſhould preſume to oppoſe ſo ſalutary a meaſure: but indeed, there appears to have been little occaſion for this bravado of his lordſhip; for, after a very ſhort debate, the majority expreſſed their approbation of the propoſal, and the lord-mayor and aldermen were ordered to attend immediately; when the council declaring their reſolution to have the princeſs Mary proclaimed, theſe venal magiſtrates diſcovered the greateſt alacrity and chearfulneſs in executing their orders for that purpoſe; ſo, mounting their horſes, they rode in a body to the Croſs in Cheapſide, where Mary was proclaimed queen of England by ſir Chriſtopher Barker, principal king of arms, on the nineteenth of July, about four o'clock in the afternoon: Te Deum was ſung in the cathedral of St. Paul's, and the event was celebrated with great rejoicings on the part of the populace: even the duke of Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding that all reſiſtance would be in vain, ordered the gates to be thrown open, and immediately declared for queen Mary. Then repairing to his daughter's chamber, he told her that ſhe muſt now put off her royal robes, and be contented with a private life; to which ſhe replied, as with great truth ſhe might, that ſhe would put them off with infinitely more pleaſure than ſhe had put them on; which ſhe would never have done but in obedience to him and the reſt of her relations. And thus the lady Jane, after ſhe had enjoyed, or rather ſuffered, the vain pageantry of royalty for the ſpace of ten days, reſigned it into the hands of thoſe who had loaded her with it.

MARY. The fourth Sovereign of ENGLAND of the Houſe of TUDOR. A. D. 1553.

THE firſt ſtep taken by the council, after proclaiming the lady Mary queen, was to diſpatch the earl of Arundel and lord Paget to Framlingham caſtle, to give that princeſs an account of what had been tranſacted in her favour; and the next day they ſigned an order to the duke of Northumberland to diſband his forces, and behave himſelf as became a dutiful ſubject.

The proceedings of the council not only influenced the city of London, but ſtrengthened the intereſt of Mary throughout the nation; and ſo terrified Northumberland, that, before the orders for diſbanding the army could reach him, being preinformed of the revolution at court, and plainly perceiving that he could not keep a ſufficient force together, he obeyed before-hand, and, it is ſaid, meditated his own ſafety by flying out of the kingdom; but being prevented in this ſcheme by his own guards, he endeavoured to gain Mary's favour by an early ſubmiſſion and teſtimonies of zeal for her ſervice: he not only diſbanded his army, with a profeſſion of his own voluntary regard for the pub-

lic good and peace of the nation, and the moſt ſincere affection for the queen, but aſſembled as many as would attend him on the occaſion, and proclaimed his new ſovereign, flinging up his hat in a tranſport of joy, and crying, "God ſave queen Mary!"

Mary, however, was not to be deceived by this hypocritical behaviour in one whom ſhe knew to be a moſt inveterate enemy to herſelf and family, and acted as he did only becauſe it was not longer in his power to play any other part; and therefore ſhe committed to the earl of Arundel the agreeable charge of departing immediately and arreſting the duke of Northumberland, with his ſons and chief accomplices. When that proud and haughty man learned from Arundel the purport of his viſit, he, who in his proſperity had tyrannized over this very earl and the reſt of the council, fell at his feet in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, and implored his favour. Arundel, enjoying that abject behaviour which is ſo peculiar to fallen inſolence, told the duke he muſt obey the queen's orders; and he took into cuſtody at the ſame time the earl of Warwick and the lord Henry Dudley (Northumberland's ſons), ſir Andrew Dudley, his brother, the earl of Huntingdon, the lord Haſtings, ſir John Gates, ſir Henry Gates, ſir Thomas Palmer, and Dr. Sandys, who, by Northumberland's order, had preached up lady Jane's title at Cambridge. All theſe were ſent up to London, and committed to the Tower, on the twenty-fifth of July. Soon after, the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Grey, and lord Guildford Dudley, her huſband, were, by Mary's orders, taken into cuſtody: but Mary being deſirous, in the beginning of her reign, to render herſelf popular by the appearance of clemency, and as the counſellors alleged, in excuſe of their conduct, that they had acted from fear and compulſion, ſhe indulged moſt of them with a pardon. Much about the ſame time Ridley, biſhop of London, and the marquis of Northampton, were arreſted and ſent to the Tower.

On the thirtieth of July, Mary ſet out, with a large train, from the caſtle of Framlingham for London, where ſhe was met by the princeſs Elizabeth, with a body of two thouſand men. That lady, though ſhe was far from aſpiring to the throne by force of arms and the effuſion of her country's blood, thought it not prudent to remain an idle ſpectator of the tranſactions conſequent upon the death of Edward, and, to defend her own perſon, had raiſed the above body of men from the neighbouring country, who readily came in to protect her, and to obey her orders during the troubles that ſeemed to threaten the kingdom; but her highneſs being informed of her ſiſter's ſucceſs, and the entire ſubmiſſion of lady Jane's party, marched with her little army to join Mary, and had the addreſs to gain her confidence for the preſent, pretending that thoſe men had been raiſed for her ſervice.

On the third of Auguſt Mary made a very pompous entry into London, and riding through the city to the Tower, ſhe, at her entrance, called for and had preſented to her the old duke of Norfolk, who had been under ſentence of death there, ever ſince the laſt year of her father's reign, the lord Courtney, ſon to the marquis of Exeter, and a priſoner likewiſe ever ſince his father's attainder, the ducheſs of Somerſet, and Stephen Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, who all kneeling down, ſhe embraced them in the moſt affectionate manner, ſaying, "Theſe are my priſoners," and ordered them inſtantly to be ſet at liberty. The next day, the lord Courtney was created earl of Devonſhire; ſhe reſtored Stephen Gardiner to his biſhopric of Wincheſter, and a few days after made him high-chancellor of England; yet this was the very man who had ſubſcribed to her mother's divorce, and even written publicly againſt the lawfulneſs of her marriage with Henry VIII.

On the fifth of Auguſt, Edmund Bonner, late biſhop of London, priſoner in the Marſhalſea, and Cuthbert Tonſtal, the old biſhop of Durham, a priſoner in the King's Bench, had their pardons, and were reinſtated in their ſees. Shortly after, all the biſhops who had been deprived during the reign of Edward VI. were reſtored to their biſhoprics, and the new ones removed; as Ridley from London, and Bonner replaced in his room; Story from Chicheſter, and Day reinſtated; Miles Coverdale, of Exeter, went out to make room for Weſt; and John Hooper was outed from Worceſter, which was filled by Heath. Likewiſe all beneficed clergymen that were married, or would not renounce the reformed religion, were put out of their livings, and others of the popiſh communion put in their rooms.

On the tenth of Auguſt, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Shrewſbury, and Stephen Gardiner, were ſworn of the privy-council; and that ſame day the earl of Arundel, for his good offices, received the order of the Garter: and the late king's obſequies were performed, with this remarkable circumſtance, that though Day preached the funeral ſermon, Cranmer adminiſtered the ſacraments, and performed the ſervice of the dead, according to the rites of the reformed church of England: but a maſs of Requiem, at which the queen aſſiſted, with all the ceremonies of the popiſh church, was that ſame day publicly ſaid for him in the Tower.

The ſucceſs which Mary had met with in aſſerting her right to the crown, had been chiefly owing to the reſolution of the Suffolk men, who, upon Mary's promiſe to continue the laws and the religion eſtabliſhed by king Edward in the manner ſhe found it, had riſqued their lives and fortunes in her cauſe, and enabled her to ſurmount the greateſt difficulties that obſtructed her advancement to the throne, without bloodſhed: but it is very certain that Mary was determined to make promiſes, oaths, juſtice, and even intereſt itſelf give way to her favourite project of reſtoring the religion of the church of Rome.

Her firſt care, after ſecuring the perſons of thoſe from whom ſhe expected the greateſt oppoſition, was to conſult her truſty friends how beſt to effect the intended overthrow of the reformed religion; and ſhe was diſpoſed to keep no meaſures, but to force the kingdom to turn immediately to what ſhe called the union of the catholic church; and had it not been for the more artful counſels of the emperor and biſhop Gardiner, ſhe had ſent directly for cardinal Pole, as legate, to reconcile England to the pope: but they diſapproving ſo hazardous a ſtep, it was deferred by Mary for the preſent, who contented herſelf with publiſhing a liberty of conſcience in affairs of religion.

This declaration was made by the queen in council, on the twelfth of Auguſt, and great care was taken to render it as public as poſſible, and to magnify it as a great inſtance of the queen's generoſity,

Mean Submission of the Duke of Northumberland to the Earl of Arundel.

To His Grace George Montagu,

Duke of Manchester,

This Plate is most humbly Inscribed.

of the lawful queen of the realm, but of an uſurper, and therefore could be no warrant for him: and that any perſons againſt whom there was nothing upon record were deemed innocent in the eye of the law, and might be admitted on any jury." From this laſt anſwer the duke foreſaw that any objection he could make would be over-ruled; he therefore confeſſed the indictement, and referred himſelf to the queen's mercy. His example in this particular was followed by the earl of Warwick and the marquis of Northampton, who were tried at the ſame tribunal, and all three condemned to death as traitors. Sir John and ſir Henry Gates, ſir Andrew Dudley, and ſir Thomas Palmer pleaded guilty, and underwent the ſame ſentence.

The duke of Northumberland, with his two confederates, ſir John Gates and ſir Thomas Palmer, who had aſſiſted him with their evidence to take away the life of the duke of Somerſet in the late reign, were particularly marked out as perſons againſt whom the people were moſt clamorous, and had but two days allowed them to prepare for execution on Tower hill. Biſhop Gardiner, indeed, who was, the day after his condemnation, made lord high-chancellor, is ſaid to have interceded for him; but Northumberland was found to be a man ſo utterly void of principles, and at that time ſo obnoxious to all parties, that his life might be of diſſervice, and therefore it was reſolved to ſhew him no mercy. Accordingly, on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, he was conducted to the ſcaffold, where he confeſſed that he had always been a Roman catholic in his heart, and expreſſed great ſorrow for having plundered the effects of the church, eſpecially as he could not now make reſtitution; but whether theſe were his real ſentiments, which he formerly concealed from intereſt or ambition, or whether he hoped by this declaration to render the queen more favourable to his family, no one can pretend to determine. His head being ſtruck off, it was with his body interred in the ſame vault where Henry VIII's two beheaded queens and the late duke of Somerſet lay. Sir John Gates and ſir Thomas Palmer ſuffered the ſame day: the reſt of the condemned priſoners were firſt reprieved, and afterwards pardoned.

The queen having, by her laſt proclamation, and her other acts, evinced her affection to popery, now added a ſtronger proof of her reſolution to extirpate the Reformation; for being informed that the people of Norfolk and Suffolk (who had proved ſuch faithful friends to her and her cauſe) relying upon the virtue of her promiſe to protect them in the exerciſe of the reformed religion, had tranſgreſſed the prohibitions contained in her proclamation, ſhe ordered the magiſtrates of the county to puniſh ſeverely the delinquents; and Mr. Dobbs, one of the members for thoſe parts, preſuming to put the queen in mind of the ſervices thoſe counties had rendered her, and the promiſes ſhe had made to them, was ſet in the pillory for three days.

And now the miniſtry being reſolved to execute the queen's plan for reſtoring the old religion, began with the removing thoſe who ſeemed to have the moſt credit with the people: they therefore ordered Mr. Bradford, one of the two proteſtant miniſters who had reſcued Bourne in the late tumult at St. Paul's, to be ſent to priſon; and confined his companion Rogers to his own houſe, from whence he was afterwards removed to gaol. Judge Hales, who alone of all his brethren had refuſed to ſign the inſtrument which had transferred the crown to lady Jane Gray, was impriſoned in the Marſhalſea, for charging the juſtices of Kent to conform to the laws of Edward VI. not yet repealed: but the truth ſeems to have been, that he was obnoxious as being a proteſtant. He was removed to the Compter, and afterwards to the Fleet, where he was ſo affected at the report of the calamities that the warden told him were contriving againſt thoſe who would not change their religion, that it turned his brain; and he ſeveral times attempted, and at laſt perpetrated, his own death.

Judge Montagu, who was alſo a proteſtant, was turned out of his place, and fined a thouſand pounds for only having aſſiſted in drawing up the ſettlement of the crown in favour of lady Jane; and Bromley, a bigotted papiſt, was put in his room, though this latter had not only aſſiſted in drawing up the ſame deed, but had likewiſe readily agreed to ſign it. Hooper, biſhop of Gloceſter, and Ferrar, biſhop of St. David's, were impriſoned for not ſubmitting to the queen's order, by which ſhe had empowered the chancellor, biſhop Gardiner, ſingly to grant licences to preachers; and Coverdale, biſhop of Exeter, was confined to his own houſe on the ſame account. Peter Martyr, profeſſor of divinity at Oxford, ſuffered ſo many inſults and indignities from the enemies of the Reformation, that he was obliged to take refuge in Cranmer's houſe at Lambeth, though that prelate was in no condition to protect himſelf, for the court had already devoted him to deſtruction.

Bonner, who was his ſworn foe, had ſome time before induſtriouſly given out, that Cranmer had engaged to the queen to make a public recantation of his errors, and to return into the boſom of the Romiſh church. This report ſo exaſperated the good old prelate, who ſaw that Bonner's ſcheme was to delude the people into a compliance with popery under the ſanction of his name, that he thought it incumbent on him to draw up ſome public teſtimony againſt this aſperſion; and he drew up a declaration, in which he called the queen herſelf to witneſs, that he never made her any ſuch promiſe, as his enemies had alleged; and offered, with Peter Martyr and four or five others whom he would chuſe, to defend, in a public diſputation, the liturgy, doctrines, and every part of the Reformation and the late king, as agreeable to thoſe of the primitive church, and warranted by the holy Scriptures. This declaration he propoſed to reviſe, enlarge, and put his own ſeal to it, and then have it affixed to the doors of St. Paul's and other churches in London; but a rough draught thereof getting abroad, ſo many copies were taken, that ſome of them were brought to the council, who conſtrued the paper into a libel, upon Cranmer's owning it, and made this an aggravation of his former offence of ſigning Edward's will, and thereupon committed him, on the fourteenth of September, to the Tower.

Biſhop Latimer was committed at the ſame time; and ſcarcely any biſhop or preacher who had ſignalized himſelf for the Reformation, and did not either recant or fly beyond ſea, eſcaped either deprivation, impriſonment, or both. Peter Martyr, and John a Laſco, a Pruſſian nobleman, and miniſter of the German proteſtant church in Auſtin-friars, with all the other reformed preachers who

were foreigners, were baniſhed out of the kingdom; and a great number of Engliſh, who had embraced the reformed religion, foreſeeing a perſecution, retired into foreign parts, on pretence of being natives of France, until orders were diſpatched to all the ſea-ports, that no perſon ſhould be allowed to quit the kingdom on that pretence, without being furniſhed with a warrant ſigned by the French ambaſſador.

The queen, having now ſecured the chief perſons from whom ſhe and her council might expect any oppoſition in their grand ſcheme to revive the pope's authority and religion in England and its dependencies, now reſolved to recompenſe thoſe noblemen who had exerted themſelves vigorouſly in her favour. The earl of Arundel was appointed lord-ſteward of the houſhold; ſir Edward Haſtings was made maſter of the horſe, and afterwards created a baron; the earl of Suſſex was created a knight of the Garter, with the particular privilege of appearing covered in the queen's preſence. But the beſt placed piece of gratitude the queen ſhewed on this occaſion, was with regard to the lord Paget, whom ſhe reſtored to the honour of the Garter, which was buckled on his leg, and the collar again put round his neck, by two knights companions; at the ſame time Garter king at arms was ordered to ſet up his atchievement anew in Windſor; and the ſovereign, who was in the chapter when his act of reſtitution was paſſed, ordered it to be inſerted therein, "that he had highly deſerved of the nation by his prudence and council." At the ſame time ſir John Williams was made a peer, and afterwards chamberlain of the houſhold; ſir Henry Jernegan was conſtituted captain of the queen's guard, which was encreaſed with the number of four hundred men; and ſir Thomas Treſham was created lord-prior of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, which was revived, conſequently he took rank as the firſt baron of England: Thomas lord Delawar, ſir William Drury, and ſir Richard Southwell were gratified with penſions. The queen promoted her chaplain, Hopton, to the ſee of Norwich; appointed Englefield maſter of the wards; Rocheſter, comptroller of the houſhold; and Waldgrave, maſter of the wardrobe: and the council having received ſome hints of intended commotions in the north, and that the Scots ſeemed ready to aſſiſt the diſaffected, the earl of Shrewſbury, who had great intereſt in thoſe parts, was made lord-warden of the Marches, and ſent down in great haſte to his poſt: but the diſturbances were ſoon quelled.

Every thing was now ready for the queen's coronation; but the Exchequer being very bare of money, ſhe borrowed twenty thouſand pounds of the city of London, which enabled her to go through all the ſplendor of her coronation, on the firſt of October. Gardiner had the honour to perform the ceremony, aſſiſted by Bonner, biſhop of London, Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, and eight other prelates: the young earl of Surry, ſon to him who was beheaded, had been ſent for by the queen's order, and he acted as deputy-marſhal under his grand-father, the duke of Norfolk: Courtney, the new earl of Devonſhire, had the honour to bear the ſword; the earl of Weſtmoreland, the cap of maintainance; and the earl of Shrewſbury, the crown: the earl of Worceſter ſerved as carver, ſir John Gage aſſiſted the old ducheſs of Norfolk in bearing the queen's train; the lady Elizabeth and the lady Anne of Cleves graced the ceremony; and the whole was conducted with the utmoſt magnificence. Nor were there wanting numerous creations of knights of all denominations, that of the Garter excepted; and, that her reign might begin at leaſt with the appearance of lenity and mercy? the ſame day was publiſhed what, in its title, was called a general pardon; which, as it could not efface the terror the dreadful examples of her cruelty had already ſpread over the nation, ſo it came out loaded with ſuch a number of exceptions, that few perſons could receive any benefit from it, for all thoſe who had been arreſted before September were excepted by name.

However, in order to gain the good will of the people, a proclamation was iſſued on the fourth of October, which remitted to the ſubject the ſubſidy of four ſhillings on lands, and two ſhillings and eight pence on goods and chattels, granted by the laſt parliament to Edward VI. to enable him to pay his debts: but in a very little time after we find ſeveral ſevere commiſſions iſſued. Holgate archbiſhop of York, not ſhewing himſelf ſatisfied with the court-politics, was ſent priſoner to the Tower on a general accuſation of ſeveral capital crimes; the lords Clinton and Cobham, ſir John York, ſir Richard Cotton, and the biſhop of Ely, were added to the number of ſtate priſoners. Cecil ſeems not to have come near the court, nor to have taken any concern in public affairs; as Petre was the elder ſecretary, and remarkably active in the atrocious tranſaction of Edward's will, it was, perhaps, thought imprudent to attack Cecil while Petre eſcaped; and he took cauſe to give them no other handle: however, it appears by the minutes in the council-book, that he was ordered to ſurrender the ſeal of chancellor of the order of the Garter, though Edward, juſt before his death, had conferred that office on Cecil for life.

But the ſucceſs of all the queen's meaſures depending upon the compliance of the approaching parliament, all manner of illegal and arbitrary practices had been made uſe of to influence elections, and obtain favourable returns. Arts, frauds, and even violence were made uſe of to gain this great point, as the government well knew that without the concurrence and ſanction of a popiſh parliament, the people would never be awed into a compliance with thoſe reſolutions which had been taken to abrogate all the laws made in favour of the Reformation, and to reſtore the popiſh faith. Emiſſaries were diſpatched to every borough, and ſuch returning magiſtrates as were not papiſts, or did not promiſe to conform to the will and commands of the queen, were diſplaced, and their offices filled up by others more devoted to popery: and where a reſolution appeared to oppoſe the court-ſchemes, and to chuſe proteſtant repreſentatives, the electors were threatened, and their bodies frequently impriſoned by falſe actions and other frivolous pretences. In ſome places, where the reformed had ſo great a ſuperiority, that it made it too hazardous to uſe ſuch direct means, the ſheriffs, named by, and devoted to, the court, would return none but ſuch as they were ſure would comply with all the directions of the court. Thus did Mary ſecure a houſe of commons to her mind.

As for the houſe of lords, it might have been imagined, from the majority which, only a few

months before, in Edward's reign, appeared ſo ſtrenuouſly to forward the Reformation, that there would have been great difficulty to model them according to the popiſh ſcheme; but, to the amazement of every thinking perſon, thoſe men of honour were all converted to the queen's religion by the mere waving of her royal ſceptre. It may not, perhaps, be very eaſy to determine in which reign the peers diſſembled their ſentiments; but it is evident that they, through fear, avarice, or ambition, were guilty of the moſt baſe and ſcandalous prevarications, as ſoon as the pope's alarm-bell was rung in St. Stephen's chapel. However, to make them more ſecure, we have ſeen that the court beforehand took care to remove ſuch biſhops as might have had courage enough to upbraid their inſincerity; and to replace ſix of them with men who preferred their fees to their religion, which, we are ſorry to ſay, appears to have been the foible of the whole bench, except Dr. Taylor, biſhop of Lincoln, and Dr. Harley, biſhop of Hereford, who therefore were excluded the houſe on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, for refuſing to kneel at the maſs, which, in open defiance of the laws then exiſting, was celebrated before the two houſes in the Latin tongue, accompanied with all the ancient rites and ceremonies of the popiſh church.

Both houſes thus new-modelled by the miniſterial arts, the parliament met on the fifth of October, 1553, and was opened with a ſpeech by Gardiner; but ſat only eight days, to paſs an act declaring nothing to be judged treaſon but what was in the ſtatute of Edward III. and, leſt the perſons then in priſon ſhould take the advantage thereof, all thoſe were excepted who had been committed before the laſt day of the preceding September. Two private acts now paſſed: one for the reſtitution of Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, to his blood; and the other for the reſtitution of his mother, Gertrude Courtney, widow to the marquis of Exeter, his father: after which the parliament, without touching the leaſt on religion, was prorogued to the twenty-fourth of the month.

At the ſecond meeting, after the uſual formalities, they proceeded to buſineſs, and in three days time paſſed a bill that repealed the divorce of the queen's mother, for which they aſſigned the following reaſons: "That no man ought to put aſunder whom God hath joined together. That king Henry's ſcruples had been ſuggeſted by malicious perſons, and ſupported by the deciſions of ſome univerſities, the members of which had been previouſly ſecured by bribery and corruption. Laſtly, That archbiſhop Cranmer, thinking himſelf more wiſe than all the other doctors, had raſhly pronounced the ſaid ſentence of divorce." As this act was neceſſary to eſtabliſh the queen's legitimacy, ſo it had another tendency of great ſervice to Mary, as it at the ſame time declared the princeſs Elizabeth to be illegitimate, and conſequently from this time we find Mary's behaviour towards that princeſs very much changed for the worſe.

This point being ſettled, Gardiner, who had planned out the buſineſs to be done by this parliament, and was the chief manager therein, engaged the lords, on the thirty-firſt, to ſend a bill down to the commons, to reſtore the maſs, or form of public worſhip uſed in the laſt year of Henry VIII. which was ſent back by the commons, with their approbation, ſix days after. The parliament then proceeded to the repeal of nine laws made in the late reign, in favour of the reformation, and in contradiction to the authority and uſages of the Romiſh church. Another act paſſed againſt inſulting prieſts, and another againſt unlawful aſſemblies and riots. Then they reverſed the attainder of the duke of Norfolk, and confirmed thoſe of the duke of Northumberland, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Warwick, the lord Ambroſe Dudley, ſir Henry Dudley, ſir John Gates, and ſir Thomas Palmer. Beſides the acts here mentioned, ſeveral others were paſſed, which would have done honour to better times and a more virtuous reign; but all were calculated as gildings to the pill of popery, which, by the ſtatute already mentioned, was to be thruſt down the throats of the people.

On the thirteenth of November, the parliament being ſtill ſitting, lady Jane Grey, lord Guildford Dudley, her huſband, the two other ſons of the duke of Northumberland, and Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, were brought to their trials; who all confeſſing their indictments, received ſentence of death as traitors. When the priſoners were remanded back to the Tower, they met with ſuch unuſual indulgences, that they had reaſon to think the bitterneſs of death to be over-paſt; but, in my opinion, the event clearly ſhewed that the queen and her miniſtry had, from the very beginning, marked out Cranmer, together with the lady Jane Grey and her huſband, for death.

However readily the parliament gratified the queen in ſome points ſhe had ſet her heart upon, they were yet determined to follow their own judgments in other articles, and in particular that of the queen's marriage, which was now brought before them. Upon the death of Edward, cardinal Dandini, the pope's legate at Bruſſels, had ſent over an agent, whoſe name was Commendani, to ſound the inclinations of Mary, who told him that her intention was to re-eſtabliſh the papal authority in England, and deſired that his holineſs would ſend over cardinal Pole as his legate; at the ſame time ſhe exhorted Commendani to continue the diſguiſe in which he had come to England, that her deſigns might not be too precipitately divulged. The pope being made acquainted with her deſire, adviſed with his conſiſtory, who declared it would not be for the honour of the holy ſee to ſend over a legate until one ſhould be demanded in form; but the pope giving them to underſtand, that he knew more than he thought proper to diſcloſe on that ſubject, they aſſented to the propoſal.

The nomination of Pole to this office was equally diſagreeable to the emperor and biſhop Gardiner. Charles had projected a match between his ſon Philip and Mary, and was apprehenſive of the ſcheme's miſcarrying by the interpoſition of Pole, whom it was reported the queen intended to take for her huſband; as was alſo ſaid in relation to Courtney, earl of Devonſhire: but neither of theſe reports ſeem to have had any foundation in truth. Gardiner, on the other hand, foreſaw that the legate would ſlip between him and the archbiſhopric of Canterbury (which he hoped to obtain on the deprivation of Cranmer), and deſtroy all his influence at court.

Accordingly, as Pole was haſting for England through the emperor's dominions, that prince, as had been preconcerted between him and Gardiner, ordered

ordered him to be detained at Dilling, a town of Germany, on the Danube, under pretexts that Pole did not ſee into: in the mean time Gardiner was inceſſantly repreſenting to the queen, that Pole would ruin her intentions in favour of the Roman catholic religion, by his untimely and furious zeal; and the emperor wrote to her on the ſame ſubject, in the moſt earneſt manner. D'Aumont, the emperor's reſident at London, had orders to propoſe to the queen a match between her and Philip, prince of Spain, eldeſt ſon of Charles; and at the ſame time begged her to open to his ambaſſador her mind fully upon that head, and to enter with him (Charles) into an unreſerved correſpondence, without uſing any of thoſe troubleſome formalities ſo common amongſt crowned heads.

Mary, who was highly pleaſed with the ſupport of ſo powerful an alliance, and deſirous of uniting herſelf more intimately with her mother's family, embraced the propoſal with the utmoſt alacrity. This match was alſo ſtrongly recommended by Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget; and Gardiner, who was now prime miniſter, cloſed in entirely with the emperor, whoſe confidence he had won, and whoſe friendſhip he thought more neceſſary, as he plainly ſaw he was not truſted by the court of Rome, who had never acquainted him with the private negociation ſet on foot with Mary, through the means of Commendani. In a word, Mary was perſuaded to write to cardinal Pole, that the intereſt of religion would not permit him to come over immediately to England, where the people were not yet properly diſpoſed to acknowledge the pope's authority.

Mean while the negociation for the marriage was conducted with equal diligence and ſucceſs, and Mary's intentions in this parliament were ſoon known to the whole nation, who were greatly alarmed with the thoughts of ſuch an alliance, and could not brook a Spaniſh king to rule over them, eſpecially one who had already patronized the inquiſition in his own dominions, and recorded his cruelty with the blood he had moſt tyranically ſhed ſo lately in the Low Countries, Naples, Sicily, and Milan; but matters were ſo far advanced that the houſe of commons took it into conſideration, being equally ſurprized and enraged to hear that the queen was determined to contract a foreign alliance; and, after ſome debate, in which the popiſh party in the houſe was entirely ſilenced, they ſent their ſpeaker, ſir John Pollard, an eminent lawyer, with a deputation of twenty members with an addreſs to the queen againſt the marriage; which ſhe ſo ill received, that, notwithſtanding their former obſequiouſneſs, the parliament was diſſolved the very next day, the ſixth of December, in order to be rid of their importunities.

During this ſeſſion, the convocation, ſitting as uſual, re-eſtabliſhed the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, which was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the reformers, of whom but few divines attended; the chief of thoſe who did were Aylmer, Cheney (afterwards a biſhop), Philpot (who, in this reign, was burned), Hatton, dean of Exeter, and Philips, dean of Rocheſter. Theſe, notwithſtanding the violence of the popiſh party, attempted to juſtify the Reformation; and Philpot in particular behaved with great dignity and ſpirit in the ridiculous debate which was held on the ſubject of tranſubſtantiation, the particulars of which may be found in Fox, who publiſhed them while moſt of the members were alive, who would not have failed to have treated him ſeverely, had his veracity been queſtionable. By his account, theſe champions for the true faith were reviled, threatened, inſulted, and interrupted in all their arguments, and the victory was forcibly adjudged to their adverſaries; for by this time no leſs than one hundred and ſixty benefices had been beſtowed on the creatures of the court, and of conſequence there were very few proteſtants in the lower houſe of convocation. It is remarkable, that notwithſtanding all that Mary was doing to introduce the papal authority into her dominions, ſhe, in the writ of ſummons to this convocation, aſſumed the title of "Supreme Head of the Churches of England and Ireland."

By this time every thing was agreed upon between the Engliſh and Imperial courts, and, about the middle of December, the emperor ſent over the (afterwards famous) count Egmont, at the head of a magnificent embaſſy, to regulate the conditions of the marriage; and the queen entruſted Gardiner with the care of the whole negociation. This prelate had already received one million two hundred thouſand crowns from the emperor, to render certain individuals of the council propitious to the match; and now he affected to inſiſt upon conditions that ſhould be very advantageous to England. The Imperial ambaſſadors arriving on the ſecond of January, 1554*, were conducted to court, where their entertainment was extremely magnificent; and in a few days the articles of the marriage were ſigned at London, after all poſſible care being taken to ſweeten them for the palate of the people: the ſubſtance of them was as follows.

"I. That Philip ſhould enjoy the title of king of the realms and dominions belonging to his wife, and aſſiſt her in the government thereof, the queen alone having the free diſpoſition of biſhoprics, benefices, revenues, offices, and favours, to be given only to natives (who were alſo to have the ſole management of affairs) and the laws, cuſtoms, and privileges of the nation being preſerved inviolate.

"II. That the queen ſhould likewiſe bear the titles of all her huſband's realms, with which he was at preſent or ſhould be afterwards inveſted.

"III. That a jointure of ſixty thouſand pounds a year ſhould be ſettled on her; forty thouſand pounds thereof in Spain, and the reſt in the Low Countries.

"IV. That the queen's iſſue by this marriage ſhould inherit her realms according to the Engliſh conſtitution.

"V. That if don Carlos, Philip's ſon by his firſt wife (all whoſe rights in Spain, the two Sicilies, and Lombardy, were reſerved to him) ſhould die without iſſue, or his line be extinct, the eldeſt ſon by this marriage ſhould inherit thoſe territories, as well as Burgundy and the Low Countries, to which laſt his ſucceſſion was abſolutely aſſured: the younger children to have portions aſſigned them here and in England.

* When the ambaſſadors landed in Kent, they were both ſurprized and terrified with the reception they met with from the people, who thought that the prince of Spain was in their company, and therefore attacked them ſo furiouſly, that (as count Egmont himſelf wrote over to his court) they were obliged to fly for their lives.

"VI. That neither don Carlos nor any deſcendant of his ſhould lay any claim to Burgundy and the Low Countries, if there was any male iſſue by this marriage, nor were theſe laſt to pretend any right to Spain, or that prince's other dominions, if he left any children.

"VII. That if only females ſhould be born by this matrimony, the eldeſt ſhould ſucceed to the Low Countries, but not to marry a foreigner without don Carlos's conſent: if ſhe did, her right was forfeited and reverted to don Carlos and his heirs, till the extinction of his line; after which ſhe and her ſiſter (no males remaining) were again intitled to the ſucceſſion.

"VIII. That the line of don Carlos being extinct, and none left of this but women, the eldeſt daughter ſhould ſucceed, not only in the Low Countries and Burgundy, but alſo in England and Spain, and the other dominions, according to the cuſtoms of thoſe countries; all the rights, privileges, and uſages whereof were to be maintained, and the adminiſtration kept in the hands of natives.

"IX. That the treaty for mutual aſſiſtance made A.D. 1542, and declared at Utrecht, on the ſixteenth of January, 1546, ſhould be faithfully obſerved by the queen, the emperor, the prince, and his ſucceſſors, and their reſpective realms and dominions*."

Theſe are ſome of the principal articles of this treaty of marriage, to which a clauſe was annexed, by which it was expreſly covenanted, that, before the conſummation of the marriage, Philip ſhould ſolemnly ſwear to the obſervation of the following articles.

"I. That he would not promote or admit any foreigners into any place of truſt or office in England.

"II. That he would take a convenient number of Engliſh into his houſhold, and not ſuffer them to receive any diſpleaſure from ſuch as he brought with him in his retinue.

"III. That he would make no innovation in the ſtate, laws, and cuſtoms of England; but maintain all orders of men in their rights and privileges.

"IV. That he ſhould not carry the queen abroad, unleſs at her own requeſt; nor ſend any of her children by him out of England (where they were to be educated) without the conſent of the nobility; and that in caſe ſhe died before him, without iſſue, he would not challenge any right at all in the kingdom, but permit the ſucceſſion to deſcend to the right heir, according to the conſtitution.

"V. That he would take care that all the forts and places of the realm ſhould be kept by natives; that he would not alienate any of its appurtenances, nor ſuffer them to be uſurped; and would not carry away any jewels, nor convey ſhips, guns, or ordnance for war or defence, out of the kingdom, but keep them in good repair.

"And laſtly, that he would do his utmoſt to maintain the peace between France and England; but without derogating from the treaty of 1542: and he was to be at liberty to aſſiſt his father in the defence of his realms and dominions, and in revenging the injuries he had received."

Theſe articles were well enough calculated for the advantage of England, had there been any ſecurity for their being obſerved, or any means of redreſs left the Engliſh in caſe of a violation, which they had much reaſon to expect from the ill faith and immeaſurable ambition of the emperor. The whole was ſigned on Friday the twelfth of January, by the Imperial ambaſſadors, and by Gardiner, lord-chancellor, the earl of Arundel, the lord Paget, ſir Robert Rocheſter, and ſir William Petre, the queen's commiſſioners; and on the Sunday and Monday following, were communicated by Gardiner to the nobility at court, and to the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, with a pompous account of the advantages thereof to the realm, and an high encomium of Philip.

This declaration, however, did not cure the jealouſies of the people, who feared that the Spaniards would now become abſolute lords of the kingdom, and have the management of all affairs; and that, aboliſhing the ancient laws, they would eſtabliſh an inſupportable ſlavery in the land as a conquered country; and their diſcontents flamed out in ſuch a manner, as threatened a ſudden and fierce rebellion; and had the malecontents been ſupported by any foreign power, or headed by any great man of abilities of their own country, the authority of the queen would have been expoſed to the moſt imminent danger; for ſcarcely were the marriage-articles ſigned, when news came to court that the people of ſeveral counties had taken up arms, reſolving to oppoſe with all their might the queen's intended marriage with Philip.

It ſeems that ſir Thomas Wyat, a gentleman of Kent, very conſiderable on account of his great fortune, and ſtill more ſo by the opinion the world had of his virtues and abilities, believing it would be much better to prevent than to remedy evils, had engaged to arm the men of Kent, as ſir Peter Carew, a gentleman of great intereſt in the Weſt of England, did to aſſemble the inhabitants of Devonſhire; and theſe two had perſuaded the duke of Suffolk to engage with them, by the hopes of reſtoring his daughter, the lady Jane Grey, to the throne, and he had promiſed to attempt to raiſe the Midland counties. Carew, however, prompted either by his impetuoſity, or his apprehenſions, took up arms before the day appointed; but his troops were ſoon diſperſed by a body of the queen's forces, and he himſelf was forced to take refuge in France, but was ſoon after taken at Bruſſels, and brought over priſoner to England, where he made his peace with the government, and died quietly in 1577. The duke of Suffolk had a harder deſtiny: he left London on the twenty-fifth of January, and went to his own houſe at Sheen, from whence he fled with his two brothers towards Leiceſterſhire, inviting the people by placards all the way to join him in his endeavours to reſcue the nation from a foreign yoke; but he could only get fifty horſe about his perſon, when he was informed that the earl of Huntingdon was advancing, at the head of ſome hundreds, to ſeize him. Upon this intelligence, which proved true, he diſmiſſed his followers, and committed himſelf to the care of a ſervant, who betrayed him to that nobleman, by whom he was brought up to London, and his brothers were taken ſoon after.

Wyat's attempt was at firſt more ſucceſsful, and ſeemed to threaten more fatal conſequences; for, having got out of London, he ſummoned his friends

* Rymer, vol. xv. p. 337, 393—493.

into the field on the twenty-fifth of January, and was immediately joined by ſir Henry Iſley, ſir George Harper, the two Knevets, ſir Thomas Colepepper, the two ſons of the lord Cobham, and many gentlemen of the firſt diſtinction in Kent. The firſt meaſure after this, was to diſpatch through the county proper perſons to raiſe the people, and he, with ſome of his moſt truſty followers, retired to Rocheſter, where he took poſſeſſion of the bridge, and fortified the eaſt part of the city, which he intended as the rendezvous for his party; at the ſame time he ordered a manifeſto to be publiſhed at Maidſtone, and other places of the county, againſt the queen's marriage, and invited all Engliſhmen to join him in his endeavours to defend England from the inſolent and tyrannical rule of a foreigner. Theſe proclamations were in ſome places oppoſed by the government; but the people in general inclined to flock to his ſtandard.

Certain advice of this rebellion being brought to court, it threw the queen and her council into great conſternation, as they were at preſent quite unprepared to ſtem any vigorous efforts from a diſcontented people, the forces that uſhered Mary up to the throne having been diſbanded: it was therefore reſolved to ſend a herald to Wyatt with aſſurance of a full pardon, provided he would lay down his arms in twenty-four hours; but the herald not being ſuffered to deliver his commiſſion, the duke of Norfolk was hurried away with no more than ſix hundred of the city trained-bands and the queen's guards, who ſoon came up with the rebels; but at the very inſtant that the duke of Norfolk ordered his batteries to play upon them, he ſaw the London forces wave their hats, and, calling out, "A Wyatt! a Wyatt! we are all Engliſhmen!" appeared advancing againſt himſelf, to attack him. This piece of treachery threw the duke into ſuch a conſternation, that he, with the earl of Arundel, and ſir Henry Jernegan, captain of the queen's guard, ſought for ſafety in a precipitate flight, nor was it without great difficulty that they eſcaped with their perſons, leaving the rebels maſters of the field, of the duke's baggage, and eight pieces of braſs cannon. This diſgrace is ſaid to have broke the duke of Norfolk's heart. The deſertion of the Londoners appears to have been owing to the perſuaſion of Brett, one of their captains, who was wrought upon by ſir Thomas Harper, who had the night before, with that purpoſe, left Wyatt, and pretended to ſurrender himſelf to the duke of Norfolk.

Wyatt finding himſelf now reinforced to the number of four thouſand men, and fully perſuaded that the Londoners would open their gates to him, and declare in his favour, advanced, on the thirty-firſt of January, towards the metropolis, and was got as far as Dartford with his artillery, when he was again met by two meſſengers from the queen (the lord Haſtings and ſir Thomas Cornwallis) who offered to confer with him, and, in the queen's name, promiſed him every reaſonable ſatisfaction he ſhould demand. This conceſſion ſeems to have turned the weak head of Wyatt; he already thought himſelf invincible, and had the inſolence to demand poſſeſſion of the Tower and of the queen's perſon, and that the council ſhould be changed at his pleaſure. Haſtings, who was a paſſionate but honeſt man, could not bear this traiterous demand with any patience, and, bidding Wyatt defiance, he and Cornwallis returned to court.

The next day, being the ſecond of February, the queen went to Guildhall, where, in a ſpeech to the citizens, ſhe acquainted them with Wyatt's treaſonable demands, telling them ſhe had done nothing in her marriage without the advice of her council, and declared her reſolution to ſtay and throw herſelf upon the protection of her faithful city of London; though at the ſame time ſhe had taken care to poſt five hundred foreign troops well armed in ſeveral parts thereof.

This ſpeech at Guildhall, from a ſovereign, ſo tickled the ears of the city council, that they ordered the bridge to be ſtrongly barricadoed and guarded, ſo that, on the third of February, when Wyatt was advanced as far as Southwark, and thought to paſs over the bridge into the city, he found himſelf ſhut out; and therefore, after a ſhort conſultation, he reſolved to croſs the Thames at Kingſton; accordingly marching thither with all expedition, to his great diſappointment found the bridge there broken down. This obliged him to halt for ſome time, in order to repair it, which being done, he paſſed it with his army, being now increaſed to ſix thouſand men, with whom he arrived in Hyde Park about nine o'clock of the morning of the ſeventh of February; but here being detained ſome hours by the breaking down of one of the cannon, which he, contrary to the advice of all about him, would ſtay to repair, ſir Thomas Harper, who had been ſo ſerviceable in bringing over the London troops, deſerted him, and, poſting to the court at Whitehall, diſcovered Wyatt's intention to march through Weſtminſter, and enter the city at Ludgate.

However, this would not have fruſtrated his ſcheme, had he not been ſtill poſſeſſed with a belief that the citizens would favour his undertaking: on which preſumption, leaving his cannon, under a guard, on that ſpot now called Conſtitution Hill, he marched down directly towards Charing-croſs; but on his way was attacked in flank by a party of light horſe, under the earl of Pembroke, about the ſpot where St. James's ſtreet is now built, and a ſkirmiſh enſued, by which one part of Wyatt's men was cut off from the other. This attack ruined Wyatt, for in it he loſt the beſt part of his followers: nevertheleſs, he ſtill continued his march leiſurely along the Strand, expecting to be rejoined by his diſperſed followers.

In his way he was oppoſed by ſir John Gage, the lord-chamberlain, at the head of a thouſand men, but thoſe he quickly put to flight: and, perſuing his march, came before Ludgate, where he demanded admiſſion, but in vain, all the poſts of importance at the gate and elſewhere being ſtrongly guarded by lord William Howard, and other friends of government; Wyatt therefore, inſtead of admiſſion at Ludgate, received nothing but reproaches, and finding himſelf in no condition to force the gate (ſo many of his followers having ſlunk away, that he had not above a thouſand men about him), he was obliged to return; but being informed that his retreat was cut off by barricadoes, and the earl of Pembroke's troops at Temple-bar, he diſcovered his danger, and gave all over for loſt. At that inſtant, Clarencieux, king of arms, was ſent in the queen's name, to re-

quire him to ſurrender, with a promiſe of pardon for him and his men if they would lay down their arms: while Wyatt was pauſing on this ſummons, ſir Maurice Berkeley happening to paſs on horſeback, Wyatt called out to him, as knowing him to be a gentleman, and delivering up his ſword, Berkeley carried him along with him, on the ſame horſe, priſoner to Whitehall. Knevet, Cobham, and the reſt of Wyatt's followers, likewiſe ſubmitted; and the queen in a few minutes, from her own palace-windows, beheld thoſe led captives from whom ſhe had expected in a ſhort time to receive laws; for ſo great had been the conſternation at court, that Weſton, who ſaid maſs the day of Wyatt's defeat, which was Aſh Wedneſday, wore armour under his clerical habit.

Such was the event of this conſpiracy: and if it had only drawn vengeance on the heads of the principal actors, they might have been ſaid to meet the juſt reward of their folly. But it produced two conſiderable effects; the one fatal to an illuſtrious innocent perſon, and the other to all proteſtants, though religion had no ſhare in this inſurrection: but, as the queen's darling point was to reſtore popery, and finding her power ſtrengthened by the ill ſucceſs of the conſpirators, ſhe made an handle of the affair to ruin the reformed and their religion.

As the duke of Suffolk was concerned in the conſpiracy, the court eaſily conceived his deſign was to replace his daughter, the lady Jane, on the throne; and this determined the queen to ſacrifice her to her own ſafety, whom ſhe had before only hated on account of her religion. Accordingly Fakenham, abbot of Weſtminſter, was ſent, two days after the ſurrender of Wyatt, to announce the fatal meſſage of death to the lady Jane and her huſband, who were ſtill priſoners in the Tower, under ſentence of death. This meſſage was received by Jane with great compoſure, it being what ſhe had long expected, and which the innocence of her life, as well as the long train of calamities which ſhe had ſuffered, made her conſider as no unwelcome tidings. Dr. Fakenham, who brought them, informed her he had obtained a reſpite of three days for her, in which time he tried all his endeavours to make her change her religion: but Jane, even in theſe her mournful circumſtances, had preſence of mind ſufficient not only to defend her faith with equal learning and eloquence, but alſo to write a letter in the Greek language to her ſiſter Catherine, in which, beſides ſending her a copy of the New Teſtament, ſhe exhorted her in the moſt preſſing manner to maintain, in every condition of life, a like ſteady and unſhaken perſeverance with herſelf.

On the twelfth of February, the day appointed for her execution, her huſband the lord Guilford, who was doomed to ſuffer at the ſame time, deſired he might be allowed to ſee her, but ſhe refuſed to comply with his requeſt, and ſent him word that the tenderneſs of a parting interview would, ſhe feared, too much affect their ſpirits, and render them unable to meet their approaching fate with that magnanimity which befitted their condition; the wretched huſband acquieſced, and from the window of her priſon ſhe beheld him carried to execution, and from the ſame window ſaw his body and head return in a cart. It had been propoſed to execute them both together; but the council fearing that the compaſſion of the people for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, might excite ſome dangerous commotion, thought proper to alter their reſolution, and gave orders that ſhe ſhould ſuffer on a ſcaffold within the Tower: accordingly ſhe was led forth from her apartment to the block, where, to the laſt moment, ſhe ſhewed great conſtancy and piety, and an immoveable adherence to the proteſtant faith; yet acknowleged that ſhe thought herſelf culpable in ſuffering herſelf to be perſuaded to accept a crown that did not belong to her; and then ſubmitting her neck to the ſtroke of the executioner, her head was ſevered from her body. Thus fell the lady Jane Grey, before ſhe had attained the ſeventeenth year of her age.

On the fourteenth and fifteenth of February, Bret, the commander of the city trained-bands, who had deſerted to Wyatt, and fifty-eight more, were hanged: Wyatt, indeed, was reſpited for two months, in hopes he would make ſome conſiderable diſcoveries, having already unjuſtly accuſed the earl of Devonſhire and the princeſs Elizabeth, and promiſed to give information againſt other great perſonages, of being concerned with him in the late conſpiracy. How improbable ſoever his accuſations might ſeem to the unprejudiced, the queen, Gardiner, and Arundel were willing to believe any thing that might affect the princeſs, or any others that were ſuſpected to be friends to the Reformation; therefore the earl of Devonſhire was committed to the Tower, and Elizabeth, though at that time much indiſpoſed, was brought to London, and cloſely confined at Whitehall for a fortnight, without liberty of ſpeaking to any perſon; and after that committed to the Tower.

On the ſeventeenth, the duke of Suffolk was tried by his peers, the earl of Arundel acting as high-ſteward, and found guilty, in conſequence of which he ſuffered death on the twenty-third, on Tower-hill. In the courſe of the ſame month, ſir James Crofts, ſir Edward Warner, Thomas, late clerk of the council, and ſir Nicholas Throgmorton, were committed to priſon, upon ſome hints dropped by Wyatt. The lord Grey, the duke of Suffolk's brother, was executed, with about two-and-twenty of his followers and friends. But a little to qualify theſe ſeverities the marquis of Northampton, the lord Cobham, ſir William Cobham, Colepepper, Vane, and ſome other gentlemen, were, on the fourth of March, releaſed out of the Tower of London; and about ſix hundred of the common men concerned in the late rebellion, being brought before the palace at Whitehall, with halters about their necks, upon making the proper ſubmiſſion, received their pardon from the queen in perſon. Of all who were tried, none appear to have eſcaped being condemned, except ſir Nicholas Throgmorton; and his deliverance was owing to the amazing ſpirit and abilities he diſcovered upon his trial. He called upon the court to produce any one overt-act of the treaſon of which he had been indicted; and no ſolid proofs appearing againſt him, the jury, after a long trial, brought him in Not Guilty: for which, upon the attorney-general's motion, they were bound over, and afterwards committed, proſecuted, and ſeverely fined. Thus did the iniquitous judges of theſe days endeavour to convince the juries, that they were no longer to have the liberty of judging according to their conſciences; but that, inſtead of being governed by proofs, they were to

examine how the queen and her council ſtood affected to the priſoner, and by that to determine their verdict.

The government had, for ſome time, delayed the execution of Wyatt, that they might make all the advantage they could of his diſcoveries. Ever ſince his confinement he had acted with a puſillanimity as unavailing to himſelf as dangerous to others; but having now no longer hopes of ſaving his own life by drawing the innocent into condemnation, he, upon his trial, fully cleared the princeſs Elizabeth, the earl of Devonſhire, and others, by retracting all he had ſaid to their prejudice; and, being brought to execution on the eleventh of April, acquitted them to the public, with his dying breath: yet Elizabeth was not only kept confined in the Tower, but, to deprive her even of that little comfort ſhe received from the humanity and diſtinction with which the conſtable, the lord Chandois, treated her, ſhe was, on the ſixteenth of May, committed to the cuſtody of lord Williams. But there being no longer any pretence to retain her or the earl of Devonſhire priſoners in that place, ſhe was removed to Woodſtock, and he to Fotheringay caſtle, both of them ſtill under a guard. In this condition the princeſs Elizabeth continued for near two years, when ſhe was ſo far indulged to live at her own houſe; but even then ſhe was beſet by the queen's ſpies and guards.

The queen no ſooner found herſelf delivered from the danger apprehended from Wyatt's conſpiracy, than ſhe, with redoubled vigour, reſumed her deſign of an entire deſtruction of the Reformation in England, in which ſhe was not a little aſſiſted by Gardiner, who now bore all the ſway. Sir John Williams, on the eighth of March, by order of the council, received from the Tower of London Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and carried them down to Oxford, there to diſpute concerning their faith. It is eaſy to conceive that thoſe in power aſſumed the victory: on the third of May, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were adjudged obſtinate heretics. As for Cranmer, he being already attainted of treaſon, was pardoned of that, that he might die the more painful death of an heretic. The maſs was every where reſtored; the marriage of prieſts was ſtrictly forbidden; and all thoſe who had already taken wives, amounting, as is ſuppoſed, to no leſs than three fourths of the Engliſh clergy, were inſtantly deprived of their livings. A viſitation was appointed, to enforce a ſpeedy and general compliance with theſe orders. Among other articles the commiſſioners were enjoined to forbid the clergy to take the oath of ſupremacy, on their receiving any benefice. It is remarkable that this oath had been eſtabliſhed by the laws of king Henry VIII. which were ſtill unrepealed. But the ſtorm did not end here, it fell with greater force upon many of the ſuperior clergy; for a ſpecial commiſſion was given to Gardiner, Tonſtal, Bonner, Parſen, biſhop of St. Aſaph, Day of Chicheſter, and Kitchin of Llandaff, to deprive Holgate, archbiſhop of York, Ferrar, biſhop of St. David's, Bird of Cheſter, and Buſh of Briſtol, then under confinement as recuſants. Two days after, Taylor, biſhop Lincoln, Hooper of Gloceſter, and Harley of Hereford, underwent the like ſentence of deprivation, on an accuſation of having behaved themſelves ill and preached erroneous doctrines. In the room of the deprived biſhops were placed others, who were known to be ſtaunch friends to the papiſtical doctrine and ſuperſtition.

Theſe violent and arbitrary proceedings could not fail to inflame the reſentment of the proteſtants, who inveighed with great acrimony againſt the preſent government: nevertheleſs, the miniſtry, knowing them to be neceſſary to ſecure an intereſt in the houſe of lords and in the convocation, ſupported them with an air of juſtice, founded upon a clauſe in the letters patent of Edward VI. in which it was provided that biſhops ſhould hold their biſhoprics ſo long as they behaved themſelves well ("quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint,") and therefore it was alledged, the queen did them no injuſtice by depriving them, when their conduct was ſuch as proved diſpleaſing to her. Such was the conſtitution of the ſtate and church when the new parliament met on the ſecond of April, 1554.

Before this time Gardiner had received vaſt remittances from the emperor, which he had employed in corrupting the members to a degree till then unprecedented in England. Gardener, as chancellor, opened the ſeſſion by a ſpeech; in which he maintained the queen's hereditary title to the crown; affirmed ſhe had a right to chuſe a huſband for herſelf; obſerved the good uſe ſhe had made of that right, by preferring an old ally, ſprung from the houſe of Burgundy; and mentioned the failure of Henry VIII's poſterity, of whom there were none ſurviving but the queen and the lady Elizabeth.

He ſubjoined, that, in order to prevent the calamities which might be occaſioned by different pretenders, it was neceſſary to grant the queen a power of diſpoſing of the crown, and of naming her ſucceſſor: a power, he ſaid, which ought not to be conſidered as a new thing in England, ſince it had been formerly beſtowed upon Henry VIII.

The parliament were ſufficiently inclined to gratify the queen in all her deſires; but when the liberty, independency, and even the very being of the nation, were expoſed to ſuch imminent danger, they could not by any means be perſuaded to comply.

They were acquainted with the inveterate hatred which ſhe bore to the lady Elizabeth, and with her ſtrong attachment to the houſe of Auſtria: they remembered her bigotry and ſuperſtition, which would prompt her to prefer the eſtabliſhment of the catholic religion to all conſiderations of juſtice and national intereſt: they obſerved that Gardiner, in his ſpeech, had carefully avoided the giving Elizabeth the title of the queen's ſiſter; and they thence inferred, that a deſign was formed of declaring her illegitimate: they apprehended, that Mary, if inveſted with ſuch a power as ſhe demanded, would bequeath the crown to her huſband, and, by that means, make England a province of the Spaniſh monarchy: and they were the more inclined to entertain theſe ſuſpicions, when they heard, that Philip's deſcent from the houſe of Lancaſter was carefully traced and explained, and that he was publicly repreſented as the true and only heir by right of inheritance.

The parliament, therefore, ſenſible of their danger, was reſolved to keep at a diſtance from the precipice, on the brink of which they ſtood. They could not help confirming the articles of marriage, which were extremely advantageous to England; but they refuſed to agree to any ſuch law as the chancellor recommended: they would not ſo much

much as declare it treaſon to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's huſband, while ſhe was alive; and a bill brought in for that purpoſe was rejected at its firſt reading.

In order to deprive Philip of all hopes of ever being able to exerciſe any authority in England, they enacted a law, importing, "that her majeſty, as their only queen, ſhould ſolely, and as ſole queen, enjoy the crown and ſovereignty of her realms, with all the pre-eminences, dignities, and rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample a manner after her marriage as before, without any title or claim accruing to the prince of Spain, either as tenant by courteſy of the realm, or by any other means."

This parliament paſſed a law for erecting anew the biſhopric of Durham, which had been diſſolved by the laſt parliament of Edward. The queen had already, by virtue of her prerogative, reſtored Tonſtal to the poſſeſſion of that ſee; but, though the crown was, at that time, accuſtomed to exerciſe authority which might ſeem entirely legiſlative, it was always deemed more ſafe and ſatisfactory to obtain the conſent of parliament.

Bills were brought in for ſuppreſſing the many erroneous opinions contained in books, as well as for reviving the law of the Six Articles, together with thoſe againſt the Lollards, againſt hereſy and erroneous preaching; but all theſe bills were rejected by the two houſes: a proof, that however inclinable the parliament might be to gratify the court in ſome points, they were yet determined to follow their own judgment in other particulars. The queen, therefore, finding that they would not pay an implicit obedience to her will, thought proper to put an end to the ſeſſion by diſſolving them on the fifth of May.

The parliament having confirmed the articles of marriage between the queen and the prince of Spain, and Mary being impatient to be more nearly connected with her young conſort, the earl of Suſſex was ſent over, immediately after the breaking up of the parliament, with a ſtrong ſquadron under admiral Winter, to bring the prince of Spain to England, where he actually arrived, at Southampton, on the nineteenth of July. On his firſt ſetting foot on ſhore, Philip drew his ſword, and carried it naked for ſome time; and when the magiſtrates of that port preſented him with the keys of that town, he returned them without vouchſafing to ſpeak a ſingle word; both which circumſtances cauſed various reflections in the minds of the ſpectators, not greatly to the advantage of his Spaniſh highneſs. The queen had ſet out on a progreſs to the Weſt, that ſhe might meet her bridegroom at Wincheſter, where ſhe intended to be married, and where the ceremony was accordingly performed by Gardiner, with great magnificence, on Wedneſday the twenty-fifth of July, being the feaſt of St. James, the tutelar ſaint of Spain, Mary being in her thirty-ninth year, and older than Philip by eleven years and three months; the marquis of Wincheſter, with the earls of Arundel, Derby, Bedford, and Pembroke, performing the ceremony of giving her away in the name of the kingdom. The Imperial ambaſſador had, before the ſolemnity, preſented Philip with an inſtrument, containing the emperor's reſignation and ceſſion to him of the two Sicilies; and, as ſoon as it was over, Garter king at arms, attended by the heralds, publiſhed the ſtyles of the royal pair, in Latin, French, and Engliſh, proclaiming "Philip and Mary, king and queen of England, Ireland, and France, Naples and Jeruſalem, defenders of the faith, princes of Spain and Sicily, archdukes of Auſtria, dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant, counts of Hapſburg, Flanders, and Tyrol."

The marriage being conſummated, Philip ordered his treaſure to be landed, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven cheſts, each a yard and four inches long, filled with bullion, with ninety-nine horſe-loads and two cart-loads of gold and ſilver coin; which infuſed freſh zeal for the queen's intereſt into thoſe who had been before retained by Gardiner. In the beginning of Auguſt, the court removed for London; ſtopping at Windſor, Philip was there inſtalled a knight of the Garter: at length, on the eighteenth of the ſame month, they made a pompous entry into London, where pageants and triumphal arches had been erected, and other marks of rejoicing were exhibited, at a vaſt expence, the obſequious city-council having taxed the citizens at the rate of a fifteenth and a half to provide for the magnificent reception of the queen and her new conſort. After a ſhort ſtay at Whitehall, they diſmiſſed their train of nobility, and then returning to Hampton-court, made that palace their ordinary reſidence. But Philip's grave manner and reſerved air gave great diſguſt to the Engliſh: none were ſuffered to come into either his or the queen's preſence without a formal demand of an audience, as is practiſed by ambaſſadors. This rendered the court entirely unfrequented, the Engliſh nobility not enduring to conform to a cuſtom ſo oppoſite to their own.

The reſt of this ſummer was ſpent in the election of proper members to conſtitute the next parliament, under the influence of the prime miniſter, Gardiner, and his emiſſaries, in which no endeavours, by bribery, corruption, ſoothing, or menacing, were omitted to gain their ends. About the latter end of September died, full of years, the old duke of Norfolk, about twelve months after he had received his liberty; and was ſucceeded in his titles and honours by his grand-ſon, Thomas Howard, ſon to the earl of Surry, beheaded in the laſt year of the reign of Henry VIII.

The parliament, which met on the eleventh of November, was ſo well ſecured to the court principles and intereſt by Philip's money, that they wanted only an opportunity to ſignalize their zeal. At its firſt meeting, the king and queen rode together on horſeback, in their robes, to the parliament-houſe, with two ſwords and two caps of maintenance borne before them. And now the court was ſo well aſſured of the parliament's concurrence with, and confirmation of, all their actions, that they diſpatched the lords Paget and Haſtings, with Cecil, the late ſecretary, in their train, to bring over cardinal Pole, in the character of the pope's legate, before any law was paſſed to reſtore the papal authority: indeed the parliament made it one of their firſt acts, on ſitting down, to take off the cardinal's attainder, which had paſſed upon him in the reign of Henry VIII. and by which he remained liable to a ſentence of death. The ambaſſadors arrived at Bruſſels on the eleventh of November; and having, to the no ſmall ſatisfaction of the cardinal, delivered their commiſſion, they landed with his eminence on the twenty-fourth at the Tower.

A guar-

A guardian-angel could not have been received with more pomp and greater reſpect than he was by the king and queen. Mary, in particular, was ſo over-joyed at ſeeing him enter the preſence-chamber to pay his reſpects to her, that ſhe declared aloud ſhe felt the child leap in her womb on the occaſion: ſome of the ſervile herd of flatterers who were about her caught the hint, and ſcrupled not to declare that as John the Baptiſt leaped in his mother's womb at the ſalutation of the Virgin, ſo here the queen's child leaped at the ſalutation of Chriſt's vicar, ſpeaking by the mouth of his legate: Mary herſelf carried on this farce ſo far, that ſhe declared her pregnancy to all the foreign ambaſſadors; and we find an order in council, dated the twenty-ſeventh of this month, for Te Deum to be ſung at St. Paul's and a form of prayer was ordered to be compoſed and uſed by all the prieſts, &c. in which was this remarkable petition, that God would pleaſe "to give the queen a male infant, in faſhion and body comely and beautiful, and in pregnant wit notable and excellent*." But, after all, this proved to be no other than a political trick; for the queen's boaſted pregnancy turned to a dropſy. But to return.

Pole arriving on the twenty-fourth of November, as we have already obſerved, the queen laid the mask quite aſide, and no longer paying any regard to her oath and promiſes not to alter the national religion, ſhe determined to precipitate matters as much as poſſible; and two days after the legate's arrival, the two houſes were ſummoned to Whitehall, and the cardinal having returned his thanks for their late favour to him in reverſing his attainder, exhorted them to be reconciled to the church of Rome, into whoſe boſom he was ready to receive them, and grant them abſolution from all ſpiritual cenſures. This produced a conference the next day between the lords and commons; and an addreſs being drawn up in the name of both houſes, expreſſing a deſire of their reunion, and preſented to the king and queen, the legate, at their majeſties interceſſion, on the thirtieth of November, proceeded to reſtore the nation to an union with the church of Rome, and abſolved it with all the ſpells of prieſtly jargon. The ceremony was followed by ringing of bells and bonfires, by the king and queen's expreſs orders.

The legate having enjoined the parliament, by way of penance, to repeal all the laws made againſt papal authority, both houſes ſet about the ſaid repeal with an unprecedented degree of infamous and ſervile compliance, but the Chriſtmas holidays interpoſing, the bill could not be got ready before the beginning of January. By this act (the title of which was "An act for repealing all the ſtatutes againſt the pope, and for eſtabliſhing eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions granted to the laity,") the papal ſupremacy, the juriſdiction of biſhops and eccleſiaſtical courts, and the prerogative of the crown, were put on the ſame footing as they ſtood in the twentieth year of Henry VIII. All ſees, colleges, hoſpitals, ſchools, and other foundations, erected; all legal marriages, though within the degrees prohibited by the canon law, contracted; all inſtitutions to benefices granted; and all proceſſes carried on, and all church-lands conveyed to laymen, according to the late laws in being, ſince the ſeparation from Rome, were not confirmed.

The very title of this act is ſufficient to inform the reader of its tendency. It was the indiſpenſible preliminary which the great men of England required for reſettling the power of the pope: "Secure but to us (ſaid they) the poſſeſſion of the church-lands, and we are willing to embrace all your doctrines, or otherwiſe to reject them: let us enjoy our revenues, we will readily accept your religion; confirm but our poſſeſſions, and we will not heſitate to make a ſacrifice of revelation, liberty, conſcience and the exerciſe of our reaſon." The conduct of this parliament will ſecure us from the charge of too much ſeverity in what we have here ſaid; for having thus ſecured their poſſeſſions, they ſhewed the utmoſt indifference to the religion, or even the lives of their fellow-ſubjects; and they renewed the old ſanguinary laws againſt heretics, which had been aboliſhed in the reign of Edward VI. and the revival of which had been rejected in the former parliament. They likewiſe paſſed ſeveral new laws againſt ſeditious words and rumours; and they declared it treaſon to imagine or attempt the death of Philip, during his marriage with the queen.

Each parliament had hitherto been more complaiſant to the court than their predeceſſors, but none of them had laid aſide their long-conceived hatred and averſion to the Spaniards; and now, though the queen endeavoured to get her huſband appointed preſumptive heir to the crown, and inveſted with the adminiſtration of public affairs, ſhe failed in both theſe attempts, and could not ſo much as perſuade the parliament to agree to his coronation, a thing which he had greatly at heart: nor was ſhe more ſucceſsful in her endeavours to obtain a ſubſidy from the commons, in order to aſſiſt the emperor in a war he was anew engaged in with France. In ſhort, the Engliſh at this period ſeem to have conceived the ſame jealouſy againſt the houſe of Auſtria, which they had formerly entertained againſt France.

Philip, conſcious of the general odium under which he laboured, endeavoured to recommend himſelf to the favour of the public by procuring the enlargement of ſeveral perſons of diſtinction who had been confined from the jealouſy or reſentment of the court; but nothing was more acceptable to the nation than his protecting the lady Elizabeth from the malice and cruelty of her ſiſter and that fell demon Gardiner, and obtaining for her the enjoyment of her liberty. Though it is unfair to put unfavourable conſtructions upon virtuous actions, yet the whole tenor of Philip's conduct and character leaves no room to doubt, that all his clemency on this occaſion had very ſelfiſh and intereſted motives, particularly with regard to the lady Elizabeth; for he very juſtly concluded, that if ſhe was put to death, the next lawful heir was the queen of Scots, and wife to the dauphin of France, whoſe ſucceſſion would for ever unite England to the crown of France. The earl of Devonſhire likewiſe derived ſome advantage from the affected popularity of Philip, and received his liberty; but finding that the court looked upon him with an evil eye, he begged permiſſion to travel, and ſoon after died at Padua, from poiſon, as is

* See the order and form in Hollingſhed, fol. 1123—1126. and in Fox, vol. iii. p. 115, &c.

ſuppoſed, given him by the Imperialiſts. He was the eleventh earl of Devonſhire of the name of Courtney, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families in hiſtory, and nearly allied to the royal family of France.

Notwithſtanding that the nation in general was little diſpoſed to credit the report of the queen's pregnancy, and that it was thought, by perſons the moſt knowing in thoſe matters, that ſhe laboured under infirmities that rendered her incapable of bearing children, the belief of her pregnancy was ſtill propagated with all poſſible care, and was one artifice by which Philip endeavoured to maintain his authority in the kingdom; and this pretext was ſo effectually handled, that the parliament were brought to enact a law, declaring, "that if the queen died before her iſſue came of age, the government of the kingdom ſhould be in the king's hands during the minority, which was fixed till eighteen for a ſon and fifteen for a daughter." And now Philip and Mary, finding they could extort no farther conceſſions, came unexpectedly to Weſtminſter, and diſſolved the parliament on the twelfth of January, 1555.

Soon after the riſing of the parliament, Thirlby, who was now biſhop of Ely, and ſir Anthony Brown, lately created viſcount Montacute, were ſent ambaſſadors, with a ſplendid retinue to Rome, to notify to his holineſs all that had been done in parliament, and to make tenders of ſubmiſſion to the holy ſee in the name of the king, queen, and three eſtates of England. But before they could arrive, pope Julius III. died; and his ſucceſſor, Marcellus II. who reigned but twenty-two days, was dead alſo; and cardinal Caraffa, an haughty proud man, was elected, and aſſumed the name of Paul IV. When the Engliſh ambaſſadors arrived, this haughty pontiff refuſed them audience, becauſe their powers ran from Mary as queen of Ireland as well as England, a title which had not been given her or her predeceſſors by the holy ſee: they were therefore tame enough to wait till a bull was made out, inveſting Mary with that title, and then they had their audience.

The uſual formalities being paſſed, they laid before his holineſs all that had been done in the late parliament, hoping that he would confirm to the laity the poſſeſſion of church-lands; but the pope flatly refuſed to do that: he ſeemed to blame Pole for exceeding his commiſſion, and to wonder how any one could preſume to harbour a thought, that he would grant any confirmation to acts that were in themſelves iniquitous and ſacrilegious. To explain himſelf more fully on this head, a bull was iſſued, denouncing the moſt ſevere anathemas upon all who ſhould keep from the church or religious orders any part of their property. Upon this the queen was weak enough to ſend for the marquis of Wincheſter, lord treaſurer, ſir Robert Rocheſter, comptroller of the houſhold, ſecretary Petre, and ſir Francis Inglefield, maſter of the wards, acquainting them that her conſcience did not ſuffer her any longer to keep in her hands any part of the church's property, deſiring them immediately to repair to Gardiner, to conſult in what manner they ſhould be reſtored; and this declaration was attended by ſuch expreſſions as ſufficiently proved the deluded queen to ſpeak from the deepeſt conviction of conſcience.

But the attention of the miniſtry was chiefly engaged about the conduct proper to be obſerved with regard to matters of a religious nature; and a very important queſtion was frequently debated, before the queen and council, by cardinal Pole and biſhop Gardiner, namely, whether the laws lately revived againſt heretics ſhould be executed in their full extent and rigour, or ſhould only be employed to prevent the reformers from making any farther innovations?

Pole was very ſincere in his religious principles; and though while at Rome he had incurred, by his lenity, the ſuſpicion of a ſtrong tendency towards Lutheraniſm, he was fully convinced of the truth of the catholic doctrines, and believed that thoſe great and important intereſts ought never to be ſacrificed to any conſideration of human policy.

Gardiner, on the other hand, had always made his religion ſubſervient to his temporal concerns, and, by his unlimited complaiſance to Henry, he had ſhewn, that, had he not been driven to extremities during the late minority, he was ſufficiently inclined to alter his opinion, and embrace the eſtabliſhed theology.

This is generally allowed to have been the real character of thoſe two counſellers; yet, ſuch is the prevalence of temper above principle, that the humane diſpoſition of Pole led him to recommend a toleration of thoſe heretical tenets which he highly condemned; while the cruel heart of Gardiner prompted him to ſupport by perſecution that religion, which, at the bottom, he regarded with the utmoſt indifference.

Unhappily for the nation, the queen, who was a flaming bigot, reliſhed the counſels of Gardiner beſt; but, willing at the ſame time to pay ſome regard to the character of Pole, ſhe ordered him to take upon himſelf the reformation of the clergy, and charged Gardiner with the work of extirpating hereſy.

Gardiner, thus empowered, and fluſhed with his ſucceſs in bringing about the queen's marriage, in diſpoſing the parliament to favour their ſovereign's religious principles, and in reſtoring the Roman catholic religion and the pope's authority, was determined to crown his zeal, and complete his glory, by forcing the proteſtants into the pale of the church, or at leaſt to an outward conformity to the new laws. And here a regard to truth, which ought ever to guide the hiſtorian's pen, and animate his reflections on the incidents he relates, obliges me to confeſs, that the imprudence of ſome weak perſons among the reformed, contributed not a little to fix the diabolical reſolutions now taken againſt them. It had been induſtriouſly given out by their party, that the queen was with child by Gardiner; and the court and the nation were filled with libels againſt her and the Spaniards. One Bradford, a virulent writer (not the ſame who ſuffered for religion), had publiſhed in print the moſt ſcurrilous abuſes of the king's perſon; and the manners and religion of the court had been every where very indecently, however juſtly, laſhed: Bonner and Gardiner had many private piques to revenge, while the treatment which ſome of the popiſh preachers had met with from ſeveral hot-headed proteſtants was made uſe of as a handle, that the whole party was made up of traitors as well as heretics.

But

But all these provocations and allegations fall infinitely short of an excuse for the infernal proceedings of the government and clergy against the protestants. England was now filled with scenes of horror and barbarity, which have justly rendered the catholic religion the object of universal hatred and abhorrence, and which prove that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty, concealed under the specious guise of religion.

The two first victims of this persecuting spirit were Dr. Hooper, late bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, who had both eminently distinguished themselves, the one by his loyalty in supporting the queen's title against Northumberland, and the other by his pacific temper, in saving, at the hazard of his own life, Bourne the papist-preacher at St. Paul's: but, as if the government had intended to give the nation a specimen of their impartial cruelty, Rogers, after repeated attempts to bring him to recant, was condemned to the stake; and so ingenious were his butchers in their barbarity, that, perceiving they could not shake his manly resolution to suffer, they attacked him where virtue is most tender, by denying him the sight of his wife or children, and hurrying him into the flames in Smithfield, on the fourth of February.

The two bloody bishops had a personal hatred against Hooper, who behaved with all the constancy of a primitive martyr. He had kept up a correspondence with Bulenger, and others of the reformed abroad, to whom he sent his wife, who was herself a foreigner; and he was at very little pains to conceal his sentiments, none having been more active or more successful than he was in the cause of reformation. He shewed a noble contempt for all the insults he received; and, being given over to the secular arm by the bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Salisbury, Norwich, and Carlisle, who sat in judgment at St. Mary Overy's, Southwark, was impolitically sent by the government to die at Gloucester, that the hearers of his doctrine might be the witnesses of his sufferings.

This circumstance was intended to strike terror into his flock; but it was a source of joy and satisfaction to Hooper, who gladly embraced the opportunity of confirming by his death that doctrine which he had formerly taught them. When he was fixed to the stake, a stool was set before him, and the queen's pardon laid upon it, by accepting of which he might still have saved his life; but he ordered it to be taken away, and chearfully prepared himself for that dreadful punishment to which he was doomed.

His death was attended by every circumstance that could heighten its severity; the wind, which was vehement, blew the flames of the reeds from his body; the faggots were green, and did not take fire; all his lower parts were consumed before his vitals were affected; one hand dropped off, with the other he continued to beat his breast: he was heard to pray, and exhort the people to adhere to their religion, until his tongue, swolen with the violence of his agony, was rendered incapable of motion. He was no less than three quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with the most surprizing and inflexible constancy.

About the same time Laurence Saunders, minister of Allhallows, Bread-street, and Mr. Rowland Taylor, rector of Hadley, in Suffolk, were delivered over to the secular power, and sealed their doctrine by their death.

Saunders suffered at Coventry: he was also indulged with the offer of pardon; but he rejected it with disdain, and embraced the stake, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life."

Taylor, parson of Hadley, was on the nineteenth of February, burned in that place, amidst his ancient friends and parishoners. When he was brought to the stake, and began to harangue the by-standers, one of the guards struck him on the head: then he was placed in a barrel of pitch; and one of the spectators throwing a faggot at the good old man, which wounded him so severely, that his visage was besmeared with blood, he replied, "Oh friend! I have harm enough, what need of that?"

When he repeated a Psalm in English one of the guards struck him on the mouth, and bid him speak Latin: and while he was employed in pious ejaculations, another cleft his head with an halbert, in such a manner that his brains came out, and he expired immediately.

So many inhuman executions, merely for the sake of principle, threw the nation into an universal consternation, insomuch that the subtle Gardiner, who had vainly imagined that a few examples would affrighten the reformers into a compliance, finding the work now grow daily upon him, thought proper to devolve his odious commission on others, but chiefly on Bonner, bishop of London, a man of the most profligate and abandoned manners, and of such a savage and cruel disposition, that he seemed to delight in the torments of the unhappy wretches his iniquitous sentence committed to the flames.

And now, not only Gardiner, but all the bishops, in a solemn assembly, endeavoured to clear themselves of being in any wise concerned in these barbarities, and sought by artful insinuations to cast the whole blame upon the king and the Spaniards: but Philip being informed of the infamous policy of the clergy, and being well apprized, that, should such an opinion of his cruelty be suffered to prevail, he must entirely lose all interest with the English, ordered friar Alphonso, his confessor, to disclaim those sanguinary proceedings from the pulpit, and very roundly to charge them upon the bishops: an unusual spectacle! a priest of the Inquisition blaming Englishmen for religious cruelties! The bishops, amazed at this, began to check their hands, and there were no more executions till the middle of March.

But the fires which had been thus damped, were in a short time rekindled by the breath of the gloomy queen, while Bonner's furious zeal spread the flames. He, in conjunction with some other bishops, and assisted by the earl of Oxford and lord Rich, condemned without mercy all that came before them, amongst whom was Dr. Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, who was burned at Caermarthen, on the thirtieth of March. To recount all the particulars of the other executions, which now became so numerous, that the whole kingdom seemed to be in a blaze from persecution, would only shock the humanity of the reader, and they may all be found faithfully recorded in other historians. Three martyrdoms, however, deserve peculiar mention, those of Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer.

They were ſtill in priſon at Oxford, and commiſſions for trying them were directed to Brooks, biſhop of Gloceſter, White, biſhop of Lincoln, Holman, biſhop of Briſtol, and ſeveral others. The three prelates, at their different appearances, refuſed to acknowlege the pope's authority. Latimer and Ridley, after refuſing to recant their doctrine, or to acknowlege the real preſence in the euchariſt, which was now become the watch-word for murders, were delivered over to the ſecular arm, and carried to be burned on the north ſide of the city of Oxford, in the ditch over-againſt Baliol college, on the ſixteenth of October; and both, in their laſt moments, gave teſtimony of the faith with their blood, and a behaviour nothing inferior to what we read of the primitive martyrs. But thoſe two great men deſerve ſome farther mention.

Ridley was born of a good family in Northumberland. He went to ſchool at Newcaſtle, and was ſent to Pembroke hall in Cambridge, of which he became maſter. King Henry VIII. made him firſt his chaplain, and promoted him to the ſee of Rocheſter, from whence king Edward VI. tranſlated him to London. He was certainly one of the ableſt champions of the Reformation; pious, learned, ſolid in judgment, conſtant, admired by his friends, and dreaded of his enemies; which were ſufficient reaſons for the popiſh counſellors to put him to death. The night immediately before his execution, biſhop Ridley invited the mayor of Oxford and his wife to ſee him die; and the good woman melting into tears, he ſpoke to her with an aſſurance which baniſhed her ſorrow, and convinced her that ſo much firmneſs on ſo melancholy an occaſion could only be the gift from Heaven, inſpiring and animating him againſt his approaching agony. He alſo comforted Latimer at the ſtake, who was ready to return him the kind office. He was ſo little ſhocked with the terrors before him, that he not only gave a ſerious attention to the furious bigot that preached at his execution, but calmly propoſed to anſwer the exceptionable parts of his ſermon, which was not permitted, leſt his eloquence and reaſon ſhould biaſs his hearers and ſpectators too much in his favour; and he left the world with an act of juſtice, for he ſent a petition to the queen, praying that either the tenants of the biſhopric of London might be confirmed in their leaſes, or that their fines might be reſtored out of his goods, ſeized when he was impriſoned. But he paid dearly for his courage; the faggots were ordered to be placed in ſuch a manner as to torment him as much as poſſible; he was rather roaſted than burned, for his legs were almoſt conſumed before the fire was permitted to reach his vitals.

Biſhop Latimer was born at Thurcaſton, in Leiceſterſhire, and brought up alſo at Cambridge. Henry VIII. promoted him to the ſee of Worceſter, which he reſigned becauſe he would not ſubſcribe to what were called king Henry's Six bloody Articles. He was remarkable for his ſimplicity, freedom, and plainneſs, with which he arraigned great ſinners, and which, without the ornament of human eloquence, found a way to their hearts, and made them humble, though ever ſo exalted. One of his converts, a notorious robber, who had been perſuaded by him to reſtore his ill-gotten money, gave teſtimony of it at his execution, and comforted him at the ſtake; and deſiring to accompany ſo righteous a man in ſo good a cauſe, propheſied with unſhaken zeal, in the midſt of reigning popery, "that thoſe two biſhops and martyrs ſhould light up ſuch a candle in England, as, by God's grace, ſhould never be extinguiſhed." Latimer's age, who was upwards of eighty, made him ſoon yield up his ſoul in the flames, without undergoing much pain, and he died with the character of having preſerved the piety, ſimplicity, and integrity of the firſt, in the corruptions of the laſt, ages.

We wiſh we could throw a veil over the next martyr who ſuffered at the ſame place; we mean Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury. He had been long confined in priſon, but the queen was now reſolved to bring him to puniſhment; and the more fully to glut her revenge, ſhe determined to puniſh him for hereſy rather than for treaſon, and in September, 1555, he was tried by Brooks, biſhop of Gloceſter, a commiſſioner from the pope, and by Dr. Martin and Dr. Godwin, commiſſioners from the queen, who accuſed him of having been twice married, of keeping a wife ſecretly in king Henry VIII's time, and openly in the reign of king Edward VI. of publiſhing books againſt, and forſaking, the Romiſh church; and of denying the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament. He owned all theſe facts, upon which the commiſſioners cited him to appear before the pope in eight days, which they knew was impoſſible, ſince he was their priſoner. Bonner and Thirlby were ordered to degrade him at Oxford, on the fourteenth of February, which Bonner performed with his uſual inſolence, and with bitter railleries and invectives againſt the priſoner during the ceremony, while Thirlby melted into tears. They, on this occaſion, put him on pontifical robes made of canvas, to make him more ridiculous, and then ſtripped him of that ludicrous attire, piece by piece, according to the bull and ceremonies of degradation ſent from Rome: during which ceremony the good archbiſhop's behaviour was uniform and becoming. He was not ſorry, he ſaid, to be thus cut off with all his pageantry from any relation to the church of Rome; but declared it to be great injuſtice to condemn him for not going to Rome, when they kept him cloſe confined in priſon; and, denying the pope's authority over him, appealed from his ſentence to a free general council.

The revenge of the queen, not content with the eternal damnation of Cranmer, which ſhe believed to be certain, and the execution of that dreadful ſentence to which he was doomed, incited her alſo to ſeek the ruin of his honour and infamy of his name: perſons were employed to attack him, not in the way of argumentation and reaſoning, againſt which they knew he was ſufficiently prepared, but by policy, inſinuation, and addreſs, by repreſenting the dignities and honours to which his character gave him a claim, if he would deſerve them by a recantation; and by flattering him with the hopes of long enjoying thoſe powerful friends whom his humanity and beneficence had procured him during the courſe of his proſperity.

Influenced by that love of life which is in inſeparable from the human heart, and terrified at the proſpect of thoſe dreadful torments to which he was condemned, he ſuffered, in an unguarded

hour

The burning Archbishop Cranmer.

To His Grace *George Hamilton,*

Duke! of. **Brandon.**

This Plate is most humbly Inscribed.

hour, the feelings of nature to over-power his reſolution; and he agreed to ſign a paper, acknowledging the doctrine of the papal ſupremacy and of the real preſence.

The queen, whoſe perfidy was only exceeded by her cruelty, reſolved that this recantation ſhould not ſave his life; and ſhe ſent orders that he ſhould be commanded to own his errors in church, before the whole people; and that he ſhould from thence be immediately conducted to execution.

Cranmer, whether it was that he had received ſome notice of their intention, or that he had repented of his weakneſs and apoſtacy, ſurprized the audience by a contrary declaration: he ſaid, that he was ſufficiently acquainted with the obedience which he owed to his ſovereign, and the laws of the land; but this duty extended no farther than to ſubmit patiently to their commands, and to bear, without reſiſtance, whatever puniſhments they ſhould inflict upon him; that a ſuperior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to remain in the truth on all occaſions, and not to abandon, by a baſe denial, the holy doctrine which the Supreme Being had imparted to mankind: that there was one error of his life, which, above all others, filled him with the moſt unfeigned ſorrow and repentance, the inſincere declaration of faith to which he had unhappily been induced to agree, and which nothing but the fear of death could have extorted from him; that he chearfully embraced the preſent opportunity of atoning for his crime, by a ſincere and open recantation, and was willing to ſeal with his blood that doctrine which he firmly believed to be revealed from Heaven; and that as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it ſhould firſt be puniſhed, and, by a ſevere but juſt doom, firſt expiate the guilt of that crime which it had been the inſtrument of committing.

He was thence conducted to the ſtake amidſt the ſhouts and inſults of the catholics: and having now collected all the force and vigour of his mind, he bore their ſcorn, as well as the torture of his puniſhment, with ſurprizing courage: he ſtretched out his hand, and without diſcovering the leaſt ſign of weakneſs, or even of feeling, held it in the flames until it dropped off. His mind ſeemed to be wholly poſſeſſed with reflections of his former fault, and he was heard to exclaim ſeveral times "This unworthy hand has offended!"

Satisfied with that atonement, he re-aſſumed a wonderful compoſure and ſerenity of countenance: and when the fire ſurrounded his body, he ſeemed to be entirely inſenſible of all his outward ſufferings, and, by the force of hope and Chriſtian fortitude, to have raiſed himſelf above all bodily ſenſations, and to triumph over the fury of the flames.

It is pretended, that after his body was conſumed, his heart was found entire among the aſhes, a circumſtance which however improbable, yet, being conſidered as an emblem of his conſtancy, was fondly believed by the zealous proteſtants.

He was certainly a man of the moſt amiable character; alike diſtinguiſhed by his piety and learning, and poſſeſſed of candour, ſincerity, benevolence, and indeed of almoſt every virtue that could render him the object of public eſteem and veneration.

Though Cranmer's death happened in the year 1556, yet I have kept his ſtory entire, that I may the better attend the affairs of ſtate.

The Spaniards, by affecting to throw upon the Engliſh biſhops all the blame of the bloody ſeverities practiſed at this time, thought to conciliate the affections of that part of the nation who were moſt diſguſted with thoſe proceedings; but finding that the people of England were not ſo eaſily to be impoſed upon, and that Bonner, though loſt to all ſenſe of ſhame and humanity, could not be brought to brave the whole load of public hatred, the court ſoon pulled off the mask; the bloody bigotry of the Spaniſh character now ſtood confeſſed in every action, and it was now apparent that a ſcheme was fixed for introducing into England the Spaniſh Inquiſition.

As it appeared the biſhops courts, though extremely arbitrary, and not confined to the ordinary forms of law, were not poſſeſſed with ſufficient authority, a commiſſion was appointed, by virtue of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to exterminate hereſy: Bonner, and twenty unmerciful fiends like himſelf, were nominated; but any three of them were inveſted with the powers of the whole.

This commiſſion, which ſpeaks the very ſoul of the Inquiſition, was conceived in theſe terms: "That, ſince many falſe reports were publiſhed among the ſubjects, and many heretical opinions were propagated among them; therefore they were to enquire into thoſe, either by preſentments, by witneſſes, or any other political way they ſhould think proper; and to ſearch after all hereſies; the importers, the ſellers, and the readers of all heretical books: they were to puniſh all miſbehaviours and all negligences in any church or chapel, and to try all prieſts that did not preach the ſacrament of the altar; all perſons that did not hear maſs, or go to their pariſh-church to ſervice; that refuſed to go in proceſſions, or did not take holy bread and holy water; and if they found any that did obſtinately perſevere in ſuch hereſies, they were to deliver them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be puniſhed according to the ſpiritual laws: giving the commiſſioners full power to proceed as their diſcretion and conſciences ſhould direct them; and to employ all ſuch means as they ſhould judge neceſſary for the ſearching of the premiſſes; empowering them alſo to ſummon before them ſuch witneſſes as they pleaſe, and to compel them to make oath of ſuch things as might diſcover the matter which they wanted to find out."

To reduce the methods of proceeding in England to a greater ſimilarity with thoſe of the Inquiſition, letters were ſent to the lord North, and others, commanding them "to put to the torture ſuch obſtinate perſons as would not confeſs, and there to order them at their diſcretion." Secret ſpies likewiſe and informers were ſcattered over the whole kingdom, in imitation of the practice of that infernal tribunal.

Orders were given to the juſtices of the peace, "that they ſhould call before them one or two honeſt perſons, within their limits, or more, at their diſcretion, and command them, by oath or otherwiſe, that they ſhall ſecretly learn or ſearch out ſuch perſons as ſhall ill-behave themſelves in church, or idly, or ſhall deſpiſe openly by words the king's or queen's proceedings; or endeavour to excite any commotion, or tell any ſeditious tales or news. And alſo, that the ſame perſon, ſo to be appointed, ſhall declare to the ſame juſtices of peace, the ill behaviour of lewd diſorderly perſons, whether it

ſhall

ſhall be for uſing unlawful games, and ſuch other light behaviour of ſuch ſuſpected perſons: and that the ſame information ſhould be given ſecretly to the ſame juſtices; and the ſame juſtices ſhall ſummon ſuch accuſed perſons before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom they were accuſed: and that the juſtices ſhall, upon their examination, puniſh the offenders according as their offences ſhall appear upon the accuſation and examination, by their diſcretion, either by open puniſhment or by good abearings."

This tyrannical edict was in ſome reſpects even more oppreſſive than the Inquiſition, as it introduced into every part of government the ſame iniquitous proceedings which that tribunal employs only for the extirpation of hereſy. But the court had invented a more expeditious method of ſuppreſſing hereſy than even the Inquiſition itſelf: they publiſhed a proclamation againſt books of hereſy, treaſon, and ſedition, importing, "that whoſoever had any of theſe books, and did not immediately burn them without reading them, or ſhewing them to any other perſon, ſhould be deemed rebels, and, without any farther proceſs, be executed by martial law." To ſuch an intolerable and diſgraceful ſlavery were the free born natives of England at that time reduced, by the tyranny of Mary and her Spaniſh conſort!

We have thrown in one groupe almoſt all the tranſactions againſt the reformers, though carried on during the ſpace of three years; not ſo much as the reader may be affected with the horrors of the ſcene, as that we may be obliged as little as poſſible to return to the mention of ſuch ſhocking and inhuman barbarities.

It is computed, that in that time two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven perſons were committed to the flames, beſides thoſe who were puniſhed by impriſonment and confiſcations. Among thoſe who ſuffered by fire were five biſhops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four huſbandmen, ſervants, and labourers, forty-five women, and four children.

That Mary ſhould be guilty of ſuch ſhocking cruelties is not to be wondered at (for what is there ſo ſhocking and cruel, of which a weak, peeviſh, and bigotted woman may not be guilty?) but it is really ſurprizing, that, conſidering the ſtate of the kingdom at that period, when the number of proteſtants greatly exceeded that of the papiſts, ſhe was ſuffered to ſurvive one moment the commiſſion of ſuch horrid barbarities.

The queen having thus, as ſhe probably thought, recommended herſelf to the favour of Heaven, by the deſtruction of ſo many heretics, hoped that Bonner's prayers for the heavenly wit and vigour of her child would happily prove effectual. In theſe hopes ſhe fondly imagined that ſhe was ſeized with the pains of child-bed, and couriers were prepared to carry the joyful news of her delivery into foreign countries.

Bonner attributed this happy event, in a great meaſure, to the influence of his own prayers; cauſed Te Deum to be ſung in his own cathedral; and the curate of St. Anne's, Alderſgate, went ſo far as to deſcribe from the pulpit the features and lineaments of the young prince, whom he repreſented as the fineſt child that was ever born.

But unluckily, the biſhop's prayers had not been heard; the queen's zeal for the advancement of popery had not been able to ſecure the bleſſings of Heaven; and the curate's deſcription of the infant happened to be a little premature. The queen, after ſome violent throes, was delivered on the thirteenth of April, not of a child, but of a ſubſtance known by the name of a Mole, to her own unſpeakable grief as well as to the aſtoniſhment of the whole court, and the confuſion of Philip, who had flattered himſelf with the agreeable hopes of uniting England and Spain by the iſſue of this marriage. This diſappointment ſo ſoured the minds of Philip and Mary, that they ſought to vent their ſpleen by lighting up anew the flames of perſecution, which continued to rage all this ſummer and autumn, while the king and queen remained at Hampton-court. But let us leave this barbarous ſcene for a while, to attend foreign affairs.

The emperor Charles V. now broken with infirmities and ill ſucceſs, had for ſome time formed the reſolution of reſigning the cares of his mighty dominions to his ſon and his brother, but would not hear of any terms of giving peace to Europe at the expence of reſigning any of them to the French. He was, however, very ready to hearken to all propoſitions for peace, and England, never having declared in form for either party, offered her mediation. The court of France did not at this time conſider England as indifferent concerning the event of the quarrel, but Henry dreaded nothing ſo much as to afford any pretext to Mary for openly taking part with her huſband in the diſpute; he therefore, as the emperor did, accepted the offered mediation, and, though no formal ceſſation of arms was ſtipulated, the war this ſummer went on very languidly in the Low Countries.

Cardinal Pole was glad of this opportunity to exerciſe his powers in the double capacity of a plenipotentiary from England, and legate from the pope; and having entertained an high opinion of ſecretary Cecil, he prevailed on him to attend him at the conferences for a peace between the emperor and the French, which were opened on the twenty-third of May, this year, at Merc, a place lying between Ardres, Calais, and Guiſnes. Pole was indefatigable in his endeavours to bring about the peace; but both parties inſiſting obſtinately on their own preliminaries, the conferences broke up without any effect.

Philip, diſappointed in his hopes of an heir, and conceiving a diſguſt to the perſon of his queen, which was by no means agreeable, being, moreover, ſent for by his father, who declared his intention of reſigning to him his dominions, laid hold of this event to quit the kingdom, and, on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, ſet ſail for Flanders, to the infinite diſſatisfaction of the queen, who doated on him to a degree of ridiculous fondneſs. The emperor, on his ſon's arrival at Bruſſels, inſtructed him every day, for ſix or ſeven weeks ſucceſſively, in the art of government, and adviſing him to a peace with France, recommended to him ſeveral maxims for his conduct, which he afterwards took no care to obſerve *; by which neglect he, in a few years, loſt the beſt part of thoſe provinces, the ſovereignty of which the emperor, in a general aſſembly

* Theſe were, "To think himſelf rich when his ſubjects were ſo; and wiſe, when he had wiſe counſellors: to govern his ſubjects by love rather than fear: to let a ſmall fault paſs unpuniſhed, rather than condemn an innocent perſon: to avoid

ſembly of the ſtates, ſurrendered to him on the twenty-fifth of October.

The unparalleled barbarities which had been exerciſed againſt the proteſtants, had rendered the miniſtry extremely unpopular, and the effects of the public diſcontent appeared in the new parliament, which was convoked at Weſtminſter on the twenty-firſt of October, who, though they confirmed the queen's reſignation of the firſt-fruits and tenths, yet were ſo much afraid of reſtoring to the clergy an authority ſo odious to the nation, ſo much out of humour at the queen's reſtitution of church-lands, that they were hardly perſuaded to grant a moderate ſupply; and having, beſides, in the courſe of their proceedings, given many ſtrong tokens of their diſlike to the court-meaſures, the queen thought proper to diſſolve them on the ninth of December, but not till they had paſſed ſome memorable acts, which will be noticed in their proper place.

Thoſe who ſeem to judge moſt rationally upon this ſudden change of temper in the houſe of commons, who had ſo blindly run into all the ſchemes of the court, in their preceding ſeſſions, in favour of popery, attribute it to the death of Gardiner, which happened during this ſeſſions, and to the withdrawing of their penſions, which the queen was no longer in a capacity to advance for their votes, ſhe having given up the church-lands, and king Philip's treaſures being pretty well exhauſted, or appropriated to his own uſe.

Gardiner, lord biſhop of Wincheſter, and lord-chancellor of England, was the natural ſon of ſir Richard Woodville, brother to Elizabeth, conſort of king Edward IV. and it was on account of this conſanguinity that Henry VIII. promoted him to the biſhopric of Wincheſter. He is ſaid to have felt ſome remorſe in his laſt moments, and to have exclaimed, "I have ſinned with Peter, but I have not wept with Peter!" He died at Whitehall, of a ſuppreſſion of urine, on the twelfth of November, at midnight, to the no ſmall grief of the queen, who loſt in him her ableſt counſellor, and one that had more influence than all the reſt on the parliament: but his death was matter of great joy to the people, eſpecially the proteſtants, of whoſe perſecution he had been the adviſer and promoter. He was certainly a prieſt of a ſelfiſh character; a profound diſſembler, and of a proud, vindictive, cruel diſpoſition. Burnet ſays he underſtood the canon and civil law as well as moſt of his time: he wrote Latin with eaſe and purity; and few of his cotemporaries excelled him in the knowlege of the Greek language. As to his perſon, biſhop Poinet, his ſucceſſor, deſcribes it thus: "He was of a ſwarthy colour, downcaſt look, overwhelming brows; his eyes were deep ſunk in his head, his noſe hooked, wide noſtrils and mouth, large hands, and long talons rather than nails on his toes, which made his gait awkuard and ſhuffling, from the uneaſineſs they gave him in walking. He was buried in the cathedral at Wincheſter, where his effigies upon his monument is yet to be ſeen, though ſomewhat defaced.

Upon Gardiner's death, the great-ſeal was given to Nicholas Hall, maſter of the Rolls, who kept it however not quite two months; for on the firſt of January, 1556, Heath, archbiſhop of York, was made lord-chancellor of England, and Paget lord privy-ſeal: and as the king was now daily expected to return to England, the court, by way of preparation for his reception, reſolved, if poſſible, to put a ſtop, by the moſt cruel puniſhments, to thoſe expreſſions of pity which people of all ranks and denominations diſcovered towards the ſuffering heretics; even the magiſtrates, to whom the cruel orders were directed, were ſometimes known to be leſs brutal than the queen and her government wiſhed for. On January 14, therefore, a letter was written to the lord-mayor and ſheriffs of London, "requiring them to give ſuch ſubſtantial order therein, when any obſtinate men, condemned by the order of the laws, ſhould be delivered to be puniſhed for hereſy, that there be a great number of officers and other men appointed to be at the execution, who may be charged to ſee ſuch as ſhall miſuſe themſelves, either by comforting, aiding, or praiſing the offenders, or otherwiſe uſe themſelves to the ill example of others, to be apprehended, and committed to ward; and beſides, to give commandment, that no houſholder ſhould ſuffer any of his apprentices, or other ſervants, to be abroad, other than ſuch as their maſter will anſwer for: and that this order be always obſerved in like cauſes hereafter."

Upon Cranmer's execution, which happened on the twenty-firſt of March, cardinal Pole, who had now taken prieſt's orders, was promoted to the ſee of Canterbury, and by this office, as well as his legatine authority, he was naturally placed at the head of the Engliſh church; but, though he had always diſapproved the ſanguinary method of converting heretics, and conſidered the reformation of the clergy as the more commendable and even more effectual method for that purpoſe, he found his authority too weak to withſtand the cruel and barbarous zeal of the queen and her counſellors: which has occaſioned ſome writers to brand his memory with a cruelty which does not ſeem to have made any part of his character.

Philip was now become maſter of all the treaſures of the Indies, and of the moſt fertile and extenſive dominions in Europe, by the voluntary reſignation of the emperor Charles V. That prince had, in the beginning of his reign, found it extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to govern with proper care his very diſtant and extenſive dominions; and, in order to eaſe himſelf of part of the burthen, he had procured his brother Ferdinand to be elected king of the Romans, with a proſpect of his ſucceeding to the Imperial dignity as well as his other German dominions. But having afterwards extended his views, and formed deſigns of aggrandizing his family, he could not, without uneaſineſs, bear the thoughts of diſmembering ſuch conſiderable ſtates, and endeavoured to perſuade Ferdinand, by the moſt tempting offers and moſt preſſing importunities, to give up his

avoid the curioſity of ſearching into things done in private: to leave the ſecrets of men's hearts and thoughts to God, and the chaſtiſement of interior offences to the divine vengeance; ſince, what the eyes of men could not ſee, it was not fit for their hands to puniſh; and particularly to keep a ſtrict rein over the haughty nature of the Spaniards, or elſe they would be the ruin of the Low Countries, being every where uſed to domineer, which the Flemings would not endure. Malvern, p. 15.

pretenſions in favour of Philip. Finding his brother lent a deaf ear to all his remonſtrances, he reſigned the Imperial crown, with his other dignities, and Ferdinand, according to the uſual cuſtom, applied to the pope for his coronation; but the haughty pontiff refuſed to comply with his requeſt, and alleged, that though on the death of an emperor he was bound in duty to crown the prince elected, yet in caſe of a reſignation the right devolved to the holy ſee, and it belonged to the pope alone to name an emperor.

The truth is, pope Paul IV. had conceived the moſt implacable hatred to the houſe of Auſtria; and though a truce of five years had been concluded between France and Spain, on the fifth of February this year, he perſuaded Henry to break it, and engaged to aſſiſt him in re-conquering the kingdom of Naples and the other territories to which the crown of France laid claim in Italy. With this view he himſelf had actually commenced hoſtilities againſt the duke of Alva, viceroy of Naples; and the duke of Guiſe being ſent by the French king with forces to ſecond his holineſs's operations, the renewal of the war between the two crowns ſeemed unavoidable. Philip, though not ſo warlike, was full as ambitious, as his father, and he hoped that, by his artifice, policy, and addreſs, he ſhould get the better of all his enemies, and extend his authority and dominion: for this reaſon, as well as from a deſire of ſettling his new domains, he was deſirous of living on good terms with France; but when he found that Henry had attacked him in ſuch an open and unprovoked manner, that he could not, conſiſtent with his own honour, put up with the affront, he began to prepare for war with equal diligence and ſucceſs.

In order to ſtrengthen himſelf with a reſpectable aid, Philip tried to engage the queen and the Engliſh nation in his cauſe againſt the French king. Had the matter, indeed, ſolely depended upon Mary, ſhe was incapable of refuſing the demand of a huſband ſhe ſo tenderly loved; but ſhe had little influence in the council, and ſtill leſs among her people; and her government, which was daily growing more unpopular, ſeemed unable to ſupport itſelf even during a profound peace, much leſs if a war was kindled againſt France, and (which appeared to be a neceſſary conſequence) with Scotland alſo, aſſiſted by that powerful kingdom.

The king had ſhewn ſo apparent a contempt for the queen, that her government became not only deteſtable, but diſagreeable: but, however, the neglect of her huſband tended only to inflame the love of the doating Mary, and ſhe ſpent the greateſt part of her time in ſolitude, where ſhe gave vent to her paſſion, either in tears, or in writing fond epiſtles to Philip, who ſeldom obliged her with any anſwer, and ſcarce condeſcended to aſſume the appearance of love, or gratitude, towards her. The chief part of the government which employed her attention, was to ſqueze money from her ſubjects, in order to ſupply his wants; and as ſhe had received but a ſmall ſubſidy from the parliament, ſhe had now recourſe to methods the moſt arbitrary and illegal. She demanded a loan of ſixty thouſand pounds from one thouſand perſons, whom ſhe thought, from their attachment to her, would readily comply; ſhe exacted a general loan of one hundred pounds from every perſon poſſeſſed of twenty pounds per annum; ſhe extorted ſixty thouſand marks from ſeven thouſand yeomen, who had not contributed to the former loans; and ſhe exacted thirty-ſix thouſand pounds more from the cloth-merchants of London trading to Antwerp, which they refuſed, having advanced her great ſums already. Upon this refuſal, and having received advice that they had ſhipped great quantities of cloth for Antwerp fair, ſhe ſeized upon the ſhips and cargoes, laying upon them a new ſubſidy of twenty ſhillings a-piece, by an arbitrary ſtretch of royal authority: to get this impoſition aboliſhed, the merchants were forced to advance forty thouſand pounds, and to engage for two thouſand more, payable the next month at fartheſt.

All theſe violent and oppreſſive meaſures were purſued at a time when England enjoyed a profound tranquility, and when Mary herſelf had no other occaſion for money but to ſatisfy the exorbitant demands of a huſband, who was equally regardleſs of her love and her generoſity, and attended to nothing but his own intereſt.

While theſe things were tranſacting a plot was diſcovered for robbing the Exchequer, and raiſing a rebellion againſt the queen. It was ſaid to have been diſcovered by one White, an accomplice. On the eighteenth of March, the queen's guards conducted to the Tower John Throgmorton, Henry Peckham, Woodhouſe Bethel, and about twelve or thirteen perſons more, of inferior note, whoſe impriſonment occaſioned ſeveral others to fly. A warrant was likewiſe iſſued out for apprehending ſir Anthony Kingſton, but he died as the guards were bringing him up to London. The April following, Throgmorton and Woodhouſe, who been governor of the Iſle of Wight, were tried, condemned, and executed. Henry Peckham, ſon of ſir Edward Peckham, and John Daniel, were tried and condemned on the ſeventh of May, but not executed till the ſeventh of July following. One Stanton, who was called a captain, was arraigned and executed for the ſame plot, on the twelfth of May. It ſeems the deſign was deeper laid, than the government at firſt apprehended; for, on the fourth of April, a proclamation was iſſued againſt the lord Henry Dudley, two gentlemen of the name of Aſhton, two of the name of Horſey, two of the name of Tremain, and ſeven other gentlemen of fortune, for having fled beyond ſea on account of the ſaid plot. On the twenty-ninth of April, ſir William Courtney, ſir John Perrot, ſir John Pollard, ſir Nicholas Arnold (the ſame who had given evidence againſt ſir Nicholas Throgmorton), and ſir John Chicheſter, were brought priſoners from the weſtern counties, and ſent to the Tower. It afterwards appeared that the French agents had been tampering with the gentlemen who had been executed, and that ſome moved by avarice, others by deteſtation of the government's cruelty, and ſome from an opinion of its weakneſs, had entered into dangerous meaſures.

The news of the death of Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, which arrived about this time, filled the queen with ſo much pleaſure, that ſhe could not refrain from expreſſing her joy in public: and being now grown leſs jealous of the princeſs Elizabeth, ſhe began to treat her with leſs ſeverity; the guard was taken off her, and the princeſs, being invited to court, came to Somerſet-houſe in November.

vember. The particular reaſon of this invitation was to propoſe a match to her with the duke of Savoy, which the princeſs declined with the better grace, as ſhe had, a little before, abſolutely refuſed Eric, king of Sweden, whoſe ambaſſador had made the overture in his maſter's behalf. As this was done without the queen's knowlege, Elizabeth very prudently gave a flat denial; and Mary, being acquainted with it, approved her ſiſter's conduct: however, ſir Thomas Pope, one of her keepers, was ordered to feel her pulſe how ſhe ſtood affected to the duke of Savoy; and upon his intimating that it could not be thought her highneſs would be averſe to marrying, if an honourable match was offered by the queen, or ſuch an one could be brought about with her majeſty's conſent, ſhe told him very ſeriouſly, and a with a ſolemn profeſſion of ſpeaking truth from her heart, that ſhe would not change her condition though ſhe were offered the greateſt prince in Europe. This refuſal, and the great court that was paid to Elizabeth during her ſtay in London, ſo nettled the queen, that, though the princeſs had been invited to paſs the whole winter about court, ſhe was ſent away in a great hurry, a little before Chriſtmas, under a guard to her houſe at Hatfield, and Mary not only renewed her ill treatment, but even reſumed her deſign of getting her declared a baſtard, and excluded from the ſucceſſion; but happily this diabolical ſcheme was defeated.

The queen in the mean time was much puzzled to find a pretext for a quarrel with France. She had tried her council on this head, but they were plainly againſt it; they ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the marriage-articles between her and Philip; they repreſented the unſettled ſtate of the Engliſh government, the domeſtic factions which divided the kingdom, and the low condition of the public revenues, and they ſignified their apprehenſions, that the natural tendency of all theſe meaſures was to bring the nation into a total dependence on Spaniſh councils: they ſaid they were willing to give their conſent for aſſiſting Philip with ſix thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe, for the defence of the Low Countries, according to the treaty with the late emperor, but were abſolutely againſt a war.

Mary, reſtrained by no faith of treaties nor ſcruple of conſcience, and burning with a deſire to ſatisfy her huſband, uſed all her endeavours to conquer the obſtinacy of her council: after employing other menaces of a more violent nature, ſhe threatened to diſcard them all from the board, and to chuſe counſellors who would be more obedient to her will; but all to no purpoſe, for ſhe could not procure a ſingle vote for declaring war againſt France. To add to her vexation, ſhe received a letter from Philip, in which he told her plainly, that he would not ſet foot in England till ſhe had declared war againſt France, and brought about the marriage between the duke of Savoy and her ſiſter Elizabeth, as his honour and intereſt were concerned in carrying theſe two points. This was a terrible declaration to a woman of Mary's diſpoſition; ſhe renewed her inſtances for his coming over, aſſuring him that his preſence would procure him whatever he pleaſed. Thus ſtood matters at the cloſe of this year.

Towards the beginning of the ſucceeding one, 1557, the queen, to divert her impatience for her huſband's abſence, had retired to Greenwich; in the mean time Philip did all he could to entrap her into a declaration of war againſt France; but neither he nor his emiſſaries could carry their point without ſome difficulty and a pretty deal of art. A perſon was employed to make a private overture to the French miniſtry on the part of the proteſtant inhabitants of Calais, to betray the town into the hands of their king, if he would receive and protect them; Henry ſeemed to lend a favourable ear to the propoſal, and actually entered into a negociation upon the ſubject. Wootton, Philip's agent, ſent his nephew over to England with an account of the whole to the queen, who took fire at it, and became, or pretended to become, entirely ſatisfied of the ill deſigns of the French againſt her dominions. Accordingly, on the nineteenth of February, ſhe ordered forces to be levied, as if open war had been proclaimed againſt that crown, and nominated the earl of Pembroke to command the Engliſh troops abroad, and he actually went over to Calais with a vaſt attendance of noblemen and gentlemen. From that time the court of France entertained no doubt of the queen's intending to take part with her huſband in the war, and from thence omitted no opportunity, even before the ſame was declared, to diſtreſs her.

It was the twentieth of March before the long-expected Philip came to Greenwich, from whence he and the queen proceeded with great pomp to Weſtminſter, where they were ſoon alarmed by dreadful apprehenſions from the North, which, however, turned out to be the means of procuring them their ardent deſire of coming to an open rupture with France. Thomas Stafford, who was the lineal deſcendant of the late duke of Buckingham, and conſequently bore no remote relation to the crown, had been for ſome time a refugee at the court of France, being joined by ſeveral other diſaffected perſons there, and, unhappily for themſelves, miſtaking the diſcontent of the people for a general diſaffection to the government, they attempted to ſtir up an inſurrection; and, landing, in Scotland towards the end of April, marched directly to Scarborough, and ſeized the caſtle, when Stafford aſſumed the title of Protector of the kingdom, and publiſhed a manifeſto, pretending that the queen had forfeited her right to the crown by introducing Spaniards into England: but the enterprize, which ſeems to have been too romantic for any to embark in but men of the moſt deſperate fortunes, proved fatal to Stafford and his followers, for he was ſoon defeated and taken priſoner by the earl of Weſtmoreland, and ſent up to London, where he was executed, on the twenty-eighth of May. This affair, with the repeated inſtances of Mary, and the perſonal application of Philip, or, what is ſtill more probable, the ſums of money they laviſhed on this occaſion, got the better of the council's reſiſtance, and they reſolved to declare war againſt France, which was accordingly done in the month of June; and the late invaſion, which Stafford and his accomplices declared to have been promoted and aſſiſted by king Henry, was urged as one of the reaſons for breaking with that monarch; and eight thouſand men were ſent over to the earl of Pembroke, to be by him marched into the Low Countries, to join Philibert, duke of Savoy, Philip's general.

Philip, having gained his point, could not be retained an inſtant by all the tears and intreaties of his love-

love-ſick wife, but haſtened over, in the following month, to Bruſſels; while the duke of Savoy, ſtrengthened by the junction of the Engliſh troops with his army, entered Picardy, and inveſted St. Quintin† with all his forces; and as the place was poorly fortified, and defended only by a weak garriſon, he hoped that in a few days he ſhould compel it to ſurrender: but admiral Coligny, the governor, thinking it his duty to ſave ſo important a fortreſs, threw himſelf into St. Quintin with ſome battalions of French and Scots, and, by his exhortation and example, encouraged the ſoldiers to make a bold and vigorous defence. In the mean time he diſpatched an expreſs to his uncle, the conſtable de Montmorency, who headed the French army, deſiring a ſupply of men; and that general advanced to the place with his whole army, in order to facilitate the entrance of thoſe ſuccours.

The duke of Savoy, who was one of the greateſt generals of the age, being informed of the deſign of the French, fell upon the reinforcement with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that not above five hundred men got into the place; then attacking the conſtable, he routed his army, took him priſoner, and killed two thouſand five hundred of his men, amongſt whom were many princes and noblemen, beſides a much greater number made priſoners.

The event of this battle, which was fought on the tenth of Auguſt, St. Laurence's day, filled the whole kingdom of France with the utmoſt conſternation: and the duke of Savoy, to improve it more to his advantage, detached the earl of Bedford, immediately after the battle, with two thouſand Engliſh, and two thouſand Spaniards under the count of Egmont, to make an inroad into France, which they now ravaged for two-and-twenty miles without meeting the leaſt reſiſtance. The Pariſians, in their firſt fright, began to fortify their capital with the utmoſt hurry and expedition; and had the Spaniards immediately advanced thither, they would certainty have made themſelves maſters of the place; but they proceeded with the ſiege of St. Quintin, which held out by the bravery of the admiral for ſeventeen days, when it was taken by aſſault, and that brave officer, with his brother and all thoſe that ſurvived of the garriſon, were made priſoners. In the mean time the French miniſtry diſpatched courier after courier to recall the duke of Guiſe and his army from Italy. As for Philip, after reducing Ham and Chatillet, finding the ſeaſon ſo far advanced that he could not think of proſecuting his conqueſts, he broke up his camp, and diſperſed his troops in winter-quarters about the middle of October.

The victory of St. Quintin was celebrated in England with extravagant demonſtrations of joy: but when pope Paul firſt underſtood that Mary had declared war againſt France, he was violently exaſperated againſt cardinal Pole, as if he had adopted that meaſure, and would have recalled him immediately, had not ſir Edward Carne, the Engliſh ambaſſador at his court, repreſented the injury he would do to religion by ſuch a proceeding; but when the news of the battle arrived, he was ſeized with a tranſport of rage, and reſolved to ſacrifice Pole to his revenge. He ſent for Peyton, the queen's confeſſor, to Rome, where he beſtowed upon him a cardinal's hat, appointed him his legate in England, and charged him with a decree, by which Pole was recalled: but the queen, being informed of this mandate, gave notice to Peyton, that ſhould he attempt to ſet foot in England, ſhe would cauſe him to be puniſhed with all the rigour of the Præmunire. This letter ſtopped the new cardinal in his journey; and the pope, finding himſelf unable to cope with the duke of Alva, concluded a peace with Spain, and, by an article of the treaty, Pole was re-eſtabliſhed in his legatine functions.

While theſe things were tranſacting the flames of perſecution ſtill continued to blaze with unremitting fury, and numbers were almoſt daily burned at Smithfield, and at different places in the ſeveral counties. The queen, not contented with the endeavours of her miniſtry to extirpate the proteſtant religion, had reſolved to ſtrengthen the intereſt of the Roman catholicks by reſtoring ſome old, and founding ſome new, monaſteries: ſhe certainly would have re-eſtabliſhed all the religious houſes which had been ſuppreſſed, if the fear of diſobliging the nobility had not deterred her from the execution of her deſign. Several members of the houſe of commons, in the laſt ſeſſion, hearing ſuch a propoſal mentioned, laid their hands upon their ſwords, ſaying, they knew how to defend their property. Mary, being informed of this oppoſition, poſtponed her ſcheme to a more favourable opportunity: in the mean time ſhe commiſſioned Bonner, and others, to eraſe from the public records all the tranſactions againſt the pope and the monks, during the latter part of the reign of her father, Henry VIII. particularly an account of the viſitations and renunciation of the papal authority made by the monks and abbots: and this year the abbey and ſanctuary of Weſtminſter were revived; and a felon having eſcaped out of jail and taken refuge there, the monks refuſed to deliver him up to the civil authority, and when the magiſtrates would have forcibly dragged him from thence, the queen interpoſed her authority, and obliged them to deſiſt. The melancholy apprehenſions riſing from ſuch proceedings were vaſtly increaſed by the formidable diſpoſition which the Scots were now making for invading England: this naturally leads me to deſcribe the ſituation of affairs in Scotland at this time *.

The reader may remember, that when the queen-dowager of Scotland returned to that kingdom from France, ſhe had gotten herſelf declared regent during the minority of her daughter, in the room of Hamilton, earl of Arran, afterwards created duke of Chatelerault, in France, and thenceforth aſſumed the name and exerciſed the authority of regent.

Hoſtilities had no ſooner commenced between France and England, than Henry applied to the regent of Scotland, requiring her to take part in the quarrel; and ſhe, having convened the ſtates

† A fortified city of Picardy, in France, ſituated on the river Somme.

* In the year, 1557, there was ſo great a ſcarcity of corn, that wheat was ſold for two pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence per quarter, malt at two pounds four ſhillings, and peaſe at two pounds ſix ſhillings and eight pence. On the thirtieth of April, Thomas Piercy was created baron Piercy, and, on the firſt of May, earl of Northumberland; from whom were deſcended the late dukes of Somerſet, as is Elizabeth, baroneſs Piercy, lady of the right honourable Hugh, earl of Northumberland. On the fifteenth of July died, at Chelſea, Anne of Cleves, the fourth wife of Henry VIII.

of

of the kingdom, at Newbottle, deſired them to agree to a declaration of war againſt England. But the Scottiſh nobility, who were as jealous of the French, as the Engliſh were of Spaniſh influence, flatly refuſed to grant her requeſt; and ſhe was obliged to make uſe of a ſtratagem, in order to accompliſh her aim.

She ordered one d'Oiſel, a Frenchman, who had attended her in Scotland as ambaſſador from Henry, to begin ſome fortifications at Eyemouth, a place which had been demoliſhed by the laſt treaty with Edward; and when the garriſon of Berwick, as might naturally be ſuppoſed, made an inroad to defeat the undertaking, ſhe artfully employed this pretence to inflame the reſentment of the Scottiſh nation, and to make them embark in a war with England.

The animoſity of the Scots, however, was carried no farther than by committing ſome depredations on the northern counties: and when d'Oiſel, of his own accord, undertook the ſiege of Werk caſtle, he was inſtantly ordered to deſiſt, and was ſeverely reprimanded by the council.

In order to ſtrengthen the alliance between France and Scotland, and to augment the influence of the former kingdom, Henry II. thought proper to finiſh the marriage between the young queen and the dauphin; and commiſſioners were appointed by the Scottiſh parliament to aſſiſt at this ceremony, and to regulate the terms of the contract.

Theſe commiſſioners were the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the biſhops of Roſs and the Orkneys, the earls of Rothes and Caſſils, the lords Fleming and Seton, James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, natural brother to the queen, and Erſkine of Dun. The inſtructions given to theſe deputies imported, that they ſhould obtain a ſolemn engagement from the queen and dauphin, obliging them to maintain the laws and privileges of Scotland; and they ſhould procure a renewal of the French king's promiſe, to ſupport, in caſe of the queen's death, the ſucceſſion of the earl of Arran, now dignified with the title of duke of Chatelereault.

Both theſe conditions were readily granted; but the court of France employed a very baſe and perfidious artifice to defeat theſe ſtipulations: they ſecretly perſuaded the young queen, whoſe tender age and inexperience may well free her from any ſhare of the guilt, to ſubſcribe three papers; by one of which ſhe made over the kingdom of Scotland in gift to the king of France, in the event of her dying without children; by another ſhe mortgaged it to him for a million of crowns of gold, or ſuch greater ſum as he ſhould have expended in her maintenance and ſupport; and by a third, ſhe declared, that whatever will or deed ſhe had been obliged, or ſhould hereafter be obliged to ſign, concerning the ſucceſſion of the crown, it ſhould be entirely void and of no effect, and that her real ſenſe and intention was expreſſed in the firſt paper.

The marriage was celebrated at Paris, in the ſpring of the enſuing year; the deputies, in the name of the ſtates of Scotland, ſwore allegiance to the queen, and (during the continuance of the marriage) to the king-dauphin, as he was now called; and every thing ſeemed to be conducted with the greateſt harmony and concord. But when the commiſſioners were deſired to deliver up the crown and other enſigns of royalty, they replied, that they had no power to take ſuch a ſtep; and they ſoon after ſet out on their return for Scotland. Before they embarked, however, no leſs than four of them died within a few days of each other; and as the queen's uncles were known to be highly incenſed at them, on account of their late refuſal, they were commonly ſuppoſed to have been poiſoned by orders from theſe noblemen.

In the latter end of this year Philip ſent intimation to Mary, that, by papers taken among the baggage of the admiral de Coligny, there was great reaſon to believe that the court of France had projected ſome ſcheme againſt Calais, and offered to ſupply her with troops for the guard of that fortreſs, which was in a defenceleſs condition. The council looked upon this intimation as a ſtratagem of Philip, to gain poſſeſſion of Calais, and the queen not only declined accepting his offer, but alſo neglected to put the place in a poſture of defence, notwithſtanding the repeated ſolicitations of the lord Wentworth, the governor.

The French king had created the duke of Guiſe his lieutenant-general for the whole kingdom of France, on his return from Italy: but that general, not content with defending the frontiers, reſolved, even in the depth of winter, to undertake an enterprize which France, during her greateſt ſucceſſes, had always conſidered as impoſſible, and had ſeldom preſumed to attempt; this was no leſs than the reduction of Calais. In fine, all the neceſſary arrangements being taken for that purpoſe, he ſat down before the place on the firſt of January, 1558, to the amazement of all Europe, but of none more than the Engliſh nation, who were wrapped up in full ſecurity of the French being unable to attempt any enterprize of conſequence ſo ſoon after the dreadful defeat at St. Quintin.

The place was commanded by the lord Wentworth, a brave and experienced officer, whoſe garriſon conſiſted only of five hundred ſoldiers and about two hundred townſmen. It was ſurrounded by moraſſes on the land ſide, by which it could only be approached by a dyke, in the middle of a moraſs, at the head of which was a bridge, defended by a fort called Newenham, and being upwards of a quarter of a mile from the town: near this fort there was another, called St. Agatha, of leſs importance; and the entrance into the haven was defended, as it is now, by the caſtle of Ryſbank.

At the time the duke of Guiſe began his march for Calais, a fleet of French ſhips were ſent into the Channel, under colour of cruizing upon the Engliſh trading veſſels, but with orders to hold themſelves in readineſs upon the coaſt for an important ſervice: and theſe were afterwards made uſe of in attacking the fortifications by ſea. The firſt operation of the duke of Guiſe was againſt fort Agatha, which the Engliſh, after a gallant defence, were forced to abandon; and they then threw themſelves into fort Newenham, which was immediately inveſted by the enemy; and at the ſame time the fleet cannonaded the Ryſbank, which, as has been ſaid, ſecured the entrance of the harbour; and both theſe caſtles ſeemed to be altogether untenable. Lord Wentworth finding that the greater part of his weak garriſon was ſhut up in theſe two forts, ſent them orders to capitulate, and join him in Calais, which, without their aſſiſtance, he was totally incapable of defending. The garriſon of Newenham were ſo fortunate as to

accompliſh this junction; but that of Ryſbank could not procure ſuch honourable terms, and were compelled to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

All the avenues to the palace being now ſecured, the duke of Guiſe, with inexpreſſible labour, by the help of hurdles, pitched over, formed a road through the moraſs, by which a large detachment of his army lodged themſelves behind ſome heights, where they could not be annoyed from the town, and from whence they directed a battery of fifteen large cannon againſt the caſtle, in which he preſently made a large breach, ſo as to render it practicable to be ſtormed. He then ordered d'Andelot, brother of the admiral de Coligny, to draw the waters off from the ditch. This was effected with ſurprizing diſpatch in one night's time. The next day the duke ordered a general aſſault, which was made with ſuch fury, that the breach was carried by ſtorm, and the French effected a lodgment in the caſtle. On the enſuing night, Wentworth endeavoured to regain this poſt; but having loſt two hundred men in the attempt, and the duke of Guiſe pouring ſuch numbers into the caſtle, as made any further reſiſtance a madneſs, the lord Wentworth, on the ſeventeenth, capitulated on the following terms, the beſt he could obtain in his diſtreſſed ſituation, namely, "That he himſelf was to remain priſoner, with fifty of the chief of the garriſon: that the reſt ſhould have liberty to retire to England or Flanders: and that the place, with all its proviſions, ammunition, furniture, and riches, ſhould be immediately delivered up to the French."

Ham and Guiſnes were both reduced by the twenty-ſecond, and thus the duke of Guiſe, in leſs than a month, in the depth of winter, reconquered this important place, which had coſt Edward III. a ſiege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, flushed with the glory they had lately gained in the plains of Creſſy; and the Engliſh now ſaw themſelves ſtripped of all they had held for two hundred and ten years in France. The people of England, inſtead of expreſſing rage, ſhewed deſpondency, under ſo many diſgraces and calamities. As for Mary, ſhe was ſo ſenſibly affected with the loſs, that ſhe abandoned herſelf to deſpair, and repeatedly declared to thoſe about her, "that her end was near at hand, though they were ſtrangers to the cauſe of her death; but if they would know it hereafter, they muſt diſſect her, and ſhould find Calais engraven on her heart."

The laſt parliament of this reign ſat on the twentieth of January, 1558; but as the miniſtry were more intent upon perſecution at home than how to recover their loſſes abroad, they rejected a propoſal made by Philip of aſſiſting them to the utmoſt of his power to recover Calais, before the ſeaſon would permit the French to repair its works. In ſhort, the parliament was prorogued, on the ſeventh of March to the ſeventh of November following. This quick diſmiſſion ſeems to have been occaſioned by the great complaints that were made all over the nation of the pernicious councils of the miniſtry, and of the queen's reſtitution of church-lands and foundation of monaſteries: however, before its riſing, The parliament voted a ſufficient ſubſidy for the defence of the kingdom againſt all invaſions. In this ſeſſions Ambroſe and Robert Dudley, ſons of the late duke Northumberland, were reſtored in blood.

About the end of March, the perſecution againſt the proteſtants was renewed with greater fury than ever; the queen, though ſenſibly drooping to her grave (ſo greatly was her dropſy increaſed), iſſued a proclamation, "That whoever were poſſeſſed of any heretical books, and did not preſently burn them, without reading, ſhould be eſteemed rebels, and be executed without delay by the martial law:" and five perſons were burned at Canterbury, part of thirty-nine that ſuffered for religion in ſeveral places during this year.

All the ſpring of this year was taken up in refitting the navy; and the money granted by the parliament enabled the government to equip one hundred and forty ſail; which being reinforced by thirty Flemiſh ſhips, with a body of ſix thouſand land forces, were ſent to make a deſcent on the coaſt of France, near Breſt: but the preparations for this ſurprize were conducted with ſo little ſecrecy and diſpatch, that the French got intelligence of the deſign, and put all their ſea-ports in a poſture of defence, ſo that the Engliſh were obliged to reimbark with conſiderable loſs, after they had burnt the ſmall town of Conquet, where they landed.

But a ſmall ſquadron of ten Engliſh ſhips had ſoon after an opportunity of retorting upon the French this damage and diſgrace. The marſhal de Thermes, the new governor of Calais, had invaded Flanders with an army of fourteen thouſand men; and having croſſed the Aa (a river of France, in the province of Picardy), had reduced Dunkirk and Berg St. Winoc, and proceeded ſo far as Nieuport; but being overtaken by the Spaniards, under count Egmont, Philip's general, near Gravelines, the French marſhal was defeated, with great ſlaughter, and himſelf, with his principal officers, taken priſoner. This victory was entirely owing to the Engliſh men of war, who, chancing to come up the harbour while the battle was maintained with equal fury on both ſides, charged the French in flank with their great guns, inſomuch that the rout began from that quarter.

As the French army, thus ruined, had been drawn out of Calais and other neighbouring garriſons, a fair opportunity was now offered for the recovery of that place, in which the fleet and forces that plundered Conquet might have proved very uſeful, and were ready for the ſervice; the queen had likewiſe another army on foot, for her huſband's ſervice; but her council had no vigour, and Philip was too indifferent about every thing that regarded the intereſt of England; and, notwithſtanding the two ſignal victories he had ſo lately obtained, he was diſpoſed to conclude the war by a treaty, which was accordingly ſet on foot at the abbey of Cercamp, being managed by the conſtable de Montmorency, the marſhal de St. André, the cardinal of Lorraine (brother to the duke of Guiſe), Morvilliers, biſhop of Orleans, and l'Aubeſpine, ſecretary of ſtate, on the part of France; and on that of Spain, by the duke of Alva, the prince of Orange, and Granville, biſhop of Arras. Theſe plenipotentiaries agreed readily to a ſuſpenſion of arms on the frontiers till the twenty-eighth of October, which was afterwards prolonged, and both armies were put into winter-quarters.

In the mean while Mary received overtures for a peace between England, France, and Spain; and being broken both in health and ſpirit, ſhe readily

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QUEEN ELIZABETH.

readily liſtened to the advice of her counſellors, who were for having peace at any rate; ſhe therefore named the earl of Arundel, the biſhop of Ely, and Dr. Wootton, for her plenipotentiaries to aſſiſt at the future conferences, which were to be renewed in October, and Cambray was the place appointed for the congreſs.

The Engliſh parliament meeting on the fifth of November, the queen demanded aſſiſtance to continue the war, in caſe the negociation ſhould miſcarry. The houſe of commons, however, were ſo little inclined to grant her requeſt, that ſhe was obliged, on the fourteenth, to ſend the chancellor and ten other lords to lay the ill ſtate of her affairs before them, and pray them to haſten the neceſſary ſupplies. This ſolicitation producing ſome effect, the commons took the matter into conſideration, and debated, that and the two following days, upon a ſubſidy: but the queen's death put an end to the conſultation. She had been ſome time afflicted with a dropſy, the conſequence of her falſe conception, and having purſued an improper regimen, her diſtemper became every day more inveterate; her malady was ſtill farther inflamed by the anxiety of her mind, which was now tormented with the moſt painful reflections: the conſciouſneſs of being deteſted by her ſubjects; the proſpect of Elizabeth's ſucceſſion to the throne; the overthrow of the catholic religion; grief for the loſs of Calais; and, above all, the diſtracting thought of ſoon ſeeing herſelf bereft for ever of the company of her huſband Philip, who, on the death of his father, the late emperor, Charles V. (which happened in September this year) had determined to ſettle in Spain, during the remainder of his life: all theſe diſagreeable reflections preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which ſhe died, on the ſeventeenth of November, a little before day-break, in the forty-third year of her age, after a reign of five years, four months and eleven days. Cardinal Pole, who was ill at the ſame time, did not ſurvive her ſixteen hours.

No nation had ever a more ſignal deliverance than the divine Providence now wrought for England, by taking off Mary in ſo critical a juncture, on the eve of a peace, which would have enabled her and Philip to purſue their deteſtable ſcheme for ſubverting the conſtitution of the kingdom and enſlaving a diſunited people, hopeleſs of any foreign ſuccour, and which had been long fixed for the time of its execution. Her funeral was ſolemnized on the fourteenth of December, at Weſtminſter, with a maſs of Requiem, in the uſual form of the Romiſh church, and her body was interred in the chapel of Henry VII. her grand-father.

Mary's character is ſo ſtrongly marked in every action of her bloody and inglorious reign, that we may well ſpare ourſelves the diſagreeable task of a recapitulation; we ſhall therefore only obſerve, with one of our old hiſtorians, that of all the ſovereigns of England ſince the conqueſt, her reign was the ſhorteſt, excepting only that of the tyrant Richard III. but much more bloody than his was; a greater number of perſons having been put to death for religion's ſake, during the ſhort time of her reign, than in any king's time ſince Lucius, the firſt eſtabliſher of the Goſpel in this realm.

ELIZABETH. The fifth Sovereign of ENGLAND of the Houſe of TUDOR. A. D. 1558.

THE death of queen Mary at a time when the popiſh faction ran ſo high and tyrannized over the proteſtants, threw her arbitrary council into the utmoſt conſternation; but as the parliament was then ſitting, and in a very bad humour with the miniſtry, this latter, not daring to act of their own authority, after a few hours concealment of her death, informed the houſe of lords of this event, who, without much conſultation concerning the rights of the other claimants of the crown, declared unanimouſly for the princeſs Elizabeth; and ſending for the commons, acquainted them, by the mouth of Heath, lord high-chancellor, with their reſolution. The commons concurred with the lords, and Elizabeth was the ſame day (November 17) proclaimed at the uſual places, while the proteſtants and papiſts ſeemed to vie with each other in their demonſtrations of joy.

The princeſs Elizabeth was not then in the Tower of London, as ſome hiſtorians have aſſerted, but at Biſhop's Hatfield, in Hertfordſhire, where ſhe received information of the ſteps taken in her favour by the parliament, and was there alſo proclaimed; and the earls of Arundel and Pembroke, the lord Clinton, ſir Ralph Sadler, ſir Richard Sackville, ſir Ambroſe Cave, ſir Edward Rogers, ſir Thomas Parry, and ſir William Cecil repairing thither, ſhe formed of them a ſmall privy-council, for the ordering of ſuch matters as required an immediate diſpatch.

The firſt ſtep of her government was to iſſue proclamations all over the kingdom, ſtrictly enjoining "all her ſubjects to keep the peace, forbear all attempts, upon any pretence whatever, to break or alter any order or uſage at that time eſtabliſhed." This prudent charge was given to prevent ſuch diſorders as there was reaſon to apprehend from the intemperate zeal of ſome of the reformed, who, following the precedent ſet them by the popiſh party in the late reign, and preſuming upon the queen's ſuppoſed affection to the proteſtant religion, might, without waiting for her royal warrant, proceed, in an illegal and riotous manner, to demoliſh images, and reſtore the ſervice uſed in the days of Edward VI.

In the preſent ſituation of affairs a ſudden tranſition would have been highly impolitic, and even indecent; and the happy effect of her prudent temporizing, was her indiſputed acceſſion to the throne. Her compliances during the late reign had given the papiſts hopes that ſhe was not ſo much an enemy to their religion, as to the cruel

and bloody methods made uſe of to enforce it; while the proteſtants, on ſurer foundations, knew her to be truly a friend to their more humane and enlightened doctrine: to keep fair with all parties therefore, ſhe ſuffered men of both denominations to find alike ſeats in the council of ſtate, which had in her ſiſter's time been compoſed entirely of Roman catholics; and although the moſt obnoxious of them, on account of their bloody proceedings, were excluded, the queen ſtill retained ſuch of the old counſellors as were moſt eminent for their quality, talents, wiſdom, reputation, and experience. Theſe were,

Heath, archbiſhop of York and lord-chancellor.
William Pawlet, marquis of Wincheſter and lord high-treaſurer.
Henry Fitz Allan, earl of Arundel.
Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury.
Edward Stanley, earl of Derby.
William Herbert, earl of Pembroke.
Edward Fiennes, lord Clinton and lord high-admiral.
William, lord Howard, afterwards earl of Effingham, lord-chamberlain.
Sir Thomas Cheney.
Sir William Petre.
Sir John Maſon.
Sir Richard Sackville. And
Dr. Wootton, dean of Canterbury.

But it is to be obſerved, that in admitting theſe reputed zealous Roman catholics, Elizabeth thought herſelf pretty ſure of their compliance with her intentions in favouring the reformation in the church, who had complied with all the changes of religion, backward and forward, ever ſince latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. and done it ſo artfully in all thoſe revolutions as to be conſtantly employed. However, ſhe thought proper to join with them a certain number of proteſtants, on whom ſhe was certain ſhe could rely: theſe were,

William Parr, marquis of Northampton, whom ſhe reſtored to all his honours.
Francis Ruſſel, earl of Bedford.
Sir Thomas Parry, made comptroller of the houſhold.
Sir Edward Rogers, made vice-chamberlain and captain of the body-guards.
Sir William Cecil, principal ſecretary of ſtate.
Sir Robert Dudley, made maſter of the horſe.
Sir Ambroſe Cave. And
Sir Nicholas Bacon: which laſt had, ſome little time afterwards, the cuſtody of the great-ſeal given him, with the title of lord-keeper.

The like judicious blending was made among the ſubordinate miniſters, particularly the juſtices of the peace: a new ſet of gentlemen, known to be of the reformed religion, or well affected to it, being added to the former commiſſion for each county, who were all papiſts. She alſo joined lord Howard of Effingham to Mary's plenipotentiaries for negociating a peace with France.

We ſhall omit all the particulars of Elizabeth's progreſs from Hatfield to the Tower, which ſhe entered on the twenty-eighth of November; but are to obſerve, that no day paſſed without a council, in which every thing was conducted with that order and œconomy which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed her perſon and government.

The uſual compliments on her acceſſion to the throne being over, the queen gave orders for ſecuring all the ſea-ports of the kingdom. She ſent a new commiſſion to ſir Thomas Radcliffe (brother to the earl of Suſſex), lord-lieutenant of Ireland; renewed the judges patents; ſent an agent to aſſure the German proteſtants of her affections, and miniſters to notify her acceſſion to all the principal courts in Europe; and ſhe wrote to ſir Edward Carne, her ambaſſador at Rome, to notify the death of her ſiſter, and her own acceſſion, to the pope; a meſſage which Paul IV. received in the moſt haughty manner, and anſwered in terms leſs agreeable to the politics of his court than to the arrogance of his nature: he told the Engliſh miniſter, "that the kingdom of England was held as a fief of the ſee of Rome; that Elizabeth could not ſucceed to it, being illegitimate; that he could not annul the declarations of his predeceſſors, Clement VII. and Paul III. that it was a great preſumption in Elizabeth to aſſume the ſtyle of Queen, and the government of the realm, without his conſent; yet, being deſirous to ſhew a fatherly affection towards her, he would do whatever was conſiſtent with the honour of his ſee in her favour, provided ſhe would renounce her pretenſions, and refer herſelf entirely to his diſpoſition*." Elizabeth was neither ſurprized nor affected with this anſwer of his holineſs; it only afforded a good reaſon for recalling Carne: but he, being a rigid papiſt, did not care to return, eſpecially as he had been offered by Paul the maſterſhip of an hoſpital at Rome, which had fallen vacant by the death of cardinal Pole.

King Philip received the news of Elizabeth's acceſſion to the throne of England with great ſurprize; but, in order to ſecure his intereſt in that crown, he ordered his miniſter to pay his compliments to her on that occaſion, to propoſe a marriage between him and her, and, in caſe of any ſcruple in regard to their affinity, to tell her that Philip would procure the pope's diſpenſation. Elizabeth received the propoſal with great tokens of eſteem for king Philip, but had the addreſs to poſtpone her final anſwer, with great civility, in order to preſerve a good underſtanding between England and Spain till ſhe could conclude an advantageous peace with France: but the Spaniſh miniſter's importunities increaſed ſo much upon this head, that ſhe, unwilling to give a flat denial, reſolved to make him deſiſt from his ſolicitations about marriage, by haſtening the execution of her deſign to make a change in religion, in which ſhe was not a little ſeconded by the ready compliance of the ſucceeding parliament.

But though the queen was induced by intereſt, by education, and her own principles, to favour the Reformation, yet ſhe determined to introduce it gradually, thinking by that means to eſtabliſh it more ſecurely, and to avoid the inconveniencies to which her ſiſter had been expoſed by an inſtantaneous alteration of worſhip and a violent invaſion of the eſtabliſhed religion. With this view, finding that the proteſtant teachers broke out into a furious attack on the ancient ſuperſtition, and that the Romaniſts retorted upon them with equal acrimony, ſhe publiſhed, on the twenty-ſeventh of December, a proclamation, by which ſhe prohibited all preaching without ſpecial licence; and or-

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 374.

dered

dered the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Goſpel, to be read in Engliſh. She at the ſame time employed Dr. Matthew Parker, in conjunction with ſix other divines, to review the Liturgy of Edward VI. and to prepare the nation for its introduction into publiſh worſhip. She publiſhed injunctions, that all churches ſhould conform themſelves to the practice of her own chapel, and forbad the hoſt to be elevated in her preſence.

Theſe ſteps towards a reformation gave ſuch an alarm to the popiſh biſhops, that, apprehending a total abolition of the papal power and uſages of the church of Rome would ſoon follow, or perhaps fearing to offend the pope, who had ſcrupled to acknowlege the queen's title, and denied her legitimacy, they generally reſolved not to officiate at her coronation; and none but Oglethorp, biſhop of Carliſle, could be perſuaded to do the office.

He agreeing to crown the queen, ſhe removed from the Tower on the fourteenth of January, 1559, in grand proceſſion through the ſtreets of London to Weſtminſter, amidſt the acclamations of an infinite number of perſons aſſembled on the occaſion, which ſhe returned with ſuch a modeſt affability and ſo winning a grace, as charmed the hearts of all beholders. But nothing ſhewed more the ſentiments of the citizens in point of religion, or endeared their new ſovereign more to them than the accepting of an Engliſh Bible, richly gilt, which was let down from a pageant, in Cheapſide, by a child repreſenting Truth, who made her a ſpeech on the occaſion. The queen received the book with both her hands, and, having kiſſed it, held it up, then laid it to her breaſt, promiſing to be diligent in reading it, and aſſuring the city that ſhe eſteemed that gift more than all the ſumptuous preſents they had made her. The next day, being Sunday, January 15, the queen was crowned in Weſtminſter abbey, and the two days following were diſtinguiſhed by juſts and tournaments, in honour of her coronation.

On this occaſion a patent was granted to Henry Fitz Allan, earl of Arundel, to perform the office of high-conſtable on the day before the coronation, and the office of high-ſteward on the cornation-day. Several knights of the Bath were likewiſe created; and the queen, willing to diſtinguiſh ſome of her moſt particular friends, reſtored the lord Edward Seymour, eldeſt ſon of the late duke of Somerſet, by a ſecond wife *, to the titles of viſcount Beauchamp and earl of Hertford; created the lord Thomas Howard, ſecond ſon of the duke of Norfolk, viſcount Howard of Binden; and advanced ſir Oliver St. John, and Henry Cary, ſon to ſir William Cary, by her aunt Mary Boleyn, to the dignities of barons, by the titles of lord St. John of Bletſho, and lord Hunſdon.

The parliament meeting on the twenty-fifth of January, ſir Nicholas Bacon, who, on the twenty-ſecond of December the laſt year, had been made keeper of the great-ſeal †, on the reſignation of Heath, archbiſhop of York, the lord-chancellor, opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he diſplayed the merits of the new queen, with ſevere reflections on the loſs of Calais: he told them, that the queen deſired an immediate application to the affairs of religion; that a diſunion in that reſpect was one of the evils which called for the moſt ſpeedy redreſs: he exhorted the parliament to proceed between the two extremes of ſuperſtition and religion, which might unite the adherents of both religions in one and the ſame mode of public worſhip.

Then, to try the diſpoſition of the parliament, a motion was made in the houſe of commons for reſtoring to the crown the tenths, firſt-fruits, and impropriations, which had been given up by queen Mary: this motion was immediately approved, and the bill for ſuch reſtoration being paſſed notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the biſhops ‡, on the fourth of February, the commons, in an humble addreſs, adviſed the queen to marry, in order to perpetuate their felicity, by having ſome of her royal iſſue to reign over them. After a few days taken to conſider of the matter, her majeſty returned them for anſwer, that "as the addreſs was expreſſed in general terms, without pretending to fix her choice, ſhe could not be any ways offended; that, notwithſtanding her youth might render her veracity ſuſpected, ſhe had always declined the marriage-ſtate as an incumbrance; that as England was her huſband, wedded to her by this pledge (and here ſhewed her finger with the gold ring upon it, with which ſhe had ſolemnly betrothed herſelf to the kingdom at her inauguration), ſo all Engliſhmen were her children, and while ſhe was employed in rearing and governing ſuch a family, ſhe could not eſteem herſelf barren, or her life uſeleſs or unfruitful ‖; that ſhe doubted not of her ſubjects finding a ſucceſſor at her death; and that, as to her own part, her greateſt pride would be to have her monument declare that ſhe had reigned and died a virgin-queen."

The parliament now proceeding in buſineſs, their next act was to recognize Elizabeth by a bill, importing that ſhe was, and might be as well by the word of God as the common and ſtatute laws of the realm, the lawful, undoubted, and true heir of the crown, lawfully deſcended from the blood royal according to the order of ſucceſſion ſettled in the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII.

This was immediately followed by an act appointing the public worſhip to be performed in Engliſh.

Another, reſtoring the queen to her right of ſupremacy in the church of England.

* The lady Anne Stanhope; on whoſe iſſue he procured an act to ſettle the titles and eſtate; and not Edward Seymour, his ſurviving eldeſt ſon by his firſt wife, Catherine Fittol, who was diſinherited to gratify the pride and ambition of his laſt wife, and never enjoyed any title. It is not unworthy notice, that upon the extinction of the youngeſt line of this family by the ſecond marriage in 1750, the eldeſt branch, ſeated at Maiden Bradley, Wilts, deſcended from the laſt-mentioned Edward, ſo diſinherited, ſucceeded to the dukedom of Somerſet, after having been excluded full two hundred years.

† He was the firſt that was by patent created lord-keeper. Formerly, thoſe that were keepers of the ſeal had no dignity or authority annexed to their office; they did not hear cauſes nor preſide in the houſe of lords; but only to put the ſeals to ſuch writs or patents as went in courſe: and ſo the ſeal was only put in the hands of the keeper but for ſome ſhort interval. But now Bacon was the firſt lord-keeper that had all the dignity and authority of lord-chancellor conferred upon him. He was father to the great ſir Francis Bacon, viſcount of St. Alban's, and was one of the moſt learned, moſt pious, and wiſeſt men of the nation. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 380.

‡ The biſhops who oppoſed it were Heath, archbiſhop of York; Bonner, biſhop of London, Pates of Worceſter, Kitching of Llandaff, Bayne of Coventry, Tuberville of Exeter, Scot of Cheſter, and Oglethorpe of Carliſle. Sir S. d'Ewe's Journal, p. 19.

‖ Hume's Hiſtory of the Tudors, p. 412.

Another,

Another reviving and confirming all the acts made in the reign of Edward VI. concerning religion: and in this many others were included.

Another restored to the queen the nomination of bishops; reconfirmed many of Henry VIII's statutes against the papal authority; empowered the queen to put the exercise of her supremacy into what hands she pleased; and obliged all persons in public employments to swear "that they acknowleged the queen to be supreme governess in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal; that they renounced all foreign jurisdiction; and should bear to the queen true allegiance," under pain of being declared incapable of holding any public office. And lastly, divers other penalties were enacted against those who, by word or writing, should set forth or advance any foreign authority in the kingdom.

Another act was passed to establish uniformity in public worship, against which the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Ely, Worcester, Llandaff, Coventry, Exeter, and Chester, the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Shrewsbury, the viscount Montagu, and the lords Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North, entered their protests as dissentients.

By a sixth act the parliament empowered the queen to resume herself to the lands belonging to the bishoprics, as they became vacant, giving in lieu of them their full value, and impropriated tythes.

By a seventh, all religious houses were annexed to the crown.

By an eighth, the deprivation of popish bishops, in king Edward's reign, was declared valid.

In a word this parliament restored religion to the same state as in the reign of Edward VI. and, after a grant of a subsidy, two tenths and two fifteenths, with tonnage and poundage for the queen's life, it was dissolved on the eighth of May.

The supremacy with which the queen was lately invested, with power to depute any person to exercise it in her name, gave rise to a new court, called the High Commission Court. It was composed of a certain number of commissioners, which exercised the same power that had been formerly lodged by Henry VIII. in the single person of his minister, Cromwell, under the title of Vicegerent.

The zeal of the parliament alarmed the zealots of the popish faction so much, that they attempted, even during the session, to oppose their proceedings, and to preach from the pulpit doctrines that tended to overthrow their grand intention of a reformation; wherefore Elizabeth, after the example of her predecessors, Edward and Mary, forbad all preaching without a special licence under the great seal, which so exasperated the lower house of convocation, that they boldly asserted the doctrines of the church of Rome in a petition to the queen; whereupon she ordered the divines on both sides to meet, and, in open dispute, to consider and determine upon those doctrines. Accordingly it was agreed that nine divines of each side should hold a conference, which began on the thirty-first of March, in Westminster abbey: but the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, seeing the cause in great danger, said that the faith of the church ought not to be examined but by a synod of divines; that the queen and council ought to be excommunicated for suffering the catholic faith to be argued before an unlearned multitude; and so departed from the conference, leaving the protestants to enjoy their triumph. However it produced this good effect, that out of nine thousand four hundred beneficed clergymen then in the nation, only fourteen bishops, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, fifty canons, and about eighty parochial priests, chose to quit their preferments rather than take the oath of supremacy and change their religion: and the places of these being filled up with protestants, England became entirely reformed in a short space, after having seen the advocates for reformation mercilessly delivered up to the flames. But the severity shewn to the popish clergy, whether legal or illegal we shall not take upon us to determine, was far from partaking of the cruelty practised under the late reign: some of them had liberty to retire to their own houses; some were admitted to an easy and social restraint in the houses of their friends, or of protestant bishops; and some were suffered to go abroad. It was, however, thought proper to commit Bonner to the Marshalsea, where he died under confinement, which, with his deprivation, was the only evil he experienced of the many which his cruelty had inflicted upon others. As to the vacant sees, Parker, after great reluctance on his part, was made archbishop of Canterbury; Jewell was made bishop of Salisbury: Barlow, Scory, and Coverdale, bishops under Edward, had sees given them; and the other bishoprics were filled up with men of piety and learning for the times. Soon after, May, dean of St. Paul's was nominated to the archbishopric of York; but he dying before confirmation, Young was translated to that see from St. David's. It is now time to return to political affairs.

While the queen and the parliament were employed in settling the public religion, the negociations for peace were still carried on on the continent, first at Cercamp, and afterwards at Chateau Cambresis. Philip employed his utmost efforts to procure the restitution of Calais; and so long as he entertained hopes of espousing Elizabeth, delayed concluding a peace with the French monarch: nay, even after he found all his expectations frustrated, by the alterations she had made in religion, he seemed willing to continue the war till she obtained satisfaction, on condition she would promise to adhere to the Spanish alliance, and continue hostilities against France for the space of six years: but when Elizabeth had consulted with her ministers, and had taken into consideration the low state of her finances, the great debts contracted by her father, brother, and sister; the disorders introduced into every part of the administration, and the divisions which agitated her subjects, she plainly saw that a state of public tranquility was the only means of putting her kingdom into a respectable condition, and prudently rejected the proposal, and quickened in her advances towards France, whose monarch, Henry II. was so apprehensive of Elizabeth having any connections with Spain, that he had sent Cavalcante, a Florentine, with a letter full of regard for the queen, and expressing his desire of accommodating matters between the two crowns.

At last the English plenipotentiaries having received letters from Elizabeth and her council, empowering them to conclude a peace on any reasonable terms, on the second of April this year, a treaty was concluded between Elizabeth and Henry on the following conditions.

"That

"That France ſhould retain Calais, and the other places in Picardy conquered from the Engliſh, only eight years; and after that to reſtore them to the queen of England.

"That, within the ſpace of ſix months, ſeven foreign merchants, not ſubjects of the French king, ſhould engage for the payment of five hundred thouſand crowns of gold to Elizabeth, as a penal fine in caſe the reſtitution of the places, within the time limited, was either refuſed or delayed by Henry or his ſucceſſors.

And, "That, notwithſtanding whether the ſaid ſum was paid or not paid, the king of France, and his ſucceſſors, ſhould remain under the obligation to reſtore Calais, and the other places, as they engaged in this treaty.

Moreover, "That the king of France ſhould deliver to the queen, as hoſtages, till the promiſed ſecurity was given, Ferry de Foix, count of Caudale and captal of Buche; Lewis de St. Maure, marquis of Neſle and count of Laval; Gaſton de Foix, marquis of Trans Antoine; du Prat, preſident of the parliament of Paris; and the lord Nantouillet."

Another article of this treaty with France ran in this form: "That neither the king of France nor the king and queen of Scotland ſhould attempt any thing againſt one another, directly or indirectly, in prejudice of this treaty. That if the queen of England violated this article, the king of France and the king and queen of Scotland ſhould be freed from their engagements, and their hoſtages and ſecurities be diſcharged. In like manner, if the violation came from the king of France, he ſhould be obliged to reſtore Calais and the other places, as if the eight years were expired: and if he refuſed to make the reſtitution, the ſecurities and hoſtages ſhould ſtill remain bound," &c.

On the ſame day a treaty was ſigned between England and Scotland, which contained the following articles.

"I. That neither of the parties ſhould attack the dominions now poſſeſſed by the other, either in perſon or otherwiſe.

"II. That they ſhould give no aid to attack the dominions of one another, to any perſon, in whatſoever degree of conſanguinity or affinity he might be related to them, or whatever might be his quality.

"III. That they ſhould not receive or maintain rebels, fugitives, malefactors, &c.

"IV. That in three months the fortifications of Eyemouth, and all others erected in Scotland ſince the treaty of 1549, ſhould be razed.

"V. That all other mutual claims and pretenſions ſhould remain entire.

"VI. That in two months commiſſioners ſhould be appointed on both ſides, to ſettle certain articles, concerning which the ambaſſadors of France were not ſufficiently inſtructed."

Francis and Mary ratified the treaty on the eighteenth of April; and on the thirty-firſt of May the commiſſioners of the two kingdoms, at Upſalinton, ſigned a ſecond treaty upon the articles left undecided in the firſt.

By theſe treaties tranquility ſeemed, but indeed only ſeemed, to be eſtabliſhed between England and its neighbours; for Henry II. ſoon pulled off the mask, and ſhewed, by his actions, that he never intended to fulfil his words and agreements. His firſt act was to order the dauphin his ſon, who had married the young queen of Scotland, to aſſume the title of king of Scotland, England, and Ireland, and to quarter the arms of England in their ſeal, and on their plate and furniture, by which the court of France endeavoured to prefer the title of the queen of Scots to the crown of England to that of Elizabeth, whom they took all occaſions to treat as illegitimate. Elizabeth complained loudly of this ill treatment by her ambaſſador (Throgmorton) at Paris, but was always ſhuffled off with evaſive excuſes; and therefore ſhe from this time conſidered Mary as her moſt dangerous rival, and the Guiſes, princes of Lorrain, her uncles, the authors of this uſurpation, as her moſt mortal enemies; the truth of which was ſoon confirmed.

At the ſame time that the peace between France and England was concluded at Chateau Cambreſis, a treaty of pacification had alſo been ſigned between the courts of France and Spain; to ſtrengthen which, it was agreed that the French king ſhould give his eldeſt daughter in marriage to the king of Spain; and that Philibert, duke of Savoy, ſhould marry the French king's ſiſter. Theſe marriages were accordingly ſolemnized about Midſummer this year, when Henry II. was accidentally killed by a wound he received in his eye by the ſplinter of a lance, at a tournament held in honour of the nuptials. His ſon and ſucceſſor, Francis II. being a prince void of genius and experience, was an abſolute tool in the hands of the houſe of Guiſe, who hurried him into meaſures which correſponded with their ambition and vanity. Thinking that the acceſſion of England to France, in right of their niece, would aggrandize them in the eyes of the French, they had perſuaded Henry II. under various pretences, foreign to their point in view, to keep up an army in Scotland, as the only avenue by which the Engliſh dominions were acceſſible; and this army they now conſiderably augmented, having gotten the government of France into their own hands, under the name of their nephew the young king Francis, who was incapable of managing public affairs. But as their projects were founded upon the ſituation of affairs in Scotland at that juncture, it is neceſſary to give a brief recital of the ſtate of matters in that kingdom.

During the queen-regent's competition with the earl of Arran, now duke of Chatelerault, for the regency, ſhe had favoured the proteſtants of Scotland, and exaſperated the catholic party, who, under the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, oppoſed her with the greateſt animoſity; but having carried her point, ſhe changed ſides, regained the eſteem of the catholics, and openly approved the decrees of the convocation which condemned all the principles of the reformers; and, inſtigated by her brothers, the duke of Guiſe, and the cardinal of Lorrain, ſhe determined to ſuppreſs proteſtantiſm in Scotland, in which work ſhe was encouraged to perſevere by the aſſurance her brother gave her of a conſiderable reinforcement to the French army already in Scotland.

The principal nobility and others of the reformed religion in that kingdom being adviſed of the preparations of the French, and that the pope, the emperor Ferdinand, and the king of Spain had entered into a combination to reduce again the moſt part of Europe to the popiſh faith, and to purſue

all oppoſers and diſſenters with fire and ſword; and to begin with Scotland, as being convenient for their maſter-ſtroke meditated upon England, they reſolved to divert the ſtorm which threatened them; and being convinced that their ſecurity depended on their unanimity, and the vigour of their reſolutions, they endeavoured to cement their union by entering into a ſtricter bond of mutual defence. The duke of Chatelerault, and his eldeſt ſon, the earl of Arran, acceded to this aſſociation, and inſpired the confederates with reſolution, at the ſame time that they added reputation to their cauſe.

The earl of Arran had reſided in France, where he commanded the Scottiſh guards; but having embraced the proteſtant religion, was marked out by the princes of Lorrain as a victim, to intimidate the reſt of that perſuaſion, and to prevent the growth of their principles: but the cardinal of Lorrain having let fall ſome expreſſions which diſcovered his intentions, the earl avoided the intended blow by a ſudden flight, and, after infinite labour and danger, getting to Geneva, he from thence came over to England, about the end of July this year. Elizabeth gave this young nobleman a moſt cordial reception; and, during his ſtay here, which was very ſhort, failed not to inflame his reſentment againſt the court of France: ſo that when the earl returned to Scotland, he communicated his ſentiments to his father, and induced him to join the lords of the congregation, as the heads of the reformed party were called.

About the ſame time one Knox, a famous preacher, who had been perſecuted for his religion, and obliged to fly to Geneva, having lately returned home, by his preaching ſoon worked up the Scottiſh reformed to ſuch frenzy, that they took up arms, and for ſome time carried every thing before them, under their two chief leaders, the earl of Argyll, and James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, a natural ſon of James V. by a daughter of the lord Erskine. This nobleman being deſigned for the church, had the priory of St. Andrew's conferred upon him; but being diſguſted with the inactivity of a monaſtic life, he left the cloiſter, and appeared at the head of the reformed, who had already ſent ſeveral reſpectful meſſages to the queen-regent, for evacuating the nation of French ſoldiers, but without any other effect than her threatening that ſhe would denounce them rebels, if they did not inſtantly lay down their arms.

This produced a numerous meeting of the lords of the congregation, on the twenty-firſt of October, at Edinburgh, when they immediately aſſembled a parliament, conſiſting of the peers, barons, and repreſentatives of the boroughs, before whom they repreſented their grievances; and an act was paſſed, whereby the authority of the queen-regent was declared to be ſuſpended. But now the lords finding themſelves under the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of money, and dreading to be cruſhed by the more powerful army of the French and the queen-regent, they had recourſe to Elizabeth, with whom ſome of the party had already entered into a ſecret correſpondence.

Elizabeth, willing to counterbalance the French intereſt in Scotland, and to prevent that kingdom being united to France, by iſſue which Mary, queen of Scotland, might have by her huſband Francis II. received their propoſal with great ſhew of friendſhip, and diſpatched Randolph into Scotland, with aſſurances of ſupport, and to animate the leaders of the congregation in their deſign.

Mean while the French army in Scotland had been reinforced with a thouſand men, under the command of Martigues, and a more conſiderable ſupply was expected under the marquis of Elbeuf. Elizabeth therefore, who conſidered her own intereſt as intimately connected with that of the Scottiſh proteſtants, reſolved to exert her utmoſt efforts in order to ſupport their declining affairs. With this view ſhe fitted out a fleet, conſiſting of thirteen ſhips of war, and beſtowing the command of it on vice-admiral William Winter, ſhe ſent it into the Firth of Forth, in the beginning of January, 1560; at the ſame time ſhe appointed the young duke of Norfolk her lieutenant in the northern counties, and ordered an army of eight thouſand men to rendezvouſe at Berwick, on the thirtieth of January, under the conduct of the lord Grey of Wilton, warden of the Eaſt and Middle Marches.

The appearance of Winter with his ſhips in the Forth gave a new face to the affairs of the congregation. The French army, terrified at the loſs of ſome of their ſhips, which the Engliſh admiral had burned in his paſſage up the river, retired to Leith, to wait the expected reinforcements, with which they were immediately to invade England; but the troubles of France, which began at this time to demand all the power and attention of that miniſtry, obliged them to lay aſide all thoughts of this expedition: nay, the French court, dreading the conſequence of Elizabeth's interfering in the affairs of Scotland, and thereby cutting them out work at ſuch a diſtance from home, endeavoured to divert her from her purpoſe by offering to reſtore Calais, and all its dependencies, provided ſhe would draw her forces out of Scotland; but ſhe nobly rejected the offer, telling the ambaſſador, that ſhe did not value a paltry fiſhing-town ſo much as the peace and quiet of her own kingdom; and diſpatched the lord Montagu to inform Philip of Spain of the reaſons of her refuſal, which, ſhe ſaid, was from the certain knowlege ſhe had that the Guiſes had projected an union of France with Scotland, and concerted the murder of the earl of Arran, who, failing Mary's iſſue, would be the next heir to the Scottiſh crown.

By this time, the duke of Norfolk being joined by commiſſioners from the congregation, at Berwick, all the operations for the enſuing campaign were digeſted, and a formal treaty between queen Elizabeth and them was ſigned. As this treaty was attended with great conſequences, we ſhall inſert the whole of it from the records.

"At Berwick, the twenty-ſeventh day of February, the year of our Lord God 1559, it is agreed, contracted, and finally appointed, between the noble mighty prince Thomas, duke of Norfolk, earl-marſhal of England, lieutenant for the queen's moſt excellent majeſty of England in the North, on the name and behalf of her highneſs, of the one party; and the right honourable lord James Stuart, Patrick lord Ruthven, ſir John Maxwell, of Terreglos, knight, William Maitland, of Lethington, younger, John Wiſhart, of Pettarhow, and Mr. Henry Balnaves, of Halhill, in the name and behalf of the moſt mighty prince James, duke of Chatelerault, ſecond perſon of the realm of Scotland, and the remnant of the reſt of the lords of his party, joined with him in this cauſe, for maintenance

tenance and defence of the ancient rights and liberties of their country, on the other party, in form as hereafter followeth, that is to say: That the queen's majesty having sufficiently understood, as well by information sent from the nobility of Scotland, as by the manifest proceedings of the French, that they intend to conquer the realm of Scotland, suppress the liberties thereof, and unite the same unto the crown of France perpetually, contrary to the laws of the said realm, and to the pactions, oaths, and promises of France; and being thereto most humbly and earnestly required by the said nobility, for and in the name of the whole realm, shall accept the said realm of Scotland, and the said duke of Chatelerault, being declared by act of parliament to be heir apparent to the crown thereof, and the nobility and subjects of the same, in her majesty's protection and maintenance, only for preservation of them in their old freedoms and liberties and from conquest, during the time the marriage shall continue between the queen of Scots and the French king, and one year after; and for expelling out of the same realm all such as presently goeth about to practise the said conquest."

Elizabeth having thus taken every precaution which could insure success, and received from the Scots hostages for the performance of the articles, she commanded her fleet and army to begin their operations, and the confederates assembling from all parts, to the number of six thousand foot and two thousand horse, were joined by the English forces, under the lord Grey of Wilton, at Haddington, in the month of April, and marched together to Leith, publishing as they went a manifesto, in which Elizabeth complained of "the injury done her by the king and queen of France in assuming her titles and arms, and in plain terms charged the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorrain with being authors of the troubles in Scotland, in order to effect more easily their designs against England."

The combined army having now formed the siege of Leith, the queen-regent retired from the French army into the castle of Edinburgh, commanded by John Erskine, who had express orders from the states not to deliver it up without their direction. The siege of Leith was carried on for some time with various success; but as the place was defended by the whole French army, the English found great difficulty in their operations; and, after several unsuccessful storms, were ready to relinquish their enterprize, when, in the beginning of May, they were strengthened by a powerful reinforcement under the duke of Norfolk, which accession of force on the part of the English, and the conspiracy of Amboise in the heart of France, inspired the princes of Lorrain with more pacific sentiments, and it was resolved to recall their forces out of Scotland.

Accordingly Francis II. sent Monluc, bishop of Valence, and the count de Randan, into Scotland, with full powers to conclude a peace. Their proposals being transmitted to Elizabeth, she appointed secretary Cecil and Dr. Wootton her plenipotentiaries to treat with the French commissioners, at Newcastle. The death of the queen-regent, which happened at the castle of Edinburgh, on the eighth of June, not a little facilitated the negociations. The conferences were now transferred to Edinburgh, a truce being agreed to in the mean time; and in the beginning of July the peace was finally concluded. Most historians confound in this treaty two things, which however ought to be distinguished, namely, the concessions of Francis and Mary to their Scottish subjects, and the treaty between France and England. As of these two treaties one was observed, the other not, it is necessary to have a distinct idea of them. We find from Buchanan and Keith, that the concessions made to the Scots were as follow:

"I. That the French forces should leave Scotland in twenty-four days, and return to France in ships to be furnished by Elizabeth.

"II. That the town of Leith should be restored to Scotland, and the fortifications demolished.

"III. That the works made by the French at Dunbar, should be razed.

"IV. That the king and queen of France and Scotland should grant an act of oblivion to the confederates for every thing done from the tenth of March, 1559, to the first of August, 1560; and that this act should be approved and confirmed by the states of Scotland, to be assembled in the following August, with the consent of the king and queen.

"That the French should have liberty to leave sixty men in the isle of Leith."

But with regard to the interests of Elizabeth, a real treaty was concluded between her and the crown of France, which will be often mentioned hereafter by the name of the Treaty of Edinburgh, and, according to our public records, contained the following articles.

"I. That for the future, the king and queen of Scotland should not assume the title of king and queen of England or Ireland; nor bear the arms of those kingdoms.

"II. That the patents and other acts, which had been dispatched with that title, should be altered, or remain of no force.

"III. That the farther satisfaction required by the queen of England, for the injury done her, should be referred to a conference at London, between the commissioners of the two crowns.

"IV. That if the commissioners could not agree, the decision should be left to the king of Spain.

"V. That the king and queen of France and Scotland should perform the promises made to the Scots at Edinburgh by the plenipotentiaries of France."

In perusing the last of the articles granted to the confederate Scots, the reader may be at a loss to conceive what service it would be to Francis and Mary, to have only sixty men of their French subjects left in Scotland: Buchanan gives this reason; that the queen of Scots might not seem to be thrown out of the entire possession of Scotland.

After the conclusion of the above treaty the French and English withdrew out of Scotland, the fortifications of Leith and Dunbar were demolished, and the amnesty was confirmed by the Scottish parliament, which enacted several laws in favour of the Reformation. As for Francis and Mary, though they confirmed those laws, they flatly refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, on pretence that Elizabeth had treated with their rebellious subjects as if they had composed an independent state; but the real intention of the princes of Lorrain was to deprive Elizabeth of the English crown, and

place it on the head of their young niece. This was a ſcheme, however, which, happily for England, they were never able to effect: for the troubles they brought upon themſelves, by their perſecutions againſt the Hugonots (a name given to the proteſtants) in France, the murder of twelve hundred for a pretended conſpiracy at Amboiſe, the ſeizing and unjuſt condemnation of the prince of Condé, which ſo deſperately exaſperated the French nation, and the death of Francis II. on the twenty-fifth of September this year, defended Elizabeth from all their machinations from that quarter.

It will not be impertinent to the purpoſe in hand, to take a ſhort view of Elizabeth's ſituation in regard to her own ſubjects and to foreign princes. It may truly be ſaid, that ſhe had ſcarcely any foreign ally, to whom ſhe could truſt, and had every thing to fear from the moſt powerful of her neighbours; and though ſhe could not be apprehenſive of an invaſion from Scotland, or a new war with that kingdom, yet ſhe, in caſe of an invaſion by any other enemy, could not expect any ſort of aſſiſtance from them; on the contrary, ſhe ſaw herſelf under an indiſpenſible neceſſity to ſupport the proteſtant party there, well knowing Scotland to be the inlet into her country from France, whenever the domeſtic troubles of that kingdom could be ſurmounted. Elizabeth had alſo great reaſon to doubt of the fidelity and loyalty of the Iriſh, many of whoſe nobles held themſelves, and acted on many occaſions, as independent of England; and the whole nation, being extremely attached to the popiſh ſuperſtition, which worſhop beſt ſuited their extreme ignorance, were ready to revolt and inliſt under the banner of the firſt invader in the pope's name, on account of the innovations which they thought Elizabeth was about to introduce into their favourite religion.

Pope Paul IV. dying in the laſt month of the preceding year, was ſucceeded by cardinal Angelo de Medici, a Milaneſe, who aſſumed the name of Pius IV. The family of Lorrain eargerly laid hold of this opportunity to ſolicit the new pontiff to enter heartily into the ſchemes of his predeceſſor, and compel the heretics by force to re-enter the pale of the church, pointing out to him England as the moſt proper place to begin with, as its queen was become the nurſing mother of the enemies of the papal ſee and authority. But Pius being reſolved to try all means rather than extremities to reclaim England to his obedience, ſent, in the ſummer of this year, Vincenzo Parpaglia, abbot of St. Sauveur, with certain inſtructions, and a letter to the queen, exhorting her to return to his communion, and promiſing to continue the general council of Trent, which had, under many interruptions, been ſitting ſeveral years; and with an offer, in his holineſs's name, to repeal the ſentence of divorce of Henry VIII. from Anne Boleyn; as alſo to confirm the Engliſh Liturgy, and to permit the Engliſh to communicate in both kinds: the nuncio was alſo ordered to invite the queen to ſend ſome Engliſh biſhops to the council of Trent. But Elizabeth, not to be moved by all theſe artifices, returned for anſwer, that though ſhe heartily deſired a general council, yet ſhe would never honour a popiſh one with an ambaſſador repreſenting her perſon; and that ſhe deſired no connections with the biſhop of Rome, who ſhe ſaid had no more power than other biſhops.

As for Philip II. king of Spain, her ambaſſador brought ſuch a report of his behaviour, that ſhe could expect no other than an enemy in him: he even returned with contempt the collar of the order of the Garter, which had been ſent him by Elizabeth. It was only at home then, in England, that the queen could hope for help or ſafety, in the affections of her ſubjects, by whom ſhe was beloved to a degree of adoration, for the noble ſpirit which ſhe had ſhewn in defence of their freedom and independence, and the reſolution with which ſhe had baffled the united attempts of France, Spain, and the court of Rome.

Elizabeth was now in the very bloom of life, being twenty-five years of age, and her alliance by marriage had been coveted by moſt of the chief princes of Europe. The duke of Finland, brother to Eric, king of Sweden, had for ſome time reſided in London, and courted her for his brother. The duke of Holſtein, nephew to the king of Denmark, was likewiſe in England, and addreſſed her in behalf of his uncle. The German proteſtants earneſtly preſſed her to marry Charles, archduke of Auſtria, ſecond ſon to the late emperor, and a known favourer of proteſtantiſm; and the Scottiſh parliament had preferred a ſolemn addreſs to her, for leave to ſend commiſſioners to treat concerning a marriage between her and the earl of Arran, ſon to the duke of Chatelerault, and preſumptive heir to the crown, which would afford a probable proſpect of uniting the two kingdoms: but Elizabeth, for reaſons of her own, had declined all theſe offers.

Several of her own ſubjects were not with hopes of obtaining her in marriage: of all theſe, the lord Robert Dudley ſeemed to bid faireſt for ſucceſs. He was fifth ſon of the late duke of Northumberland, whom he reſembled in the gracefulneſs of his perſon, and in the ambition of his heart. Taking part with his father in raiſing the lady Jane Grey to the throne, he was involved in her misfortune, taken priſoner, committed to the Tower, and condemned to die the death of a traitor; but was pardoned at the interceſſion of the courtiers, and afterwards queen Mary reſtored him in blood, received him into favour, and made him maſter of the Engliſh ordnance at the ſiege of St. Quintin. What endeared him ſo much to Elizabeth is not very clear; but, as ſoon as ſhe aſcended the Engliſh throne, ſhe gave him the earlieſt marks of her favour, by making him maſter of the horſe, and dignifying him with the order of the Garter: and, indeed, truth obliges us to confeſs that Elizabeth was rather too much above the delicacies of virgin-conduct with regard to Dudley; and that the public, both at home and abroad, knew of no other way to reconcile it to virtue, or indeed to prudence, but by ſuppoſing ſhe would marry him: but then, on ſome occaſions, ſhe would expreſs herſelf ſo far as to ſignify, that ſhe could never reſolve to give her hand to a ſubject, after having refuſed the firſt princes of Europe who ſought her in marriage.

The perſon who, next to Dudley, was thought to ſtand faireſt in Elizabeth's eſteem, was ſir William Pickering. He was a gentleman of private fortune, but of great reputation for wiſdom, hoſpitality, and every quality that could entitle him to the higheſt diſtinction. He declined all public employments, and ſeldom came to court; and his great intereſt in the nation lay amongſt thoſe who wiſhed

wiſhed well to the Reformation eſtabliſhed by Edward VI.

Henry Fitz Allan, earl of Arundel, was another ſuitor to the queen. He was a nobleman of high birth, and had always behaved with vaſt ſpirit, but had gone too far into the violent meaſures of the late reign, but ſtill he flattered himſelf with the agreeable hopes of procuring his ſovereign in marriage. The cloſeneſs of Elizabeth, whenever applied to on any ſubject of this nature, and the different conjectures which the public formed concerning their ſovereign's marriage, either at home or abroad, was of the utmoſt ſervice to her affairs; all parties were obſequious to her command, and ready to execute her orders. She improved this their diſpoſition to the advantage of her favourite ſcheme of ſettling the Reformation on a firm baſis in England, and thereby freeing herſelf and people for ever from that ſtate of ſlaviſh dependence in which they had formerly been held by the Roman pontiffs.

The queen, by her letters patent, had already recommended to the eccleſiaſtical bodies of the kingdom, king Edward's Book of Common Prayer: the eccleſiaſtical livings all over England were filled with men who hated popery; and a form of belief was publiſhed by the biſhops to juſtify the Reformation: the parliament which was now ſitting in Scotland, in like manner proceeded by Elizabeth's advice, and under her protection, to extirpate popery. Weſtminſter abbey was, from a monaſtery, converted into a collegiate church: the queen received a public addreſs from the biſhops againſt the uſe of images: and Elizabeth, to ſhew how ſteadily ſhe meant to proceed, ordered the numerous tribes of proteſtant ſectaries, who, under pretext of ſeeking protection on account of religion, were now ſwarming all over the kingdom, to leave the realm. At the ſame time, in order to bring her civil and eccleſiaſtical government as near as poſſible to an equality, the queen ſet about reforming the coin, which had been greatly debaſed in the late reign. In a word, Elizabeth applied herſelf with the utmoſt aſſiduity to all affairs of government, in conjunction with thoſe two excellent ſtateſmen, and her great favourites, ſecretary Cecil and ſir Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great-ſeal, being reſolved to leave nothing undone to render her ſubjects as happy as poſſible; well knowing her chief aſſiſtance muſt flow from them in caſe of an invaſion, which ſhe had reaſon to expect. And thus ſtood matters in church and ſtate in this kingdom at the end of the year 1560.

On the fifteenth of January, 1561, the queen-mother of France, the famous Catherine de Medici, was appointed regent during the minority of her ſon Charles IX. who, at the age only of ten years, ſucceeded to his brother Francis II. who was not eighteen when he died. The king of Navarre, the firſt prince of the blood, was conſtituted lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the ſentence which had paſſed againſt the prince of Condé, was reverſed; the conſtable de Montmorency, another chief of the Hugonots, who had been baniſhed, was recalled to court; and the princes of Lorraine, though they ſtill poſſeſſed the higheſt poſts and offices, now found their authority greatly diminiſhed.

Elizabeth was overjoyed to hear that her declared enemies had been ſo ſeverely humbled; and ſhe was reſolved to avail herſelf of the preſent conjuncture to compel the Scottiſh queen to renounce her pretenſions to the Engliſh crown: ſhe accordingly ſent orders to Throgmorton, her ambaſſador in France, a very faithful and able miniſter, to make application to Mary for that purpoſe, and to demand her ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; for though, by the advice of her uncles, the princes of Lorraine, Mary had, immediately upon the death of her huſband Francis II. laid aſide the arms and title of England, yet Elizabeth was not to be ſatisfied with a bare relinquiſhing of them, but inſiſted upon a formal renunciation of her titles and arms, and an acknowlegement that ſhe never had any right to aſſume them; that in caſe Mary, who was very young, ſhould marry a powerful prince, he might have no pretence to renew the claim. Mary, however, was upon her guard: ſhe ſaw ſufficiently into the ſpirit of this demand; ſhe declined giving any direct anſwer to the Engliſh ambaſſador, before ſhe had conſulted her friends in France and Scotland: and Throgmorton renewing his inſtances ſhe told him, that ſhe was reſolved to entruſt the whole management of her concerns with the lord James (ſo the prior of St. Andrew's was commonly called); but that nobleman was too deeply engaged with queen Elizabeth, for Mary to continue long in that mind. Both ſhe and her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, believed him to have no other principle but intereſt; while he thought that they had no other view but revenge. They tempted him with all they thought could bribe his ambition to break his own connections, and that of his party, with Elizabeth; but he continued conſiſtent, notwithſtanding all their efforts. It was this ſteadineſs that firſt rivetted him in the eſteem of Elizabeth, and was the foundation of his future fortune. In the mean time Elizabeth, deſirous of keeping her footing in Scotland, and ſtill apprehenſive of an invaſion there, ſent Randolph, one of her truſty agents, about the middle of March, to Scotland, whoſe ſtates, or parliament, was then ſitting; and gave him in charge to engage the Scots, if poſſible, to enter into a proteſtant league, in the ſame manner as the proteſtants in Germany had done, for the defence of religion. Mary, who was informed by her friends in Scotland of all theſe practices, could not fail of being highly incenſed at this ungenerous behaviour of Elizabeth, and hinted to Throgmorton, that ſhe was not ignorant of his miſtreſs's dealings with her rebellious ſubjects; and that, for her own part, ſhe was reſolved not to receive any laws from them.

In the mean time, a miſunderſtanding having ariſen between the queen-dowager of France and the Scottiſh princeſs, this latter, unable to brook the ſlights and indignities to which ſhe found herſelf expoſed, in conſequence of this rupture, reſolved to liſten to the invitation of the ſtates of Scotland, who had ſent the lord James over to requeſt her return to her native country and her faithful ſubjects. Accordingly ſhe ſent d'Oyſell over to England, about Midſummer this year, to demand from Elizabeth a ſafe conduct for herſelf and the ſhips that were to attend her. Elizabeth who had been extremely nettled by Mary's refuſing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, returned for anſwer, that "ſhe hoped the queen of Scots would firſt ratify that treaty; after which ſhe ſhould not only have a ſafe-conduct, but alſo, without being expoſed to the fatigues and dangers of the ſea, might paſs through England, where ſhe ſhould be received

with all the marks of affection ſhe could expect from a ſiſter."

Upon d'Oyſell's return to France with this anſwer from Elizabeth, Mary could not contain her reſentment: ſhe ſent for Throgmorton, and asked him, what offence ſhe had given his miſtreſs, that ſhe ſhould act thus towards her? She ſaid, that ſhe was very ſorry ſhe had ſubjected herſelf to the mortification of being publicly refuſed a favour, which ſhe had no need to ask, being her equal in degree: that Elizabeth, by ſuch a proceeding, ſubjected her own character to ſevere cenſure; "for (added ſhe) it will be thought very ſtrange by all princes and countries, that your miſtreſs ſhould firſt animate my ſubjects againſt me, and now, being a widow, impede my going into my own country: I ask nothing of her but friendſhip; I do not trouble her ſtate, or practiſe with her ſubjects; and yet (continued this ſpirited princeſs) I know there be in her realm that be inclined enough to hear offers: I know alſo they be not of the mind ſhe is of, neither in religion or other things." In fine, ſhe concluded by telling Throgmorton, that as ſhe came into France in ſpite of Edward*, ſhe could return into Scotland notwithſtanding Elizabeth's oppoſition†.

Accordingly ſhe did not delay her departure from France an inſtant on account of Elizabeth's refuſal of a ſafe-conduct; and being attended by all her uncles, and ſeveral noblemen of the firſt rank in France, to Calais, ſhe ſet ſail from thence in the beginning of Auguſt; and on the eighteenth of that month arrived ſafe at Leith, in her native kingdom, after having been abſent thirteen years. She was received by her ſubjects with every poſſible mark of eſteem and regard. It is ſaid that Elizabeth gave orders to intercept Mary in her paſſage from France to Scotland; but no evidence has been brought to ſupport ſuch an aſſertion: queen Elizabeth had always a fleet at ſea, for the guard of the Engliſh coaſt and the ſecurity of commerce; but we cannot find that ſhe had any deſign, or gave any orders, for intercepting her rival; and ſhe expreſly diſavowed the having made any attempt for that purpoſe.

Mary, in purſuance of the plan which ſhe had concerted in France, entruſted the whole management of public affairs to proteſtants: her council was compoſed of the moſt eminent perſons of that party, and not a ſingle papiſt was admitted into any office of truſt or confidence. She alſo acquieſced in the regulations made by the ſtates in favour of the Reformation. The prior of St. Andrew's, and Maitland, of Ledington, ſeemed to poſſeſs the firſt place in the queen's favour, and enjoyed all the credit and reputation of favourite miniſters. This choice was univerſally acceptable to the people, who now ſeemed to vie with each other in their expreſſions of zeal and loyalty. Theſe happy omens, notwithſtanding the unfavourable aſpect of affairs juſt before Mary's arrival in Scotland, ſeemed to foretel a very different iſſue of her reign; and though ſome ſudden guſts of faction and popular diſcontents might have been expected from the diverſity in religious opinions, yet there was no appearance of the deſtructive violence of that ſtorm which ſoon after burſt on the kingdom of Scotland.

Soon after the arrival of Mary in her kingdom, ſhe diſpatched Maitland of Lethinton, her ſecretary, to London, to pay her reſpects to Elizabeth, and to ſignify her deſire of cultivating a friendſhip and good correſpondence with that princeſs: the ſecretary was alſo charged with letters from the Scottiſh nobility, recommending ſuch an union as their earneſt requeſt, "ſince ſay they, in caſe of a miſunderſtanding we are obliged to ſerve our ſovereign." But Maitland was charged likewiſe with a farther commiſſion, which could not be well received: this was, "to move, as the beſt and moſt certain method for maintaining peace and amity between the two queens and their realms, that Elizabeth ſhould declare Mary her heir and ſucceſſor in the kingdom of England, in caſe ſhe ſhould die without iſſue; and this to be done by act of parliament."

No requeſt could be more unreaſonable, or made at a more improper juncture. Elizabeth was extremely nettled at it: ſhe anſwered the ambaſſador with great warmth, "That ſhe would not ſuffer the queen of Scotland to rob her of the crown during her life; neither did ſhe intend to do any thing that might tend to prejudice that queen after her death; nevertheleſs ſhe was determined not to run the hazard of ſeeing her ſubjects adore the riſing ſun: that to deſign a ſucceſſor was to expoſe her own life to danger; to deſtroy the ſecurity of her government, to ſet a winding-ſheet continually before her eyes, and to bury herſelf alive." After this ſhe put Maitland in mind of his miſtreſs's refuſing to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh: "ſhe deſired nothing of Mary but what was in her power as queen of Scotland; what her own nobility had known and approved; and what was abſolutely neceſſary for the continuance of their amity."

There had paſſed nothing but acts of unkindneſs, reſentment, and animoſity between the two queens whilſt Mary was in France; and the making of the demand above-mentioned the moment of her return to Scotland, before any ſtep taken for a reconciliation, for removing ſuſpicions, or creating a friendſhip, could not but inflame the jealouſy which Elizabeth had already entertained of Mary's deſigns againſt her crown and dignity. It did not however hinder Elizabeth from ſending ſir Peter Meutas with compliments to Mary on her ſafe return to her kingdom, and to inſiſt on her ratification of the treaty: but Mary ſtill eluded the demand, pretending that ſhe could not conveniently do it till the affairs of Scotland were more firmly ſettled. At the ſame time ſhe propoſed to Meutas, in ſome conferences ſhe had with him, to have the treaty of Edinburgh reviewed by commiſſioners, and to have the article obliging her to abſtain from uſing the arms and title of England "in all times to come," retouched in ſuch a manner, as to guard againſt its being interpreted to the prejudice of her ſucceſſion: and, after repeating her demand to have the ſucceſſion ſettled, and diſmiſſing Meutas without the ratification, ſhe wrote a long letter to Elizabeth, in which ſhe propoſed the reviewing and remodelling the treaty; offered to engage herſelf to guarantee the ſucceſſion to the crown of England to the perſon of Elizabeth, and the lawful iſſue of her body: and laſtly, ſhe offered a meeting to Elizabeth, in order to compoſe all differences the more readily. In this ſituation were matters between England and Scotland at the cloſe of the year 1561;

* See page 300, of this volume.

† Throgmorton's Letter to Elizabeth, July 26.

but

but the obſtinate refuſal of the queen of Scots (whether the effect of her uncle's advice or her own ambition) to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, giving Elizabeth juſt reaſon to ſuſpect that a deſign was formed to dethrone her whenever an opportunity offered; and this latter rejecting with contempt the demand of ſettling the ſucceſſion, rivetted that jealouſy and animoſity between the two princeſſes, which at laſt proved ſo fatal to Mary.

We muſt not forget to mention, that about the end of the year Mary gave the lord James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's the title of earl of Murray; and created John Erſkine earl of Marr.

Elizabeth all this while was indefatigably applying herſelf to the affairs of government. Her firſt care was to put the navy in a better condition than it had ever been known in the time of her anceſtors; ſhe augmented the pay of her ſailors; ſhe ſtored her magazines with arms; ſhe introduced the manufacture of gunpowder into England; ſhe ordered a great number of iron and braſs pieces of Engliſh metal* to be caſt; ſhe reinforced the garriſon of Berwick; ſhe fortified the borders towards Scotland; ſhe introduced and encouraged great improvements in agriculture, and ordered her people to attend the exerciſe of arms at ſtated times.

Her late refuſal to have any communication on any terms with the ſee of Rome, had exaſperated the papiſts to the utmoſt; and there is extant a minute under Cecil's hand †, of certain cautions ſhe was to take with regard to her own perſon, as alſo for her apparel and diet; by which it ſhould ſeem that ſhe was apprehenſive of being taken off either by aſſaſſination or poiſon: and we find that ſome ſeverities about this time were ſhewn to the papiſts, ſeveral of their biſhops and clergy being deprived of their liberty. Sir Edward Wagrave, who was a leading man in the late reign, and his lady, were committed to the Tower, as was the lord Haſtings, another of Mary's chief favourits, for no other crime (that appears) than being preſent at the maſs, and having prieſts in their houſes.

Though this ſeverity was, perhaps, neceſſary, yet Elizabeth is not ſo defenſible in her conduct to the lady Catherine Grey, the younger ſiſter to the lady Jane Grey, who loſt her head in the late reign: this lady had the ſame right to royalty as her ſiſter had; and Elizabeth was ſo extremely tenacious of her power and authority, that ſhe could not forbear looking on her with a jealous eye: ſhe knew not what party might be formed in favour of the lady Catherine, upon the plan of Edward's will; and ſhe foreſaw what a handle the Scots might make, by ſetting aſide the will of Henry VIII. by which their queen was deprived of the ſucceſſion in the ſame manner as ſhe herſelf, after the example of her ſiſter Mary, ſet aſide the will of Edward VI.

The lady Catherine had been married to the earl of Pembroke's ſon, but had been lawfully divorced; and afterwards ſhe privately married the earl of Hertford, ſon to the regent-duke of Somerſet, a young nobleman of a bold, reſtleſs, aſpiring diſpoſition. The marriage was ſoon diſcovered by the lady's pregnancy, and Elizabeth committed her to the Tower; and her huſband, the earl of Hertford, being ſent for out of France, and, upon examination, owning his marriage, was likewiſe committed to the Tower, where the lady Catherine was ſoon after delivered of a ſon. This event inflamed ſtill farther the indignation of Elizabeth, who appointed a court of delegates, with the archbiſhop of Canterbury at their head, to enquire into the validity of the marriage; and they found their cohabitation to be unlawful. Not content with this, Elizabeth cauſed a fine of fifteen thouſand pounds to be impoſed upon Hertford, and ordered the confinement of both him and his wife to be more rigid and ſevere. They remained in this condition for the ſpace of nine years, till at laſt the lady Catherine dying, the queen was freed from all apprehenſions, and again reſtored the earl to his liberty.

Elizabeth behaved with more generoſity, in an affair of another and even more dangerous nature. Arthur Pole and his brother, nephews to the late cardinal of that name, and great-grand-children of George, duke of Clarence, brother to king Edward IV. together with one Forteſcue, a gentleman who had married a ſiſter of their's, and ſome other perſons, had formed a deſign of retiring into France, in order to procure ſuccours from the duke of Guiſe; to return thence into Wales; that Arthur Pole ſhould then aſſume the title of duke of Clarence, and as ſuch ſhould treat of a marriage between his brother and Mary, queen of Scotland, whom they were then to proclaim queen of England ‡. This conſpiracy being diſcovered, they were brought to their trials, and owned the fact, but declared at the ſame time, that they never meant to execute theſe projects till the queen's death, which ſome pretenders to judicial aſtrology had aſſured them would certainly happen before the end of the year. They were condemned to death by the jury, but the queen was pleaſed to indulge them with a pardon: the exceſſive rigour therefore ſhewn to Catherine Grey throws a great blemiſh on Elizabeth's character, ſince it is plain that unhappy lady's right to the crown, whether well or ill grounded, was her only offence.

We have nothing farther to add to the tranſactions of this year, than that Elizabeth ſtill farther endeared herſelf to her ſubjects by revoking all warrants granted to the purveyors for victualling the fleet, which were generally executed in a very oppreſſive manner, and ordered the people to be paid in money for whatever proviſions they furniſhed. The impoſitions of the Exchequer were now by her reformed; and the popiſh clergy, to whom penſions had been aſſigned for the loſs of their livings now in the hands of the crown, were punctually paid. The queen alſo increaſed the ſalary of the judges, and firſt allowed them a proviſion for their reſpective circuits. Camden, who has furniſhed us with theſe anecdotes of Elizabeth's government, obſerves, that her œconomy always went hand in hand with her liberality, inſomuch that ſhe gave very little out of her own demeſnes, but on condition it ſhould, on default of male iſſue, revert to the crown. It would have been happy, perhaps, if her ſucceſſors had always obſerved this rule!

It was not without reaſon that Elizabeth was thus ſtudious to gain the love of her ſubjects by the

* This year there was diſcovered, near Reſwick, at the foot of the tall mountain Sheddow, in Cornwall, a mine of pure copper, which had been neglected many ages: and at the ſame time was found a great abundance of the lapis calaminaris, ſo neceſſary for braſs works.

† Burleigh's Papers, p. 368. ‡ Strype.

good order ſhe introduced into the kingdom, ſince many endeavours were uſed at this time to corrupt and draw them into rebellion. The catholics began to meet and plot to reſtore their religion by arms. Beſides the deſign of Arthur Pole and his accomplices above related, Elizabeth, in the beginning of the year 1562, found out that the earl of Lenox and his counteſs (daughter to Margaret, queen of Scotland, eldeſt daughter to Henry VII. by the earl of Angus) held a ſecret unlawful correſpondence in Scotland, the plan of which was to aſſert Mary's prior right to the crown of England, and raiſe a party to defend the ſame. This correſpondence being diſcovered, the earl was committed to the cuſtody of the maſter of the Rolls, and the counteſs to the care of ſir Richard Sackville.

Mary, from what reaſons may eaſily be gueſſed, did not ſhew the leaſt reſentment at this uſage of the earl of Lenox, though he was her own ſubject; on the contrary, ſhe affected to ſhew great complaiſance to Elizabeth's reſident, Randolph; and the queen of England was not behind her in thoſe diſſembled marks of a good underſtanding. The propoſal of an interview was again revived, but did not take place this year.

Elizabeth's attention was now called towards the affairs of the continent, particularly thoſe of France, which were now involved in the utmoſt confuſion and diſorder. The duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine, ſtill pregnant with deſign upon England, had endeavoured to gain Anthony de Bourbon, king of Navarre, over to their ſcheme, by promiſing him their niece, Mary of Scotland, in marriage, and, by the aſſiſtance of the pope and Philip of Spain, to put him in poſſeſſion of the throne of England. Elizabeth, coming to the knowlege of this ſcheme, diſpatched ſir Henry Sidney into France, under pretence of complaining of ſome acts of piracy committed by certain French freebooters on the Engliſh merchantmen, but in fact to inform himſelf exactly of the affairs of the French, and of what was contriving againſt her, that ſhe might take her meaſures accordingly.

Catherine de Medici, the queen-mother and regent, ſtill continued to foment the differences between the two factions, and ſeemed to incline to the ſide of the Huguenots, who were the weakeſt. As the Guiſes had artfully perſuaded the catholics to compromiſe their differences with the chiefs of the proteſtant league, ſhe feared to ſee herſelf once more left to their mercy, as ſhe had been in the laſt reign, if the Huguenots were oppreſſed. For this reaſon ſhe ſupported them, and procured them a favourable edict, called the Edict of January, becauſe publiſhed in that month this year: it permitted the proteſtants to have preaching places without the city. But though the intent of this edict was to quiet matters in the kingdom, it proved the ſource of the civil wars which ſoon after deſolated France. The duke of Guiſe, though removed from his poſt of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, ſtill wanted to be its maſter. He was already looked upon by the people as the protector of the catholic religion. As he was going through Vaſſi, a town on the borders of Champagne, he fell in with a body of Huguenots, who in conſequence of the privilege granted them, were ſinging Pſalms, after their manner, in a barn: he gave orders to his ſervants to fall upon theſe poor defenceleſs people, of whom upwards of ſixty were killed by them, and the reſt, being wounded, fled to the woods for ſhelter from the murderous cruelty of their own countrymen. Upon this there was a general riſing of the proteſtants in almoſt every part of the kingdom, and the nation became divided between the duke of Guiſe and the prince of Condé: Catherine de Medici fluctuated between both; nothing was ſeen on all ſides but bloodſhed and pillage. The queen was then at Paris, with the young king her ſon, where finding herſelf deprived of all authority, ſhe wrote to the prince of Condé, to come to her deliverance. The fatal letter was as a mandate for continuing the civil war, which was carried on with the greateſt inhumanity: every town was a fortified poſt, every ſtreet a field of battle. Anthony, king of Navarre, the firſt prince of the blood, a weak and irreſolute man, who knew not of what religion or party he was, jealous of his brother Condé, and obliged againſt his will to ſerve the duke of Guiſe, was dragged to the ſiege of Rouen, together with the queen-mother: he was killed at this ſiege, and deſerves a place in hiſtory on no other account than that of being the father of the great Henry IV.

Philip II. who was uneaſy at the progreſs which the Huguenots made in France, and who apprehended that the contagion might ſpread into the Low Country provinces under his dominion, who had already given ſtrong intimations of their affection to the reformed religion, had engaged in a ſecret alliance with the duke of Guiſe, for the defence of the ancient faith, and the extirpation of hereſy. He now ſent ſix thouſand men with a ſupply of money to ſtrengthen the catholic party. The firſt pitched battle between the catholics and the reformed was fought near Dreux: the battle was remarkable by both generals being made priſoners; de Montmorency, who commanded the king's army, in quality of conſtable of France, and the prince of Condé, who was at the head of the reformed army. The duke of Guiſe, who was ſecond in command to the conſtable, gained the battle, and after his victory went and laid ſiege to Orleans, of which the reformed had poſſeſſed themſelves at their firſt taking up arms.

The Huguenots, unable to reſiſt ſuch a powerful confederacy formed againſt them, ſupported by the royal authority, were obliged to diſpatch the vidame of Chartres and de la Haye, with ſome other agents, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth for preventing the total ruin of the proteſtant cauſe in France. The vidame and his colleagues arrived at London in the latter end of June this year (1562), and, having obtained an audience of the queen, demanded, in the name of the prince of Condé, and the proteſtant league in France, a ſupply of ten thouſand men, and a conſiderable ſum of money; but the politic Elizabeth, though inclined to aſſiſt the prince, would not agree to ſend either, unleſs ſome ſtrong places were delivered to her, for the ſafety of her troops, and to remain in her hands till Calais was reſtored to the crown of England. This demand proved very diſagreeable to the French; but Condé and his party were in too much diſtreſs to reject any terms that ſhould be inſiſted on, and a treaty in his name, and that of queen Elizabeth, was ſigned on the twentieth of September, at Hampton-court, by which the prince engaged "to put Havre de Grace into the queen's hands, to be kept by a garriſon of three thouſand

Engliſh, till the reſtitution of Calais." Elizabeth on her part undertook "to ſend three thouſand men to aſſiſt in the defence of Rouen and Dieppe, and to ſupply them with one hundred thouſand crowns, beſides forty thouſand for the garriſons ſhe ſhould put into theſe two laſt places: and both of the contracting powers obliged themſelves not to treat with the adverſe party, but by common conſent*."

Theſe were the principal articles of the treaty, in conſequence whereof Elizabeth immediately ſent over Ambroſe Dudley (one of the ſons of the late duke of Northumberland, whom ſhe had the year before created baron Liſle and earl of Warwick) to France, with ſix thouſand men, part whereof were landed at Dieppe, and the reſt took poſſeſſion of Havre. The queen publiſhed at the ſame time a manifeſto, declaring, "that ſhe did not ſend troops into Normandy with a deſign to recover that province, the ancient patrimony of her anceſtors, and unjuſtly wreſted from them; but to preſerve it for the king of France, during his minority, and to reſcue it from the ambition and tyranny of the princes of Lorraine: that ſhe was the more concerned to endeavour to prevent that province falling into their hands, as it was manifeſt their deſign was to ſeize the ports of Normandy, and from thence to invade her dominions, after the extirpation of the reformed in France: that for theſe reaſons ſhe thought herſelf obliged to aſſiſt the young king, hinder his ſubjects from being oppreſſed by the Guiſes, protect the profeſſors of the reformed religion, and provide for her own ſafety."

Immediately upon this manifeſto being publiſhed, and that the Engliſh troops had landed in France, a proclamation was iſſued by the faction of Lorraine in Paris, in which queen Elizabeth being charged "with breach of faith, ſeizing the king's fortreſſes, and aiding his rebels, war was declared againſt her, her dominions, and ſubjects†." This haſty ſtep, which was taken by the advice of the cardinal of Lorraine, and was followed by a ſeizure of all the Engliſh ſhips at Bourdeaux, and the impriſonment of her ambaſſador's courier at Boulogne, ſoon appeared to be impolitic. The Engliſh began to fit out privateers to make repriſals on the French; and at the ſame time the queen required the court of France to declare plainly their reſolution, whether they would have peace or war with England. The court was reſident at Paris at the very time the proclamation abovementioned had been made, but, not being prepared for an open war, thought fit to diſavow any knowlege thereof, hoping thus to elude Elizabeth's demands: but that princeſs, not ſatisfied with a verbal diſclaiming of the proclamation, inſiſted that the king and queen-regent ſhould, either by ſome public act, notify to the world that no proclamation of war had been made againſt England in Paris, with their knowlege, or by their orders; or elſe write her a letter, under the king's hand, to the ſame effect. This being complied with by the court of France, Elizabeth declared herſelf ſatisfied, and hereupon declined following the advice of Throgmorton, that ſhe would take advantage of the proclamation for the recovery of Calais, which he repreſented as an eaſy enterprize. The beſt ſoldiers it ſeems had been drawn out of the place to join the army, inſomuch that there were not left in it two hundred fighting men; and if ſix thouſand men were landed from Havre, in a moonlight night, on the ſands about it, they might eaſily make themſelves maſters of Newenham bridge, and of Calais itſelf before it could be relieved. What were the queen's reaſons, or thoſe of her council, for neglecting ſo favourable an opportunity of recovering this place, we have no authorities to declare from: thus much, however, is certain, that the parliament, which met in January following, offered to grant the ſupplies neceſſary for the recovery of Calais. Such was the ſtate of the French affairs at the end of the year 1562.

In Scotland, the family of the Gordons, of which the earl of Huntley was the chief, being privately countenanced by the houſe of Guiſe, endeavoured to take queen Mary out of the hands of her brother James Stuart, earl of Murray. The proceedings in this affair not having any immediate connection with England's concerns, we ſhall not ſtop to relate them, but only obſerve that the attempt proved fatal to the enterprizers, the earl of Huntley being defeated by the earl of Murray, in a battle fought near Inverneſs, and himſelf, with his eldeſt ſon George, taken priſoner, and conducted to Dunbar, where they were tried, and ſentenced to die; but the ſentence was not executed. While theſe things were tranſacting in that kingdom, James Melvill, author of the Memoirs that bear his name, was employed at Inſpruck (in Germany) to ſound the inclination of the Imperial court concerning the marriage of Mary with the archduke Charles of Auſtria, one of the ſons of the emperor Ferdinand. The firſt overture of this deſign had been made by the cardinal of Lorraine, in his way through Inſpruck to the council of Trent, with the offer of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland for his niece's portion, whom her uncles were ready to diſpoſe of to any powerful prince who would aſſiſt them with his forces in their unremitted plots againſt England, eſpecially as their project had been lately in part ſpoiled by the death of the king of Navarre.

Elizabeth at this time lived in ſo good correſpondence with Mary, that ſhe made her boaſt of it in all the courts of Europe, to prove that all their miſunderſtandings had been owing to the practices of the Guiſes alone; but when this negociation came to her knowlege, ſhe could not bear the thoughts of Mary's matching with any foreign prince, as being extremely jealous of every acceſſion of power to one whom ſhe on all occaſions had diſcovered to be her chief rival to the crown of England: ſhe therefore ordered Randolph, her ambaſſador at the Scottiſh court, to acquaint that queen, "that if ſhe encouraged any notion of the marriage, it would put an end to their friendſhip, and to all Mary's hopes of ſucceeding to the crown of England, ſince the Engliſh would never run the hazard of falling under the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria." She added, "that Mary's only way to remove all jealouſies betwixt them, was for her to marry ſome Engliſh nobleman, to be recommended by Elizabeth." So far the ambaſſador was ordered to repreſent to queen Mary, and then to intimate to the earl of Murray and ſecretary Mait-

* Thuanus, lib. xxx. P. Daniel. Forbes, vol. ii. p. 48.

† Forbes, vol. ii. p. 116, 246, 333.

land, that he believed Elizabeth had intentions to recommend Robert, lord Dudley, whose lady was lately dead. Mary, on the other hand, thought (and indeed not without some justice) that she had a right to chuse a husband for herself, and had already entertained some notions of giving her hand to Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, a handsome young nobleman, and eldest son to the earl of Lenox: however, she thought it politic for the present to reject all farther treaty with the archduke.

This year Shan O Neil earl of Tyr Oen, in Ireland, who had, in 1560, broke out into rebellion, came and made his submission to queen Elizabeth, and received her pardon.

On the eleventh of January, 1563, the parliament of England sat down, and Mr. Thomas Williams was chosen speaker of the house of commons. The chief intention of the members in this parliament was to second Elizabeth's laudable zeal for the improvement of trade and manufactures, for the increase of her navy, for the suppression of vice, and the more effectual curbing of popery. She had done the greatest things, with the least burden to her subjects that had ever been known, and it was thought reasonable that she should be supported; it was therefore voted, that the clergy should grant one subsidy, and the laity another, besides two fifteenths and tenths. "A fifteenth and tenth (says Camden) is a certain tax on every city, borough, and town; not upon every man in particular, but a general sum, in proportion to the fifteenth part of the wealth of the respective places. A subsidy, we call that which is imposed on every single person, as they were assessed by poll, according to the value of his goods or lands."

A little before the meeting of this parliament, the queen had been seized with the small-pox; and as her life had, for some time, been in great danger, the commons presented an address to her majesty, entreating her to fix the succession in such a clear and explicit manner, as might prevent the calamities to which the neglect of so important a point would certainly expose the nation. But Elizabeth found means to elude their application, by alleging the same reasons which she had formerly given to the queen of Scots.

The bill that made the greatest noise, and was most vigorously opposed in this parliament, was "An act for assurance of the queen's power over all estates," which was levelled against the usurped jurisdiction of the Romish see within England. By this act all who maintained, by printing, preaching, or teaching, the pope's authority within Elizabeth's dominions, were made, by the first offence, liable to the penalties of Præmunire. The oath appointed by the statute which revived the supremacy, in the first year of this reign, was by this act, "extended to all who have been, or shall be admitted to holy orders, or to any degree in the universities, and to all school-masters and lawyers almost of any denomination." But if it was tendered and refused a second time, the penalty was then the same as in the cases of high-treason, only the blood was not to be corrupted, nor the heir disinherited, nor the dower forfeited. It is farther enacted, "that all members of the house of commons are to take this oath, or to lose their seats in parliament. But it was provided, that the oath should not be pressed the second time upon any but ecclesiastics, or notorious recusants, who are to take it, or become liable to the penalties of treason. All persons of or above the degree of a baron, are exempted from this oath. Mr. Atkinson, in the house of commons, and the lord Mountagu (who was now returned from Spain) in the house of lords, made strong speeches against the tyranny of this bill; nor do their adversaries seem to have answered some of the arguments urged against it.

The other acts of this parliament chiefly related to the discouragement of prophesies, magical practices, and sorceries, to which the ignorant were much addicted. A celebrated convocation sat at the same time with the parliament; and, after many altercations, published the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion of the Church of England, in the same form we now have them. The parliament continued sitting till the tenth of April, and the queen, after passing an act of general pardon, with some exceptions, ordered the same to be prorogued till the second of October.

While Elizabeth thus regulated her domestic concerns, the duke of Guise was carrying on with great vigour the siege of Orleans, which was defended by d'Andelot, brother of the admiral, who marched into Normandy to make a diversion in favour of the besieged, and receive supplies of men and money, which he expected from the queen of England. Orleans was almost reduced to extremity, when the duke of Guise was mortally wounded with a pistol-bullet, by a young enthusiast of the protestant party, named Poltrot de Mere, who, pretending to be a deserter from the town, had been received into the camp of the royalists, and watched an opportunity to shoot the duke in the back. The duke, finding his end approaching, expressed a deep-felt remorse at the remembrance of his having excited a civil war, and exhorted the queen-regent to conclude a peace with all possible expedition.

The death of the duke of Guise, which happened on the twenty-fourth of February, 1563, rendered the queen-mother mistress of the court and army of France, and the imprisonment of the prince of Condé had disposed him to an accommodation. The queen-mother, alarmed by the accounts of the English preparations, sought nothing so much as to unite the kingdom against the English. The progress of this accommodation amongst the French is foreign to our history: suffice it to say, that both parties being heartily tired of the war, they soon agreed to the conditions of a pacification, the chief articles being the extension of the Edict of January, with a few qualifications for the Huguenots free exercise of their religion, the repeal of all the decrees and sentences against them, the release of prisoners on both sides, and that all the parliaments in France should publish and register the edict to be issued for the observation of the treaty. This edict was passed on the nineteenth of March, at Amboise, and, being approved by the parliament, was executed without any difficulty or delay. Orleans, Caen, Lyons, and other cities in the hands of the Huguenots, returned to the king's obedience.

In this treaty, however, neither Condé nor his party paid the least regard to that generous friend, the queen of England; on the contrary, the Huguenots, impatient to see the English in possession of any part of their country, joined the army of the royalists in laying siege to Havre de Grace, garrisoned by the English troops under the earl of War-

wick, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves in driving the Engliſh out of a place which themſelves had put into their hands, when their caſe was deſperate and they could not have been ſupported without their aſſiſtance; a conduct which, though it might ſhew them to be good Frenchmen, proved them bad friends and perfidious allies. In this change of ſides and diſtreſs, the earl of Warwick defended the town with great bravery and intrepidity, and it was verily believed would have baffled their united force, had he not been obliged to a capitulation by the plague breaking out among his garriſon, which ſwept off fifty of his ſoldiers in a day, among whom were his chief officers.

The queen, hearing of the diſtreſs of her gallant ſoldier, ſent a commiſſion to the earl to yield up the place, and at the ſame time diſpatched admiral Winter and another ſea-officer, with a ſquadron of ſhips and tranſports to bring off the garriſon. The earl, having obtained honourable conditions, delivered up the place on the thirty-firſt of July; but the moſt fatal event of all was, that the Engliſh garriſon, which arrived in England in the beginning of Auguſt, brought with them a peſtilence ſo raging, that it ſwept off upwards of twenty-thouſand perſons in and about London alone, amongſt whom were the following great perſonages: firſt died William, lord Grey of Wilton, governor of Berwick, a man famous for his great military talents; then William, lord Paget, who had been equally ſerviceable in the cabinet, and, though he had always ſhewn himſelf a zealous patron of the Romiſh religion, yet was held in great eſtimation by queen Elizabeth; Henry Manners, earl of Rutland, deſcended by his mother's ſide from king Edward IV. fell likewiſe a prey to this raging deſtroyer; as did Frances, ducheſs of Suffolk, mother to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and daughter to the unfortunate ladies Jane and Catherine Grey.

The intereſt of the queen of Scots was very much reduced in France by the death of the duke of Guiſe, eſpecially as Charles IX. who had declared himſelf of age to govern, was wholly under the influence of his mother, who ſought all opportunities to mortify Mary, her daughter-in-law: the Scottiſh guards were diſmiſſed; the duke of Chatelerault was denied his revenues; and the payment of Mary's dowry was diſcontinued, notwithſtanding the warm repreſentations of the cardinal of Lorraine, whoſe credit ſunk at court with the death of the duke his brother. This made him more anxious than ever to bring his niece to conſent to give her hand to the archduke Charles; but Mary, after a mature examination of what had been offered on both ſides, reſolved to perſiſt in her refuſal of that prince, for fear of doing herſelf a prejudice in England; but withal ſhe determined to evade the propoſal Elizabeth intended to make her concerning the lord Dudley, without breaking however with her. It was abſolutely neceſſary to ſhew a regard for Elizabeth, in order to continue with more eaſe her intrigues in England, and increaſe there the number of her friends, which was become very conſiderable ſince the death of the ducheſs of Suffolk, who was the only competitor with her for the crown, after the death of Elizabeth without iſſue.

In a word, both queens profeſſed the moſt ſincere affection for each other, and adopted, in all appearance, the ſentiments as well as ſtyle of ſiſters. In September this year, a new border-treaty was made between them, in which the ſtipulations are much more explicit than any of the preceding; but they are too minute to have a place here. In the beginning of December Elizabeth ſent to Mary, as a token of her affection, the famous ring which we ſhall ſo often have occaſion to mention, and which Mary received with great demonſtrations of kindneſs. Elizabeth alſo inflicted a ſevere puniſhment on one Hales, who had compoſed a book againſt Mary's title; and the lord-keeper Bacon being ſuppoſed to have prompted Hales to this undertaking, he incurred her majeſty's diſpleaſure, and it was not without extreme difficulty that he could recover her good opinion.

Queen Elizabeth, having found by experience how fickle the French proteſtants had carried themſelves towards her, reſolved to embarraſs herſelf no longer with their affairs, but to make peace with the court of France, if the ſame might be obtained upon honourable terms. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1564, negociations were ſet on foot for that purpoſe, and a treaty was finally concluded at Troye, in Champagne, on the eleventh of April, by which each crown preſerved entire all their pretenſions; and Elizabeth agreed, by a ſeparate article, to releaſe the French hoſtages, on conſideration of one hundred and twenty thouſand crowns of gold. Throgmorton, who had been detained priſoner in France, was ſet at liberty; and Elizabeth nominated the lord Hunſdon, her kinſman, to carry the Garter over to the French king, who was ſo well pleaſed with the compliment that he offered to give the order of St. Michael to any two Engliſhmen the queen ſhould name. England at this juncture enjoyed the moſt profound tranquility: her trade with the Low Countries had been interrupted by the intrigues of cardinal Granville, who, foreſeeing a war in the Netherlands, wanted to remove the Engliſh, and perſuaded the government to prohibit the importation of Engliſh cloth, a branch of traffic which was carried on to a prodigious extent; but Philip perceiving this prohibition was in all reſpects as detrimental to his own ſubjects as to thoſe of England, deſired the old treaty, called Magnus Intercurſus, made in the reign of Maximilian I. might be renewed; and the affair was determined to the ſatisfaction of both nations.

The queen, no longer taken up with foreign cares, made a progreſs this ſummer to the univerſity of Cambridge, where ſhe was received with great pomp and magnificence. She teſtified her ſatisfaction in an elegant Latin oration, wherein ſhe aſſured the univerſity of her protection and intention to encourage learning to the utmoſt of her power. It was on her return from this progreſs that ſhe, on the thirtieth of September, created the lord Robert Dudley baron of Denbigh, with a grant of that caſtle and honour, and the next day advanced him to the higher title of earl of Leiceſter, the caſtle and manor of Kenelworth, which had belonged to the ancient earls of Leiceſter, being given him for the better ſupport of that dignity. He was ſoon after choſen chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford; and (at the queen's recommendation) received from Charles IX. of France the order of St. Michael. In a word, Elizabeth ſeemed to ſet no bounds to her favours in behalf of a perſon who, according to her own declaration to Melvill,

vill, envoy to her from the queen of Scots, "ſhe eſteemed as her brother and beſt friend, and whom ſhe would herſelf have married, had ſhe not determined to live and die a virgin *."

This nobleman did not want talents and qualities to recommend him to a lady's good graces: he had great accompliſhments of mind and body, an open countenance, a graceful addreſs, a courteous and winning behaviour, and ſuch an abſolute command of his temper, that he could ſuit himſelf to all humours: but with all this he had great vices; he was void of all ſenſe of honour, juſtice, or religion; his boundleſs ambition put him upon aſpiring to the marriage of his own ſovereign, and, in deſpair thereof, to that of the queen of Scotland, one of the fineſt and moſt accompliſhed princeſſes of her age. Such was the man recommended by Elizabeth as the fitteſt huſband for queen Mary; and accordingly, in the month of May this year, ſhe wrote a letter to her, wherein ſhe laid before her many arguments, ſhewing the dangerous conſequence of matching herſelf to a foreigner, and concluded with promiſing her, that if ſhe would conſent to marry the earl of Leiceſter, (then only lord Dudley) Elizabeth would, in the next parliament, acknowlege Mary as the ſucceſſor to her crown and dignity; but that if ſhe married without her conſent, ſhe muſt look on her affairs in England as ruined.

This liberty taken by Elizabeth to adviſe a queen, her equal, with ſuch an air of ſuperiority, ſo exaſperated Mary, who was naturally warm and haughty, that, forgetful of her political maxim, not to quarrel with Elizabeth, ſhe returned ſuch an anſwer as greatly offended the Engliſh queen. However, Mary, when grown cool, reflecting how much it was her intereſt to maintain an intercourſe with Elizabeth, ſent ſir James Melvill to London, with a letter containing ſome conceſſions, and a propoſal of renewing their former friendſhip. The queen of England, who was a perfect miſtreſs of the art of diſſimulation, admitted her rival's excuſes with great good-humour, expreſſed the warmeſt affection for her royal kinſwoman, and concluded with ſeveral reaſons why Mary ſhould be convinced it was her intereſt to take Dudley as the moſt ſuitable perſon for her. Not that Elizabeth ever wiſhed this match might really take effect: ſhe loved Dudley too well to part with him to a deteſted rival; but her aim was to detach the queen of Scotland from the alliance with the houſe of Auſtria, and amuſe her with a treaty which would never be brought to perfection.

In the mean time the court of France was greatly alarmed at the proſpect of Mary's marrying an Engliſh nobleman. The queen-mother and the cardinal of Lorraine ſent orders to de Foix, the French ambaſſador at the Scottiſh court, to offer Mary, if ſhe would refuſe the propoſed match with Dudley, and adhere to her connections with France, that they would pay her dower-money that was in arrears, continue it punctually for the time to come, and reſtore the Scots to all their former liberties in France. They obſerved, that, beſide the injury offered to Mary's royal dignity, Elizabeth never could be ſincere in propoſing to match her with a man who was ſo dear to herſelf: that as to the bait of declaring Mary her ſucceſſor to the crown of England, ſhe could have no ſecurity for the performance, even though it could be done by parliamentary authority, ſince it was no uncommon thing for one parliament to repeal the acts of another.

Theſe ſuggeſtions had their effect upon Mary: but, willing to keep fair with Elizabeth, ſhe conſented that a conference (at that queen's deſire) ſhould be held upon the ſubject of her marriage with the earl of Leiceſter, at Berwick; that the earl of Bedford ſhould be one of the commiſſioners on the part of England, and that the earl of Argyll ſhould, with Murray and ſecretary Maitland, be for Scotland. This conference was accordingly held in the month of November this year; but as both parties were inſincere, Mary never intending to take a huſband upon Elizabeth's recommendation, and Elizabeth's ſole view being to amuſe the queen of Scotland, or, as it was ſuſpected in that kingdom, only propoſing the earl of Leiceſter to Mary that ſhe herſelf might marry him with leſs diſhonour, after his having been encouraged by an abſolute queen; nothing paſſed in the conferences but what was trifling, dark, and general. Leiceſter himſelf ſeems to have thought himſelf ſo ſure of Elizabeth, that he was not only cold in his addreſſes to the queen of Scotland, but ſecretly warned the earl of Bedford, the firſt commiſſioner on the part of England, not to be too eager in the affair. The Scottiſh commiſſioners, on their part, were ſo well inſtructed, that they rather outdid the Engliſh in their cold reception of the propoſals made in Leiceſter's favour. Thus the affair hung for ſome time, till at length, as the conferences were going to break up, the earl of Murray frankly declared to the Engliſh commiſſioners, that the ſituation of his miſtreſs's affairs would not ſuffer her longer to live ſingle, and that if ſhe did not match in England, ſhe would with ſome other foreign prince. Mary, however, had other views, as we ſhall ſoon ſee. Thus ſtood affairs between England and Scotland in 1564. This year died the emperor Ferdinand I. leaving the Imperial dignity and his hereditary dominions to his eldeſt ſon Maximilian.

The year 1565 opened a new ſcene of diſcontent and troubles between the two queens, and between Mary and her ſubjects. We have already obſerved, that ſhe had for ſome time fixed her mind on marrying the lord Darnley, ſon to the earl of Lenox: ſhe was firſt inſpired with this deſign by one David Rizzio, a muſician, whom ſhe employed in her ſervice. He had come to Scotland in the ambaſſador of Savoy's train, and his parts far exceeding his ſtation, it is no wonder that, in a country rude like that of Scotland in the times we are deſcribing, a princeſs, who had neceſſarily ſo great a foreign correſpondence as Mary had, put him in a ſtation about her perſon beyond what he could claim from his excellency in his profeſſion. His perſon was mean, ſhrivelled, and deformed: he was advanced in age, ſo that it ſeems the pure invention of ſcandal and malice to repreſent him as poſſeſſing from Mary other favours but thoſe to which he was entitled by his ſuperior capacity in her ſervice as ſecretary for the foreign tongues. However, the queen at length diſtinguiſhed him ſo much by her favours, that almoſt every one who

* Melvill's Memoirs, p. 47.

had

had any thing to ask of the court applied to him, ſo that in a ſhort time he amaſſed a handſome fortune: but as he was ſuſpected to be a penſioner of the pope, it gave grounds of ſuſpicion that he would find means to ſet the queen againſt thoſe of the reformed religion; and the lord Darnley being a papiſt, and Rizzio the pope's emiſſary, it is generally believed that Mary was determined on this match by her favourite's advice: but, indeed, there appears to have been very many reaſons in ſound policy why Mary ſhould have liſtened to ſuch an alliance.

Young Darnley was her couſin-german by the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII. and daughter to the earl of Angus, by Margaret, queen of Scotland. He had been born and educated in England, where his father had conſtantly lived ever ſince he had been expelled his native country by the ſuperior intereſt of the Hamiltons. Darnley was likewiſe by his father deſcended from the ſame family with Mary, and would, by marrying her, preſerve the royal dignity in the houſe of Stuart. He was, after her, next heir to the crown of England; and thoſe who affected to deny her title on account of her being a foreigner, had endeavoured to maintain his claim, and gave it the preference. It was, moreover, deemed no inconſiderable advantage, that ſhe could by eſpouſing him, unite both their titles; and as he was an Engliſhman by birth, and could not, by his power and alliances, give any cauſe of ſuſpicion to Elizabeth, it was preſumed that the propoſal of this marriage would not be diſagreeable to her.

But that jealous princeſs preſently dived into Mary's politics; and as her drift was always to keep the royal widow in a ſtate of ſubmiſſion to her will, ſhe ſtrove all in her power to prevent this marriage alſo, by which the titles of the two families to both crowns would be united, and the queen of Scotland become independent upon her as to the ſucceſſion; ſhe therefore became now more urgent than ever for Mary to give her hand to the earl of Leiceſter: and ſo intricate and unaccountable was the conduct of each of theſe princeſſes at this juncture, that, by by one of Randolph's diſpatches to Cecil, it appears that ſo late as the fifth of February this year, Mary ſhewed ſome compliance to this match, provided ſhe was gratified in her demands of a large penſion from England, and being declared next heir to the crown; though but a very little time before ſhe had ſent for the earl of Lenox into Scotland, by the advice of the counteſs of Lenox, her aunt, under pretence of reſtoring him to his ancient inheritance, from which he had been baniſhed twenty years; but in reality to conſult with him about her marriage with his ſon; and Elizabeth had not only agreed to the earl's departure, but actually wrote to Mary, earneſtly recommending that nobleman to her favour, and thanking her for her kind intentions towards him: and the earl accordingly went into Scotland.

But as Darnley was yet in England, ſome way was to be found to get him clear of Elizabeth's power, before the intended match could be made public: this was effected on pretence of his preſence being neceſſary in the aſſembly of the Scottiſh ſtates, ſummoned to reſtore his father to his honours and eſtates. Accordingly leave was asked and obtained of the Engliſh court for his abſence for three months on that buſineſs, Elizabeth and her council not ſuppoſing that this young lord would dare to marry Mary without the queen of England's conſent.

Darnley arrived in Scotland in the month of March this year, and by his preſence completed the conqueſt he had made by his fame: Mary, forgetting all her ideas of grandeur, and all her ſchemes of policy, liſtened only to the dictates of her growing love; and ſecretary Maitland was named ambaſſador to go into England, and from thence to France, to notify and excuſe her marriage with Darnley. Rizzio ſoon found means by his addreſs to win the confidence of this young nobleman, who made him his friend and companion. This gave great umbrage to the Engliſh party, who, with Randolph, immediately doomed Darnley and him to the fate they afterwards experienced.

In the mean time Murray, perceiving his credit daily decline, and foreſeeing the difficulties and dangers ſuch a match, with a popiſh lord and contrary to the advice of the queen of England, would precipitate the reformed religion and ſtate into, withdrew from court, and was ſoon joined by the duke of Chatelerault, the earl of Argyll, and others of the nobility, who thought it time to apply effectual remedies to the impending miſchiefs; and their party being ſtrengthened by ſeveral who oppoſed the advancement of the houſe of Lenox from private views, they ſet about means to overturn that by force, which could not be otherwiſe prevented.

On the other hand, Mary, who had intelligence of their deſigns, endeavoured to ſtrengthen herſelf by taking into favour all the enemies of the oppoſition. She recalled the earl of Bothwell from France, and the earl of Sutherland from Flanders; and ſhe not only releaſed George Gordon from the caſtle of Dunbar, then under ſentence of death, but pardoned him, and permitted him to aſſume the title of earl of Huntley. Theſe nobles and their party were now the only attendants at court, and theſe the queen aſſembled as ſoon as notice arrived of the pope's diſpenſation for her marriage with Darnley being granted, and asking their advice concerning her intended eſpouſals, obtained their unanimous conſent. Buchanan ſays that even the earl of Murray, when he perceived there was no hindering it, propoſed to gain Elizabeth's conſent, provided the proteſtant religion could be ſecured.

Secretary Maitland, who had been ſent to England, executed his commiſſion to Elizabeth, who referred him to her privy-council, where the thing was for ſome days very ſeriouſly debated. At laſt, on the firſt of May, they came to a reſolution, "That ſuch a marriage would be dangerous to religion and to the kingdom of England, and therefore that the queen of England could not give her conſent thereto." And Throgmorton was immediately ordered to repair to Scotland with a copy of the ſaid reſolution, and with inſtructions for diſſuading queen Mary from marrying the lord Darnley: at the ſame time letters were ſent to Randolph, to be delivered from Elizabeth to Lenox and Darnley, ordering them, upon the expiration of their leave of abſence, to return home, under the higheſt pains and penalties the law of England could inflict: and the counteſs of Lenox and her ſecond ſon, who were then in England, were committed to cloſe confinement in the Tower.

The conduct of Elizabeth, though usually judicious, was always full of duplicity and deceit; but never did she behave with greater insincerity than in her transactions with the queen of Scotland. Notwithstanding that she at this time expressed so violent a resentment against the projected match with Darnley, she was in her heart not averse to it: she would rather have wished indeed that Mary had remained for ever in a single state; but finding that her sister (as she always affected to call her) had less ambition, or at least less continence, than herself, she did not dislike a choice which delivered her at once from the fear of a foreign alliance, and the necessity of yielding up her favourite Leicester: but she had strong reasons of a political nature for affecting displeasure on the present occasion, it furnished her with a plausible pretext for refusing to declare Mary her successor to the English crown, a point which she had always laboured to evade; and it likewise served her for another purpose, still more unjust and dangerous, namely the fomenting a spirit of discontent and rebellion among the Scottish nobility and clergy; a scheme which, unhappily for the peace of Scotland, she succeeded but too well in.

As to Mary, when the resolution of the English council was notified by Throgmorton, she very properly observed, that as Elizabeth had already signified her inclination for her marrying an English subject, to avoid the umbrage her matching into any foreign great family might give her, she was in effect following her advice. She promised however, that, to give time for Elizabeth seriously to weigh the matter, she would defer her marriage for three months. Elizabeth, not contented with this concession, directed Throgmorton and Randolph to encourage the malecontents of Scotland with the promise of her assistance and protection. Accordingly the noblemen began to enter into association, the townsmen of her capital to raise tumults, and all the Scottish nation appeared under a panic, on account of the queen's marriage. But Mary, whatever representations had been made to the contrary, was still dear to her people: Edinburgh was in an instant reduced to her obedience; and the traitors found themselves so warmly pushed, that they actually applied to Elizabeth for support, in order immediately to take arms against their prince, who had not yet done one public act to justify resistance, much less rebellion. Mary however, notwithstanding all opposition, married the lord Darnley, about the middle of July; and drove the malecontents to such a brink of despair, that they were obliged to take refuge in England about the beginning of November. In this distress they nominated the earl of Murray their deputy to Elizabeth, and he repaired to London to solicit her protection: but the subtle princess gave them to understand, that he had nothing to expect from her, unless he would publicly own that she had no concern in their revolt. Having extorted such a confession from the mean-spirited nobleman, in the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, she reviled the Scottish lords as rebels and traitors, and forbad them to appear in her presence. Nevertheless they found protection in her dominions; and the earl of Bedford, by her private orders, supplied them with money for their subsistence. Mean while Mary convoked an assembly of the estates of her kingdom, that the fugitives might, by an act, be degraded and banished.

The transactions of this year between England and France carry with them nothing particular. The proposal of Elizabeth marrying the archduke of Austria had been lately revived, but, on the accession of Maximilian to the Imperial dignity, a new difficulty started; the Imperial court pretended that they could not in honour suffer the archduke to match with a princess, who had given such extravagant marks of affection to a man, as Elizabeth had to Leicester: even the English council could not reconcile to their own judgments the enigmatical behaviour of their queen; and Elizabeth went so far as to have it debated at the council-board, whether she should marry the earl of Leicester or the archduke of Austria. There is extant, in lord Burleigh's papers, a curious abstract of this debate, which we shall give to the reader, on account of the instructive matter it contains.

The reasons which ought to move the queen to marry the arch-duke, besides his person, his birth, his alliance, were as follow: "I. She shall not diminish the honour of a prince, to match with a prince. II. When she shall receive messages from kings, her husband shall have of himself by birth a countenance to receive them. III. Whatsoever he shall bring into the realm, he shall spend it here in the realm. IV. He shall have no regard for any person, but to please the queen. V. He shall have no opportunity nor occasion to tempt him to seek the crown after the queen, because he is a stranger, and hath no friends in the realm to assist him. VI. By marriage with him the queen shall have the friendship of king Philip, which is necessary, considering the likelihood of falling out with France. VII. No prince of England ever remained without good amity with the house of Burgundy; and no prince had ever less alliance than the queen of England hath, nor any prince ever had more cause to have friendship and power to assist her estate. VIII. The French king will keep Calais against his pact. IX. The queen of Scots pretendeth title to the crown of England; and so did never foreign prince since the conquest. X. The pope also, and all his parties are watching adversaries to the crown."

The reasons against the queen's marrying the earl of Leicester were as follow: I. Nothing is increased by marrying him, either in riches, estimation, or power. II. It will be thought that the slanderous speeches of the queen with the earl have been true. III. He shall study nothing but to enhance his own particular friends to wealth, to offices, to lands, and to offend others: sir Henry Sidney, earl of Warwick, Sir James Crofts, Henry Dudley, sir Francis Jobson, Appleyard, Horsey, Leyghton, Molineux, Middlemore, Colshil, Westman, Killigrew, John Dudley, Christmas, Foster, Ellys, Middleton. IV. He is infamed by the death of his wife. V. He is far in debt. VI. He is like to prove unkind or jealous of the queen's majesty."

Leicester, who was of an haughty impatient temper, could not brook the freedoms that were taken with his character; and, depending on his interest with Elizabeth, he created some of his enemies with great indecencies; but Elizabeth soon convinced him that he was but the second idol of her heart, and that she was resolved to suffer no affection to come into competition with her power: for even at the time when she suffered the expediency of his becoming her husband to be debated, she ordered him not to appear in her presence.

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This ſevere mortification, joined to the marriage of the queen of Scots, which Leiceſter always believed to be effected by Elizabeth's private intrigues, ſoon convinced him, that obedience was his beſt courſe, and zeal his ſtrongeſt recommendation to the favour of his miſtreſs.

Pope Pius IV. dying in September this year, his ſucceſſior took the name of Pius V. We return now to the affairs of Scotland, which are very material to clear the hiſtory of Elizabeth.

After the diſſolution of the council of Trent, the pope had endeavoured to form a league with the courts of France, Spain, and the empire, for the extirpation of the reformed religion: at length, in a conference between the queen of Spain and her brother, the French king, who met on the frontiers, and by means of a correſpondence between the queen-mother of France and the duke of Alva, a reſolution was taken, and meaſures concerted, for cruſhing the Huguenots in France, the proteſtants in the Low Countries, and the Reformation in all parts of Europe. This league, thus formed at Bayonne, was ſent over to Scotland, and ſubſcribed by Mary; and the cardinal of Lorraine preſſed her, by Rambouillet, the French ambaſſador, to proceed with the utmoſt vigour againſt the proteſtant leaders, who had preſumed to take arms againſt her: and the cardinal had gained ſuch an aſcendancy over the mind of his royal niece, that he diverted her from the more mild and moderate courſe which ſhe intended to have purſued, and made her reſolve on the total ruin of the fugitive lords.

A parliament was ſummoned to meet at Edinburgh in the beginning of the year 1566, for their trial; and as the crime of which they had been guilty was notorious to all the world, it was generally believed that ſentence would be given againſt them, notwithſtanding the warm inſtances of the Engliſh ambaſſador, who conjured the queen to pardon them, or at leaſt delay their ſentence: they were, however, preſerved by a ſudden an unforeſeen accident, which brought Mary herſelf to utter and irretrievable ruin.

The fugitive lords had many friends in Scotland, and amongſt them the lord Darnley himſelf, now conſort to the queen, to whom he had been married but a very ſhort time before there appeared viſible marks of diſcord between them. Mary had been ſo captivated with the external charms of this young nobleman, that ſhe had entirely overlooked the imperfections of his mind, which little correſponded with the fair form ſet forth to the eye of the world. He was of a weak underſtanding, but of an inſatiable ambition and intolerable pride; he was mean, looſe, and diſſolute in his manners; and ſo little regard had he to gratitude, or the common laws of decency and honour, that he is ſaid to have brought to the arms of his royal bride, the moſt lovely of her ſex, a diſeaſe that ſhould never be known out of the confines of a brothel. Not content with theſe domeſtic injuries, he demanded from her the matrimonial crown in ſuch a manner as ſhewed him to be determined to ſtrip her of her own, and he openly put himſelf at the head of a party that wanted to deprive her of all authority, that they might engroſs it to themſelves under his weak management. His unhappy wife in vain attempted to reclaim him by every effort of conjugal tenderneſs, but, finding her endeavours fruitleſs, her former love ſunk into indifference, and from thence ſoon to averſion.

The diſcontented faction, who looked upon Darnley, from his diſpoſition, as a proper tool for ambition and treaſon, ſpared no pains to improve the viſible diſcord between him and the queen to their own advantage. Rizzio, Mary's ſecretary and favourite, had at firſt exerted his utmoſt endeavours to forward the marriage of Darnley, and a firm friendſhip ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed between them; but in the following change of the queen's ſentiments, it was eaſy for Henry's companions to make him believe that Rizzio was the real cauſe of the queen's coldneſs towards him, and even to infuſe into his mind jealouſies of the moſt unjuſt as well as of the moſt dangerous nature.

The earl of Morton, the lord-chancellor, was the chief of thoſe, who, under pretence of religion, ſet themſelves up as oppoſers of Mary's government: with him were joined George Douglas, natural brother to the counteſs of Lenox, and the lords Ruthven and Lindſey. Theſe had the ear of the weak Darnley, and moulded his mind to their own purpoſes. They perſuaded him to expoſtulate with the queen on her too great intimacy, as it was called, with David Rizzio; and the queen, ſecure in conſcious innocence, treated theſe inſinuations with the indignation they merited; and, in order to let her conſort ſee, that in exalting him ſhe meant not to diveſt herſelf of all authority, ſhe ordered his name to be omitted on the coin, and to be ſet after her own in public acts, which at firſt ſhe had ordered to be ſet before; and, perhaps, from a ſpark of female pride and reſentment, might ſhew more countenance to Rizzio after this inſult ſhe had received on his account, than ſhe otherwiſe would have done. The event, however, was what the incendiaries had well foreſeen: the hot-headed Darnley, inflamed with rage, reſolved to make the favourite fall a victim to his reſentment, hoping by his death to remove the cauſe of his royal conſort's coldneſs and averſion to himſelf; and, conſulting with Morton and his other friends on the occaſion, they not only encouraged him in his deſign, but alſo adviſed him to recall the exiled lords, and by their means form a balance of power in his favour, ſufficient to ſuperſede the authority of Mary; promiſing him in that caſe not only to fix the matrimonial crown on his head, but alſo to get an act of parliament paſſed for continuing the ſucceſſion in his perſon, ſhould he ſurvive his queen. But as they knew that Henry was no leſs fickle than raſh, they perſuaded him to ſign a paper, in which he engaged to ſcreen them from any danger to which the aſſaſſination of Rizzio, now reſolved upon by the junto, might poſſibly expoſe them, avowing that undertaking, and declaring it to be done in conſequence of his deſire. Theſe neceſſary precautions taken, a meſſenger was diſpatched, in Henry's name, to the baniſhed lords, who were lurking about the borders (all but the duke of Chatelerault, who had been permitted by Mary to return, on his humble conceſſions, and promiſes of future peaceable behaviour), inviting them to return to their own country, and binding himſelf to obtain their remiſſion, reſtore them to their eſtates, eſpouſe their quarrels, and concur with them in ſupporting and eſtabliſhing the proteſtant religion.

However, Darnley could not conceal his intention ſo cloſely, but ſome of his domeſtics, whom he had endeavoured to gain over to his aſſiſtance in the projected murder, diſcovered it to the queen, who expreſſed herſelf with ſo much reſentment againſt Darnley for his baſe deſign, and vindicated her favourite with ſo great warmth, that Henry began to fear for his own liberty, and therefore was eaſily perſuaded by his adviſers to have the fact perpetrated without farther delay. That Mary was blameable in giving Rizzio ſo great aſcendancy at her court, is indeed paſt diſpute; and, perhaps, her favour had rendered him inſolent; but he might have been removed by legal methods, while Darnley had recourſe to ruffian force; and his deſign, ſo deteſtable in itſelf, was rendered ſtill more odious by the circumſtances which attended the execution. A full account of the whole barbarity was drawn up by the lord Ruthven, the principal actor, and is now in print, by which it appears in worſe colours for the conſpirators than any hiſtorian has repreſented it; we ſhall therefore give it in that lord's own words.

"Upon Saturday, the ninth day of March, the earl of Morton, lord Ruthven, and lord Lindſey, with their accomplices, paſſed up to the queen's outer chamber; and the ſaid lord Ruthven paſſed in, through the king's chamber, and up through the privy way to the queen's chamber, as the king had learned him, and through the chamber to the cabinet, where he found the queen's majeſty ſitting at her ſupper at the middle of a little table, lady Argyll ſitting at one end, and David Rizzio at the head of the table, the king ſpeaking with the queen's majeſty, and his hand about her waiſt. The lord Ruthven, at his coming in, ſaid to the queen's majeſty, "It would pleaſe your majeſty to let yonder man, Davie, come forth of your preſence, for he hath been over-long here." Her majeſty anſwered, "What offence hath he made?" The ſaid lord replied again, "That he had made great offence to her majeſty's honour, the king her huſband, the nobility, and commonweal of the realm." "And how?" ſaith ſhe. "It will pleaſe your majeſty (ſaid the lord), he hath offended your majeſty's honour, which I dare not be ſo bold to ſpeak of: as to the king your huſband's honour, he hath hindered him of the crown matrimonial, which your grace promiſed; beſides many other things, which are not neceſſary to be expreſſed: and as to the nobility, he hath cauſed your majeſty to baniſh great part, and moſt chief thereof, in ſo far as he ſuffered not your majeſty to grant or give any thing but that which paſſed through his hands, by taking of bribes and goods for the ſame; beſides many other inconveniences that he ſolicited your majeſty to do." Then the ſaid lord Ruthven ſaid to the king, "Sir, take the queen's majeſty, your ſovereign and wife, to you," who ſtood all amazed, and whiſt not what to do. Then her majeſty roſe, on her feet, and ſtood before Davie, he holding her majeſty by the plait of her gown, leaning back over in the window, his whyniard drawn in his hand. And then Erſkine and the abbot of Holy-rood-houſe, and others began to lay hands on the ſaid lord Ruthven, none of the king's party being preſent: then the ſaid lord pulled out his whyniard, and freed himſelf while more came in, and ſaid to them, "lay not hands on me, for I will not be handled." And at the incoming of others in the cabinet, the ſaid lord Ruthven put up his whyniard; and, with the ruſhing in of men, the board fell to the wall wards, and the meat and candles being thereon, the lady Argyll took up one of the candles in her hand, and in the ſame inſtant the ſaid lord Ruthven took the queen in his arms, and put her into the king's arms, beſeeching her majeſty not to be afraid, for there was no man there that would do her majeſty's body more harm than their own hearts, and aſſured her majeſty all that was done was the king's own deed and action. Then the remanent gentlemen being in the cabinet, took Davie out of the window, and, after they had him out of the queen's chamber the ſaid lord Ruthven followed, and bade take him down the privy way to the king's chamber: and the ſaid lord returned to the cabinet again believing that the ſaid Davie had been had down to the king's chamber, as ſaid; but the preſs of the people purſued him forth to the outer chamber, where there was a great number ſtanding, who were ſo ſtrenuouſly moved againſt the ſaid Davie, that they could not abide any longer, but ſlew him at the queen's far-door, in the outer chamber *."

The queen was then above five months gone with child, and it may be eaſily judged what an effect the committing ſuch a deed in her preſence was likely to have on a perſon in her condition. Melvill (and truly I think not without ſome reaſon) ſays it appeared to be done to deſtroy both her and her child; for they might have kill Rizzio in any other place and at any other time. Ruthven tells us, that the lords concerned in this murder were for diſpatching him in his own chamber in a morning, or elſewhere; but the king inſiſted it ſhould be done in the manner it was. However, it muſt be confeſſed that Mary, on this occaſion, behaved with admirable prudence: after having paid a decent tribute of grief to the cruel fate of a man ſhe had honoured with her confidence, ſhe dried up her tears, and ſaid ſhe would weep no more, ſhe would now ſeek revenge; while the aſſaſſins, conſcious of their own guilt, and dreading the reſentment of their ſovereign, detained her a priſoner in the palace, diſmiſſing all who might attempt her delivery. But, notwithſtanding all their precautions, ſhe found means to ſend her commands to the provoſt of Edinburgh to aſſemble the people, and come to her relief. But when the tumultuous rabble appeared before the palace, the king told them, from a window, that Rizzio had been ſlain by his command, upon which, and at his requeſt, they diſperſed and returned home.

Mean while Mary, who had very juſtly conjectured that the return of the baniſhed lords would be the ſpeedy reſult of the late rebellious proceedings againſt her authority, determined to ſecure herſelf againſt the malice of her inveterate enemies, by a coalition with thoſe who had been at the worſt but inſolent oppoſers. With this view ſhe found means to diſpatch her truſty ſervant, Melvill, to confer with the earl of Murray, and endeavour to gain him over from the rebel party, by the warmeſt promiſes of her future affection and favour. Murray, who knew enough of the parties concerned in the late aſſaſſination, and of the treaſonable force

* Relation of the death of David Rizzio, by the lord Ruthven, p. 27, 29.

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put upon the royal perſon, to be ſenſible that they had acted only for themſelves, and had made overtures to him and his fellow exiles, not out of any real friendſhip to them, but only to ſecure themſelves a party, readily liſtened to the propoſals Melvill made him from his ſiſter; and being returned to court with the other baniſhed lords, he gained admiſſion to the queen, when a perfect reconciliation was effected between them; and himſelf, with the other lords his companions, were indulged with a free pardon, and reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their honours and eſtates.

The perpetrators of Rizzio's murder applied to her for the ſame favour, but ſhe artfully eluded their application, by telling them, that while ſhe was confined in cuſtody and ſurrounded by guards, any deed which ſhe ſhould ſign would be conſidered as null and void: but finding that they ſtill preſſed her to an acquieſcence, ſhe had recourſe to managing her huſband ſo as to detach him from the conſpirators; and this ſhe did ſo effectually, that Darnley's weak head was brought to deny all that his heart had contrived, or his hand had executed: and having, by the help and policy of Murray, got her guards diſmiſſed, ſhe even perſuaded the king to eſcape with her in the night, and take refuge in Dunbar. Here ſhe was joined by ſo many of her ſubjects, that ſhe ſoon aſſembled an army which the conſpirators were unable to reſiſt; and advancing to Edinburgh, ſhe compelled them to fly into England, where they got leave from Elizabeth to reſide: two of them only, who were left behind, were proceeded againſt in the way of juſtice, and executed. Darnley, by a proclamation, declared himſelf innocent of the murder of Rizzio, and declared that he repented having given any countenance either to the conſpirators or the baniſhed lords.

Mary in a ſhort time reconciled herſelf to all the nobility about her court, and them to each other, and Murray once more appeared to be the moſt zealous of her friends. But Randolph, the Engliſh envoy, had by this time fallen into great diſgrace with Mary, who accuſed him of having not only privately given three thouſand crowns to the conſpirators, but of being the author of a ſcurrilous pamphlet againſt her perſon and government; and ſent Robert Melvill to the Engliſh court, to have that miniſter recalled. Elizabeth was not at a little loſs how to behave on this occaſion; however, after mature reflection, ſhe ordered Randolph home, who had been forbidden to appear at Mary's court, and named Henry Killigrew to ſucceed him: at the ſame time ſhe, at Mary's earneſt inſtances, gave orders to Morton, Lindſey, Ruthven, and others of the conſpirators, to withdraw out of her dominions; but Ruthven dying at Newcaſtle on the thirteenth of May, Mary, out of her own good-nature, gave, before the end of the year, a remiſſion to the reſt, at the interceſſion of ſome of the nobility. Murray, Argyll, and Glencairn, were ſoon after ſworn of the privy-council, and the earl of Huntley was made chancellor in Morton's ſtead. As for the king, he made but a very indifferent figure at this time, being univerſally deſpiſed for his late behaviour, even by the murderers of Rizzio, for diſowning the part he acted in that affair, and every one ſhunned his company. The queen now effected a formal reconciliation between the fugitive lords and the earls of Huntley and Bothwell, though it does not ſeem to have been ſincere on the part of the latter, who utterly hated the earl of Murray; and being by this time become a favourite with Mary, he ſoon involved her in freſh troubles.

All this time the two queens were each of them labouring in private, by their emiſſaries, to corrupt each other's ſubjects, and inſpire them with a ſpirit of rebellion againſt their lawful ſovereign, in order to turn their diſſenſions to their own advantage. Theſe proceedings, however, they pretended to conceal under the mask of regard and deference for each other. Elizabeth had her ſpies about Mary; and when ſhe ſent the fugitive lords out of England, it was with aſſurance of her protection in time of need, in order to retain them as inſtruments of diſturbance in their own country when time ſerved. Mary kept her ambaſſadors at the Engliſh court to ſpirit up a faction: and, if we may believe Melvill, that miniſter executed his inſtructions ſo well, that at the birth of the young prince James, many whole ſhires were ready to inliſt, and their leaders already named by ſome of the nobility.

During theſe tranſactions, Mary, on the nineteenth of June, 1566, was delivered of a ſon, afterwards James I. of England, in the caſtle of Edinburgh, and ſir James Melvill was forthwith ſent to impart the news to Elizabeth, and deſire her to ſtand god-mother to the new-born prince. Melvill acquaints us, that this princeſs, the evening of his arrival at London, had given a ball to her court at Greenwich, were ſhe appeared in high good-humour and gaiety; but that when the birth of the prince of Scotland was communicated to her, ſhe threw herſelf into a chair, leaning her head upon her hand, without ſpeaking a word; upon which one of her ladies taking the freedom to aſk the reaſon of her ſudden melancholy, ſhe replied, "Know ye not that the queen of Scots is mother of a fair ſon, while I am no better than a barren ſtock?" Next day, however, at the audience of the Scottiſh ambaſſador, ſhe reaſſumed her uſual diſſimulation, put on a chearful countenance, thanked Melvill for the diſpatch he had made in bringing her the agreeable news, and expreſſed the moſt cordial friendſhip for her dear ſiſter of Scotland. Soon after ſhe ſent the earl of Bedford, with his relation George Carey, ſon to the lord Hunſdon, in order to aſſiſt at the baptiſm of the young prince, and charged them with ſeveral magnificent preſents for the queen of Scots.

The birth of a ſon contributed greatly to encourage the zeal of Mary's partizans in England; and even men of all parties began to cry aloud for ſome ſettlement of the ſucceſſion; but Elizabeth, whenever ſhe was preſſed on this point, put off the matter by pretending an inclination to match with the archduke Charles. However, the duke of Norfolk, the earls of Pembroke and Leiceſter, with ſeveral others, imagining that the prince's birth, which had encouraged them to declare openly their ſentiments in Mary's favour, might have a like effect upon their miſtreſs, and engage her to declare that princeſs her ſucceſſor, adviſed Melvill to make the propoſal. This he did, but with great circumſpection, telling her "he was aſſured ſhe formerly delayed declaring his miſtreſs preſumptive heir of the crown of England, only till ſhe might ſee ſome iſſue of her body; and this being now the caſe, he hoped her majeſty would no longer defer gratifying the

the deſires of her ſubjects, who wiſhed to ſee one point ſettled, in doing juſtice to the title of his ſovereign, who would never ſeek any place or right in England, but by her favour and furtherance." To this Elizabeth replied, "that the prince's birth was a ſtrong inducement to her uſing greater diligence in making an inquiſition into that matter; and that ſhe thought the right belonged to her good ſiſter, in whoſe favour ſhe heartily wiſhed it might be decided; but waved making the declaration till the young prince was baptized, when ſhe ſaid ſhe would certainly ſatisfy the queen of Scotland in that matter." The ambaſſador took this to be a mere evaſion, and ſo it proved.

About the beginning of December. the earl of Bedford, by Elizabeth's order, aſſiſted at the ceremony of baptizing the prince of Scotland, which was performed in preſence of the ambaſſadors from France, England, and Savoy. After the ceremony, the earl of Bedford preſſed the queen of Scotland to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh; but Mary declined complying with this requeſt. Nevertheleſs ſhe offered to ſign a new treaty, importing that ſhe ſhould not aſſume the title or arms of the queen of England during the life of Elizabeth and her poſterity. Before Bedford's departure from the Scottiſh court, ſir James Melvill acquaints us, that he was very earneſt with Mary for her receiving Darnley again into her good graces; but that princeſs would by no means liſten to any propoſal of the kind; and, indeed, the affront he had cauſed to be offered to her perſon (excluſive of his domeſtic ill treatment of her) in the affair of Rizzio's murder, the blemiſh he had endeavoured to throw upon her character, the danger to which her life had been expoſed by his brutal behaviour, on account of her pregnancy, were injuries ſo great and intolerable, that they ſeemed entirely to preclude him from all hopes of overcoming her juſt indignation.

The earl of Bothwell was now in great credit with Mary. He had been always ſincerely attached to her family and perſon, and had performed ſignal ſervices to both. His courage and conduct, as a ſoldier, were unqueſtionable, and he had a moſt cordial hatred of the Engliſh, againſt whom he had been a great and ſucceſsful commander upon the Borders, where his eſtates lay. He had been for ſome years before baniſhed, through the influence of the earls of Arran and Murray, but had been recalled by Mary, and pardoned. In his private life he was completely profligate; he had, by his intemperance, diſſipated a large eſtate, but he ſtill retained all the means of miſchief except money, and all manner of vice but hypocriſy. His appearance, however, was manly, though now advancing to the decline of life; he was equally gallant in the court as in the field; and he had that openneſs of manners that, with his experience in life, rendered him to both ſexes an agreeable companion. Such a man could not but be ill reliſhed by the gloomy reformers of Scotland; and this very circumſtance, perhaps, ſerved to rivet him in Mary's eſteem. But, notwithſtanding all the malicious ſuggeſtions of Buchanan of a criminal converſation between Mary and Bothwell, we ſhould be careful how we too lightly give our aſſent to charges unſupported by authentic documents.

As the knowlege of the affairs of Scotland is abſolutely neceſſary for underſtanding the motives of queen Elizabeth's conduct and politics, we have therefore thrown together, without interruption, whatever paſſed of moment in that kingdom in the year 1566, but ſhall now proceed to other matters.

In England, this year, Elizabeth was not without both her pleaſures and perplexities. The troubles of Ireland gave her ſome concern; but it was allayed by the ſubmiſſion of Donald M'Carty More, an Iriſh nobleman of great power, who, upon his knees, made a ſurrender to her of his eſtate, which was returned him with the title of Glencairn. But her chief vexation proceeded from the manifeſt affection which many of her great men diſcovered for Mary's title, which was more ſtrengthened than ever, ſince the birth of her ſon. She was likewiſe not a little embarraſſed by the preſſing inſtances the Imperial ambaſſador made for her anſwer as to her marriage, which ſhe continued ſtill to evade with great dexterity. But her reputation abroad was now ſo high, that the marquis of Baden, with his wife the princeſs Cecilia, came to England with no other apparent deſign than to gratify a violent curioſity the lady had to ſee Elizabeth, the female Solomon of her age. This compliment pleaſed Elizabeth exceſſively; ſhe gave a penſion of a thouſand crowns a year to the marquis, and prevailed with him to leave his wife in England till ſhe ſhould be delivered, as ſhe ſoon afterwards was, of a boy, to whom Elizabeth ſtood god-mother. About autumn, Elizabeth, who had great pleaſure in diſplaying her learning, made a progreſs to Oxford, where ſhe harangued the univerſity in Latin, to the no ſmall admiration of the ſtudents and the foreign ambaſſadors who attended. During her ſtay ſhe affected great concern for the proſperity of literature, and the welfare of the univerſity, which ſo endeared the members to her government, that ſhe became ever after the arbiter of all their diſputes. She had paid the like compliment two years before, but not with the like ſucceſs, to the univerſity of Cambridge.

Upon her return from Oxford, on the thirtieth of September, the parliament, which had, for various reaſons, been prorogued from time to time, ſat at Weſtminſter. The friends of Mary in England had now raiſed a powerful party in her favour, and it was reſolved to leave nothing undone that might induce Elizabeth at length to recognize her right to the crown after her own deceaſe. With this view the houſe of peers, which had hitherto declined touching on the delicate point of the ſucceſſion, now led the way, and the commons ſoon followed the example of the lords.

For Mr. Molyneux made a motion, that the affair of the ſubſidy (which had been moved at the opening of the ſeſſion, by ſir Francis Knolles and ſecretary Cecil) might go hand in hand with that of the ſucceſſion. The houſe in general expreſſed great ſatisfaction in the motion; but ſome of the privy counſellors, who knew how diſagreeable a ſubject it was to Elizabeth, ſought to divert it. They told the houſe, that ſhe pledged to them the word of a queen, that ſhe would marry as ſoon as ſhe could find a perſon to her liking; that the appointment of a ſucceſſor would expoſe her perſon to great danger; and that ſhe was determined to delay to a more proper opportunity the deciſion of that important queſtion. The houſe, not ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, and reſuming the ſubject with

ſome

ſome warmth, Elizabeth, on the ninth of November, ſent a meſſage by ſir Francis Knolles, expreſly commanding them to meddle no farther in the matter of the ſucceſſion, but to be contented with her promiſe to marry.

Upon this Paul Wentworth, a ſpirited member, made a motion that the queſtion ſhould be put, "Whether that meſſage was not a breach of privilege?" This brought on very warm debates; and, on the twelfth of the ſame month, the ſpeaker was ſent for, and ordered by Elizabeth to repeat to the houſe her commands againſt their meddling any farther in that matter. This threw the whole houſe into a flame; and ſuch ſtrong ſymptoms of diſcontent began to appear, that, on the twenty-fifth, ſhe found herſelf under a kind of neceſſity to revoke, by the mouth of the ſpeaker, her two former orders, by which ſhe had impoſed ſilence on the houſe in the affair of the ſucceſſion, and to allow the houſe liberty of debate.

They were ſo mollified by this gracious condeſcenſion, that they thenceforth conducted the matter with more calmneſs and temper, and they even voted her a ſupply, to be levied at three payments, of a ſubſidy and a fifteenth, without annexing any condition to it. But Elizabeth, thinking this was only meant as a ſweetener, to bring her to comply with their deſires, remitted a third part of the ſum, declaring, that ſhe looked upon money in her ſubjects purſe to be the ſame as if it were in her own Exchequer. Nevertheleſs, ſeveral very ſevere reflections were thrown out by ſome of the members againſt Cecil, on a ſuppoſition that he had the chief hand in adviſing Elizabeth to decline ſettling the ſucceſſion. Her phyſician Dr. Huick, who was a member of the houſe, had his ſhare likewiſe of cenſure, being charged with having frightened the queen from marriage, by perſuading her that it would be hurtful to the conſtitution and frame of her body. Theſe indecencies ruffled the queen ſo much, that, on the ſecond of January, ſhe put an end to the ſeſſion with a very ſmart ſpeech, reprimanding the members of both houſes for their eager meddling in the point of the ſucceſſion, and adviſing them not to try her patience for the future; declared ſhe knew how to diſtinguiſh the principal offenders from the reſt; and that the greateſt part of the members departed in her good graces. To ſhew, however, to the nation her own opinion as to the ſucceſſor, whoſe right there was no reaſon to doubt, ſhe impriſoned Thornton, reader of the law in Lincoln's Inn, upon a complaint from the queen of Scots that he had written and publiſhed a book againſt her right. It is not improbable that this affair would have been debated again in the next parliament, if, in the mean while, the queen of Scotland had not loſt herſelf by her ill conduct, and viſibly leſſened her party in England. But before we proceed to ſhew in what manner this happened, we ſhall cloſe the year 1566 with a brief account of the affairs of the Netherlands.

After Philip had quitted theſe provinces, in 1559, in order to reſide in Spain, the diſcontent of the nobles and people was grown to that height, that it was impoſſible for the affairs of that country to remain any longer in their preſent ſituation. This univerſal diſſatisfaction flowed from ſeveral cauſes: I. The people's belief that the king had formed a deſign to aboliſh their liberties and privileges, and eſtabliſh an arbitrary power. II. The erection of biſhoprics, which greatly leſſened the juriſdiction and revenues of the abbeys, in which many families were concerned. III. The Inquiſition, which was intended to be ſet up in theſe provinces, and which was little leſs abhorred by the catholics than by the proteſtants themſelves. IV. The prohibition to aſſemble the ſtates. V. The king's project to extirpate the heretics, who were now very numerous in that country. VI. And laſtly, the intereſt of the great men, who plainly ſaw how fatal to them the execution of the king's deſign would be. They had in vain, for ſeveral years, beſought their governeſs to aſſemble the ſtates, and prevent the calamities with which they foreſaw their country was ſoon going to be afflicted. Their requeſt was conſtantly rejected: this rigour had at length obliged the prince of Orange, count d'Egmont, count Horne, and ſeveral other lords, to withdraw from the council of ſtate, and write to the king. The cardinal de Granville had rendered himſelf ſo odious, that the worſt was to be feared if he continued any longer in the Low Countries: Philip not thinking proper to recal the cardinal directly, adviſed him however to withdraw. As ſoon as Granville was gone, the great men went and reſumed their places in the council.

Mean while the Inquiſition being univerſally abhorred, the people began to ſtir, and ſhew their reſolution to free themſelves from that yoke. The great men ſupported this reſolution, and with two motives; firſt, becauſe they perceived the Inquiſition muſt prove deſtructive of liberty: in the ſecond place, becauſe they were informed the king had taken terrible reſolutions againſt them, on account of what had paſſed about cardinal Granville: whereupon they formed a confederacy againſt the Inquiſition, and Lewis, count of Naſſau, brother to the prince of Orange, with four hundred attendants, preſented a petition to the governeſs. On this occaſion it was that the proteſtants received the name of Gueux, or Beggars. The governeſs not having the power to grant their requeſt, the proteſtants, of their own accord, took the liberty to preach publicly, and the governeſs was forced to ſuffer it, and at length expreſly to allow it. From that time Philip conſidered the people of the Low Countries as rebels; and they, for the moſt part, looked upon him as an unjuſt and cruel ſovereign, who required to be abſolute maſter of their eſtates, their bodies, and their ſouls. I ſhall enter no farther into theſe affairs: it ſuffices to have briefly ſhewn the ſpring of the troubles of the Netherlands, which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of ſometimes in the ſequel. I now return to the affairs of Scotland, which more nearly relate to England.

The earl of Bothwell, whoſe character we have already given, had by this time acquired the entire confidence of Mary, and all her meaſures were directed by his advice and authority. Reports were ſpread of more particular intimacies and familiarities between them, and theſe reports gained ground from the continuance, or rather increaſe, of Mary's hatred to her huſband. The queen ſeems to have been ſtung with theſe reproaches; for, on Darnley's falling ſick, about the middle of January, 1567, at Glaſgow, where he had for ſome time reſided, ſhe, in defiance of the inclemency of the ſeaſon, the badneſs of the roads, and her own weakneſs ſo ſoon after lying-in, made a journey from Edinburgh

Edinburgh on purpoſe to viſit him, and behaved to him on this occaſion with the greateſt tenderneſs, forgetting in the duty ſhe owed him as a wife, the cauſes of reſentment he had given her as his ſovereign. This ſtep gave great pleaſure to all thoſe who wiſhed well to her character, and they flattered themſelves with the hopes of a ſpeedy reconciliation, eſpecially when it was found that ſhe had brought the king along with her to Edinburgh, and ſeemed diſpoſed to live with him on terms more ſuitable to the connexions between them: but theſe hopes were ſoon overturned by a fatal accident, which was the aſtoniſhment of every one, and which brought upon Mary a load of blackeſt infamy; with what juſtice will beſt appear when we come in a few years to treat of this event, as becoming an Engliſh concern.

The queen lived in the palace of Holyrood houſe, but as the ſituation of that place was low and unhealthy, and the concourſe of perſons about the court was neceſſarily attended with noiſe, Darnley was lodged in a houſe in the Kirk Field, a place in the more healthful ſuburbs of the town. Here the queen continued to viſit him with the moſt endearing marks of affection, and ſome nights lay in a room in the ſaid houſe. It happened that on the ninth of February, one of the queen's maids of honour was married, and Mary, to ſhew her regard for a favourite ſervant, reſolved to honour the ceremony with her preſence, and therefore returned not that night out of the city. About two o'clock in the morning, the whole town was much alarmed with a violent noiſe, which, to the amazement of every one, proved to be from the blowing up of the houſe in which the king lodged, whoſe dead body was found at a diſtance in a neighbouring field. Buchanan and others, who have delighted in raking for every circumſtance that can poſſibly fix an odium upon Mary's character, pretend that the whole was a plot concerted between her and Bothwell; that her aſſiſting at the marriage of her ſervant was merely a pretext to be out of the way when the deed was performed; and they add, that when the dead body of Darnley was diſcovered, his ſhirt was not the leaſt ſinged with flame, his ſlippers lay juſt by him, and that ſome black and blue marks were ſeen round his neck, whence they would infer that he was ſtrangled before the houſe was blown up. But this ſuppoſition is contradicted by the confeſſion of the criminals; and there is no neceſſity to admit it in order to account for the condition of his body: there are many inſtances that men's lives have been ſaved, who have been blown up in ſhips; had Henry fallen into the water, he had not probably been killed.

No doubt, however, could be entertained but Henry was murdered, and the general conjecture ſoon pointed out Bothwell as the author of that crime. As to Mary, ſhe cauſed the body of Darnley to be interred with as much pomp as the ſour manners of the proteſtants in her court would admit of, in a vault, where, to ocular demonſtration, it yet reſts, with the remains of other royal perſonages, contrary to the infamous falſhood of Buchanan, who has made Mary mingle his duſt with that of the ignoble Rizzio. According to Leſlie, Mary was inconſolable on this occaſion: ſhe ſhut herſelf up in the caſtle of Edinburgh, and could not be drawn from the melancholy life ſhe led there, but by the repeated remonſtrances of her council, and the advice of her phyſicians.

In the mean while, it appears from authentic papers, that ſhe omitted nothing to bring the authors of her huſband's murder to juſtice; and even the earl of Lenox, father of the deceaſed king, expreſſed under his own hand his ſatisfaction in that reſpect: but he adviſed her to call a meeting of parliament, as the moſt effectual courſe for diſcovering the truth. Mary readily agreed to this; and the earl of Lenox having named Bothwell and ſix others whom he ſuſpected, on the twenty-eighth of March an order was made by the privy-council of Scotland for the trial of Bothwell and his ſuppoſed accomplices. This trial came on the twelfth of April, proper notice having been given to the earl of Lenox to come prepared with his witneſſes: but whether he was conſcious that he had no convincing proofs to bring beſides the vulgar ſuſpicion, which was pretty general indeed, or that he thought himſelf too weak in point of intereſt, he did not think proper to appear againſt Bothwell, who was conſequently acquitted, as no perſon appeared to carry on the proſecution. Then a good number of the nobility engaged in a bond, acquitting Bothwell of the murder, and engaging to maintain his innocence with their bodies, heritage, and goods. The earls of Murray, Morton, and Argyll, were among the chief of thoſe who ſigned this bond, which may account for Bothwell's inſolence during the parliament which immediately ſucceeded his acquittal.

This nobleman being, as he thought, immoveably confirmed in the great authority he had aſſumed in the government, by the late bond ſubſcribed by the principal nobility of Scotland, began now to open the whole project of his ambition, which terminated in the enjoyment of Mary as a wife, and he reſolved to marry her by force, if he could not obtain her voluntary conſent. With this view he raiſed a body of eight hundred men, and, intercepting her on her return from Stirling, where ſhe had been to viſit the young prince her ſon, conveyed her to his caſtle of Dunbar, where he completed his rape. All this, it muſt be confeſſed, appears to have paſſed without any reſiſtance on Mary's part; and, though it does not appear by any evidence, that Mary could of herſelf ſo much as ſuſpect Bothwell to be the author of her huſband's death, yet ſhe doubtleſs acted very imprudently, not to give it a worſe term, to ſmile upon him while he was committing a double rape upon her perſon and dignity.

Next followed a very illegal divorce between the earl of Bothwell and his counteſs; and Bothwell brought Mary to Edinburgh caſtle, ſtill with an appearance of force. Some of the nobility, however, in order to put matters to a fair trial, ſent her a private meſſage, in which they told her, that if in reality ſhe lay under force, they would uſe all their efforts to relieve her; but Bothwell, to remove this and all other difficulties, got many of the principal lords of the council to ſign a paper, which was ſomething between a petition and a command that the queen ſhould marry him. Seeing the chief part of her nobility combined, and Murray's, Morton's, and Bothwell's factions united in this affair, and reflecting on the troubles of her reign, the parties that diſtracted the kingdom, the continual danger

ger of inſurrections, and her own inability to govern them without the aſſiſtance of her nobility, ſhe found herſelf under the neceſſity of conforming to the petition in the paper delivered to her, which fatally operated to her ruin by her giving her hand to Bothwell, on the fifteenth of May, after having granted him a pardon for all offences, and created him duke of the Orkneys.

The news of this tranſaction being carried to foreign countries, filled all Europe with amazement, and threw infamy not only on the principal actors in them, but alſo on the whole nation, who ſeemed, by their ſubmiſſion and ſilence, and alſo by their declared approbation, to give their ſanction to theſe ſcandalous practices. As to Bothwell, not ſatisfied with the honour of eſpouſing his ſovereign, he endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of the young prince, who had been committed to the care of the lord Erſkine, lately created earl of Marr; but this nobleman refuſed to part with his charge. This attempt excited the moſt ſerious attention; and the principal nobility, to whom Bothwell had rendered himſelf extremely hateful by his overbearing inſolence, even many of thoſe who had formerly ſigned the application in favour of his marriage with Mary, met at Stirling, and formed an aſſociation for protecting the prince, and puniſhing the murderers of the late king. The earl of Athol himſelf, a known catholic, was the firſt author of this confederacy: the earls of Argyll, Morton, Marr, Glencairn, the lords Boyd, Lindſey, Hume, Sempil, Kirkaldy of Grainge, Tullibardin, and ſecretary Maitland, entered zealouſly into it. The earl of Murray, foreſeeing ſuch turbulent times, and being deſirous to keep free from theſe dangerous factions, had ſome time before deſired and obtained Mary's permiſſion to retire into France.

Bothwell, by his inſolence, ſwelled his guilt: he challenged to fight any man who ſhould accuſe him of the murder; and even treated the queen herſelf with the greateſt brutality, inſomuch that ſhe paſſed almoſt the whole day in tears, and once even called for a knife to ſtab herſelf, not being able to bear the indignities offered her by this ungrateful wretch, whom ſhe had ſo highly honoured by taking to her bed.

Mean while the aſſociated lords having gotten together a large body of men, with all imaginable diligence and ſecrecy, marched, on the ſixth of June, to ſurprize the queen and Bothwell in Holyrood-houſe. They had undoubtedly ſucceeded in their deſign, had it not been for an advertiſement ſent her by one of their number, ſuppoſed to be either Argyll or Boyd, who ſoon after quitted their party. Upon this notice ſhe retired with Bothwell to the caſtle of Borthwick, which the aſſociators reſolved to beſiege: and the lord Hume coming before it with eight hundred men, Bothwell fled to the Marches, while the queen was conſtrained to make her eſcape, in mens cloaths, to the caſtle of Dunbar, which was capable of holding out till her friends could come to her ſuccour. Thus diſappointed in their firſt project of ſeizing the queen's perſon, the lords marched to Edinburgh, where they knew the people were generally on their ſide; and, being admitted into the city, they publiſhed, on the twelfth of June, a proclamation, declaring their deſigns to be only "for taking revenge on Bothwell, who had murdered the late king, had raviſhed and detained priſoner the queen, and was now raiſing forces in order to murder the prince likewiſe; and ordering all who would not aſſiſt them, to quit the place in four hours, on pain of being treated as enemies.

The queen, in the mean time, was raiſing forces for her defence, and the country came in ſo faſt to her aid, that ſhe would ſoon have been much ſuperior to her enemies; but being ill adviſed, ſhe quitted Dunbar on the fourteenth of June, and advanced, with about four thouſand men, to Preſton, where ſhe joined the earl of Bothwell. The aſſociators marched the next morning out of Edinburgh, came, about noon, in view of the queen's forces, which were poſted on Carberry-hill, and the armies prepared for an engagement. Le Croix, the French ambaſſador, an aged gentleman of honour and character, interpoſed his good offices for an accommodation: with this view he went to the aſſociated lords, and aſſured them of their ſovereign's inclination to peace, and readineſs to forgive what they had done amiſs: but Morton telling him they had taken arms, not againſt the queen, but the late king's murderer, and would admit of peace on no condition but either her delivering him up, or removing him from her preſence; and Glencairn adding, that they were not come to ask pardon for any offence they had done, but to puniſh ſuch as had offended; the ambaſſador, judging by theſe haughty replies, that nothing was to be done, took leave of the queen, and rode off to Edinburgh.

All hopes of an accommodation being now at an end, and the queen perceiving a viſible backwardneſs in her officers and men to draw their ſwords in her cauſe, ſo long as Bothwell remained with her, ſhe, in this extremity, took the fatal reſolution of ſubmitting to her enemies, and ſent to deſire to ſpeak with Kirkaldy, laird of Grange; who arriving, declared to her, that the confederates deſired nothing elſe than that ſhe ſhould ſend away the murderer of her huſband. After ſome bravadoes of Bothwell, in which he diſcovered more inſolence than courage, he thought proper to retire ſecretly, while the queen, upon Kirkaldy's promiſes of good treatment, delivered her perſon into his care, who, taking her horſe by the bridle, led her down the hill, and delivered her into the hands of the confederates, by whom ſhe was conducted to Edinburgh, where the populace treated her with the utmoſt indignity. From her palace of Holyrood-houſe ſhe was ſent, under a ſtrong guard, to the caſtle of Lochleven, belonging to William Douglas, uterine brother to the earl of Murray, who received an order, ſigned by the aſſociated lords, to detain her in ſafe cuſtody. This was a houſe ſituated in the middle of a lake, and inacceſſible on all ſides but by a boat. But the moſt ingenious part of their cruelty conſiſted in committing her to the cuſtody of the earl of Murray's mother, who pretended to have been married to James V. Mary's father, and that her ſon, the earl of Murray, was the fruit of that marriage; hence ſhe was an irreconcileable enemy to all the legitimate branches of the houſe of Stuart, and ſhe omitted no occaſion to inſult and maltreat the captive queen.

As to Bothwell, he fled unattended to Dunbar; and, fitting out ſome ſhips, ſet ſail for the Orkneys, where he ſubſiſted during ſome time by piracy. He was purſued thither by Kirkaldy, and his ſhip

taken with ſeveral of his ſervants; Bothwell himſelf eſcaped in a boat, and found means to get a paſſage over to Denmark, where he was thrown into priſon, loſt his ſenſes, and died miſerably about ten years afterwards. An end worthy of his flagitious conduct and behaviour.

Elizabeth's conduct during thoſe misfortunes of her kinſwoman, was irreproachable; and though the conſpirators undoubtedly truſted to be ſupported by her, yet, upon the ſtricteſt enquiry, it does not appear that ſhe had any hand at this time in the troubles of Scotland. On the contrary, on the thirtieth of June, ſhe ordered Throgmorton to ſet out for Scotland, and there to inform himſelf fully of Mary's ſituation, and to promiſe her all the aid in her power: though Throgmorton was at the ſame time entruſted to expoſtulate very freely with her upon the imprudencies of her conduct; which ſhe received with a flood of tears, and acknowleged her miſtakes. This miniſter had at the ſame time orders to talk roundly to the confederates, and to threaten them, in his miſtreſs's name, to force them to ſet their ſovereign at liberty, if they refuſed to do it of their own accord.

Throgmorton, however, found the confederates entrenched within the inſolence of ſucceſs, and that they were acting in ſuch a manner as may naturally be expected from ſubjects who have their future fears to provide againſt, as well as their preſent animoſities to gratify. The aſſociated lords were determined to proceed with the greateſt ſeverity againſt the queen, but they were divided in their opinions what to do with her: ſome would have her baniſhed perpetually into England or France; ſome would have her brought to a trial in open court, as an acceſſary to the death of her huſband, committed to perpetual impriſonment, and her infant-ſon proclaimed king; another party ſtill more inhuman, wanted at once to deprive her of princely authority, and even of life itſelf; Knox and the other fanatic proteſtant preachers in particular were for this laſt bloody expedient, which they recommended with all the inſolent rage of enthuſiaſm from the pulpit *. Throgmorton ſupported the mildeſt propoſal; but, though he promiſed his miſtreſs's guarantee for the performance of articles, he declared, in Elizabeth's name, that ſhe was determined not to ſee her ſiſter oppreſſed by her rebellious ſubjects; and warned them not to draw upon themſelves, by their violences, the public reproach which now lay upon the queen. He found, however, that, excepting ſecretary Maitland, he had not the good fortune to convince any of the leaders, and was fain to accept of (all he could get from them) a writing, without any ſubſcription, wherein they proteſted that they had ſhut up the queen for no other intent but to keep her from Bothwell, whom ſhe loved ſo deſperately, that, for the enjoyment of his company, ſhe would not heſitate to compaſs the ruin of them all, with that of her country; at the ſame time profeſſing all the duty imaginable to her royal perſon, and that ſhe ſhould be reſtored to her liberty the inſtant proper enquiry had been made into the murder of her huſband: proteſtations which their actions and behaviour towards the unhappy princeſs daily gave the lie to.

For now they doubled the rigour of her confinement, and even denied Throgmorton all acceſs to her perſon; nay, though with tears ſhe beſought them to deal more mildly with her, and to let her have but one ſight of her ſon, theſe fiends of rebellion denied her even this conſolation, ſo dear to the heart of every tender parent. Conſcious, however, that it was neceſſary for them to have the form at leaſt of the ancient government of the realm, to countenance their traiterous proceedings, they reſolved at laſt to force her, by the threats of whatever could ſhake her conſtancy, not ſparing even menaces of death, to make her comply with their views; and being by this time afraid of Elizabeth's reſentment, and that of other powers, they came to a reſolution of ſending the lord Lindſey, one of Mary's moſt deſperate enemies, with three inſtruments, ready drawn, to be ſigned by her: the firſt, conſtituting the earl of Murray, who was then out of the kingdom, regent during her ſon's nonage, and in the mean while eſtabliſhing a council for the exerciſe of the regal authority until that earl's return, and a power to continue, in caſe he ſhould refuſe to accept the commiſſion: the next was an inſtrument of demiſſion from Mary, in favour of her ſon: and the laſt, an abſolute commiſſion for Murray to act as regent, without any mention of a council. The earls of Athol and Marr, ſecretary Maitland, and Kirkaldy of Grainge, in great concern for the queen's life, ſent her their advice by ſir Robert Melvill, to ſign them, ſince no act that ſhe did under dureſs could be of any validity. Throgmorton ſent her the ſame advice in a letter which Melvill was prevailed upon to carry her, concealed in the ſcabbard of his ſword; but ſhe could not be perſuaded to follow it, till the ruffian Lindſey and his aſſociates came to her, who acted their parts with as much brutality as their principals could have wiſhed; and having terrified her almoſt out of her ſenſes, by their inhuman threats, ſhe ſubmitted to the neceſſity, and, with a flood of tears, which prevented her from reading a word of the contents, ſhe ſigned the inſtruments on the twenty-fourth of July; and theſe being preſented the next day to the pretended council of the faction, at Edinburgh, Morton accepted her reſignation, "in the name of the three eſtates of Scotland," from whom he had no powers, and who were not ſo much as mentioned in the inſtrument, the reſignation being made only in the prince's favour; a deviation from the commiſſion ſufficient, in law and equity, to invalidate the action, with all ſubſequent proceedings thereon. The unhappy queen however found means to convey to Throgmorton a letter to Elizabeth, wherein ſhe declared all that ſhe had done, as having been extorted from her by the terrors of immediate death.

In conſequence of this forced reſignation, the young prince, then about thirteen months old, was, five days afterwards, viz. on the twenty-ninth of July, proclaimed king, by the name of James VI. He was ſoon after crowned at Stirling, and the earl of Morton took in his name the coronation-oath, in which a promiſe to extirpate hereſy was not forgot. Some republican pretenſions in favour of the people's power were countenanced at the ceremony, and a coin was ſoon after ſtruck, on which the fa-

* At the ſame time Buchanan publiſhed his elegant, but infamous, Latin pamphlet, De jure regni apud Scotos (Of the Scottiſh Government), wherein, contrary to all eſtabliſhed truth, he endeavours to prove, that the people have power to create and depoſe their king at will; and ſeeks to found facts which never exiſted, upon principles that never can be diſputed.

mous saying of Trajan was inscribed, "PRO ME, SI MEREOR, IN ME, — For me, if I deserve it, against me." Throgmorton had orders from his mistress, who was punctually informed of all these transactions, not to assist at the coronation of the king of Scotland; and a protestation was put in by the Hamiltons, that all this ought to be no prejudice to the duke of Chatelerault, in his right of succession over the family of Lenox.

About the twelfth of August the earl of Murray returned out of France to Scotland, and, in a few days after his arrival, went to visit the queen in her prison, to whom he behaved with great harshness, upbraiding her for her supposed crimes and real inadvertencies, and talked to her (says Throgmorton, in one of his letters to Elizabeth) rather like a ghostly father than a counsellor. Sometimes the queen wept bitterly, sometimes she acknowleged her unadvisedness and misgovernment; and, looking for nothing less, at the hands of her rebellious lords, but an ignominious death, or perpetual confinement, she had recourse to her brother Murray, now as her only friend. This was the very point which the perfidious earl wanted to bring her, and he at last consented to stand her friend, but on condition that she should not attempt to regain her liberty, to meddle in the affairs of government, or to excite either the crowns of France or England to stir in her cause. It was no wonder if a princess surrounded, as Mary was, by mercileſs traitors, and fearing what they might do, from the experience of what they had done, was wrought to confess crimes they charged her with, of which perhaps she was never guilty, and to promise every thing that was required of her.

As to Murray, that he had held a private correspondence, not only with the Scottish rebels, but with Mary's enemies in England, appears very plain by a letter from Cecil to sir Henry Norris, the English resident in France, dated so far back as the twenty-sixth of June, part of which the reader will find in the note†: there is, moreover, great reason to suspect that he had other intentions of a very black nature; for, not to mention other particulars, he brought with him from France an agent, who offered the services of the French king to the lords, in case Elizabeth should proceed against them; but being denied access to Mary, the ambassador seemed very cold in soliciting: yet this very man (Murray) did the distressed broken-spirited queen, in one of his visits to her, beseech, with tears in her eyes, to take upon him the regency, the government of her son, and the custody of her jewels, which he accepted with an insolent condescension; and, upon a second visit, deigned to give her assurances of the preservation of her life and honour, but would promise nothing as to her liberty.

Murray being proclaimed regent, signed an instrument, by which he bound himself to do nothing which should concern either war or peace, the king's person, or his marriage, or the liberty of the queen, without the consent of the confederates; and then gave Throgmorton warning, by secretary Maitland, not to make any farther intercession for the queen's liberty, for that he, and the rest of the party, would run the hazard of all events rather then suffer it. He soon after convoked a parliament at Edinburgh, in which he broke, in the most public manner, all terms of decency with the unhappy Mary: for that assembly, after voting that she was undoubtedly an accomplice in her husband's murder, condemned her to imprisonment, ratified her demission of the crown, and acknowleged her son for king, and Murray for regent.

His power thus confirmed, Murray, who was a man of vigour and abilities, employed himself successfully in reducing the kingdom. He bribed sir James Balfour to surrender the castle of Edinburgh, which had hitherto held out for the queen; he constrained the garrison of Dunbar castle to open their gates, and he demolished that fortress. He signed a warrant for the execution of Dalgleish, Powry, and two others, servants of Bothwell, who had been taken, tried, and convicted of assisting in the king's murder: but it is not a little to Mary's honour, that, with their dying breath, they solemnly protested, before God and his angels, that they had heard Bothwell declare, that Murray and Morton were the contrivers of the murder, and that the queen was intirely innocent. This was a strong vindication of Mary, and did not fail to operate to such a degree amongst the wiser and more dutiful part of her subjects, that the conspirators had now no safety but in continuing her bondage. It is now time to turn to the affairs of England.

Towards the beginning of this year Elizabeth was alarmed with a copy of the league which has been already mentioned to have been signed by the Roman catholic powers, for the extirpation of the protestant religion: but the malignity of it was in a great measure diverted by the progress of the troubles in the Low Countries, of which we have, in the close of the last year, given some account.

Though the chief attention of Elizabeth, this year, was turned to the affairs of Scotland, yet she did not forget what was owing to her own and her subjects interests in other countries. The term of eight years since the treaty of Chateau Cambresis being now expired, sir Thomas Smith was sent over to Picardy, in April, with Winter, master of the ordnance, to demand the restitution of Calais, which they accordingly claimed by sound of trumpet, at one of the gates of that town, in presence of a public notary and several witnesses. But the French, without any regard to the faith of treaties to which their king had sworn, absolutely refused to restore that town to England: and Elizabeth, whose policy was to spin out a long and peaceable reign, if she could, by putting herself in a capacity to defend and maintain her possession of the throne against all attempts, did not care to be the aggressor, nor invade so powerful a neighbour as France; so the matter dropped for the present.

Whilst this matter was in agitation, the count de Stolberg came into England from the emperor Maximilian, to renew the treaty for a marriage between his brother the archduke Charles, and Eli-

† "At this time I send unto you certain pacquets of letters, left here by Mr. Melvill, who lately came hither from the queen of Scots. The sending of these to my lord of Murray requireth great haste, whereof you may not make the Scottish ambassador privy; but I think you may make Robert Stuart privy, with whom you may confer for the speedy sending away of the same letters. His return into Scotland is much desired of them, and for the weal both of England and Scotland. I wish he was here (i. e. in England.) And for his manner of returning, touching his safety, I pray require Mr. Stuart to have a good care." Cabala.

zabeth,

zabeth, who, either to pleaſe her ſubjects, or from ſome other political view, ſeemed to favour the motion. The earl of Suſſex, who had been juſt before ſent to inveſt the emperor with the order of the Garter, did all in his power to farther this match; but it was as ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the earl of Leiceſter, with reaſons drawn from the inconveniencies of engaging in ſo cloſe an alliance with a foreigner, which he ſaid England had ſo ſeverely experienced in the late reign: in a word, this treaty, which had been carrying on, at different times, for ſeven years, was, after long debates touching the maintenance of Charles, his aſſuming the title of King, and the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion, was now entirely broken off, on account of the difference in point of religion; and the archduke ſoon after married Mary, daughter to Albert V. duke of Bavaria.

In this ſame year (1567) John Baſilowitz, grand-duke of Muſcovy (ſince called Ruſſia), ſent ambaſſadors to queen Elizabeth, with propoſals of a league offenſive and defenſive, and to renew and confirm the privileges he had granted to the Engliſh Muſcovy company. But Elizabeth fearing ſuch a treaty of alliance might engage her in quarrels foreign to her intereſt, wiſely evaded the propoſal, and contented herſelf with ſending Anthony Jenkinſon (who had been for ſome years reſident in that country, and was the firſt Engliſhman who ventured through the Caſpian ſea into the territories of the Bactrians) back with the ambaſſador, giving him a commiſſion to execute ſome private treaties, by which means the Engliſh obtained ſeveral very valable privileges, and, amongſt others, an excluſive trade for the abovementioned company to Archangel.

Whilſt the queen was procuring advantages to her ſubjects in point of commerce, ſhe ſaw an happy end put to the dangerous commotions which had for ſome time diſturbed the peace of Ireland, and had coſt her great ſums to endeavour to ſuppreſs: this deſirable event was brought about by the vigilance, conduct, and valour of ſir Henry Sidney, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom.

Shan O' Neil had tyrannized over the inhabitants of Ulſter, reduced Armagh to aſhes, expelled Macguire from his paternal inheritance, ravaged the lands of Macguire, and others, who were under the protection of the Engliſh, and openly rebelled againſt Elizabeth: but upon his ſubmiſſion ſhe created him baron of Dungannon and earl of Tyrone. Not ſatisfied with theſe honours, he aſſembled an army of his vaſſals, aſſumed the title of King of Ulſter, and offered to hold the kingdom of Ireland under the ſovereignty of Mary, queen of Scotland. Randolph, a brave warrior, being ſent againſt him by the lord-lieutenant, routed him with great ſlaughter at Derry, though the victor loſt his life in the engagement. Shan fled to the bogs and faſtneſſes, while ſir Henry Sidney built ſome fortreſſes to ſtraiten him in his quarters, and re-eſtabliſhed O' Donnel, who had been driven from his country. But Sidney being called away, to compromiſe a quarrel between the earls of Ormond and Deſmond, Shan re-aſſembled a body of troops, and attacked Dundalk, from whence he was repulſed by the garriſon, though he carried off O' Donnel's wife, and retired to Clandeboy, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the Scottiſh Highlanders, who had formerly joined his adverſaries, and been defeated by his forces; he had even ſlain two brothers of the Highland chieftain's, who received him with ſeeming courtſey; but whether they had determined to make away with him, or he provoked them over his cups with brutal language touching the chaſtity, of their mother, they ſlew him with all his company. Though he left two legitimate ſons, his eſtate was confiſcated by the Iriſh parliament, and Tirlogh O' Neil was, by the queen's permiſſion, elected chief of the ſept, by the appellation of O' Neil. Nevertheleſs, as a check upon this new chief, ſhe received into favour Shan's nephew Hugh, baron of Dungannon, a young man of a very intriguing genius. The diſorders of Ulſter being thus appeaſed, the quarrel between the earls of Ormond and Deſmond, who had fought a battle near Dromiſh, was partly quieted by the authority of the lord-lieutenant, who was afterwards obliged to ſurprize Deſmond and his uncle, near Killmalloc, and ſend them priſoners to England.

This year, on the eighth of June, ſir Thomas Sackville, anceſtor to the preſent duke of Dorſet, was created baron of Buckhurſt. And the duke of Norfolk, who was alſo greatly in favour with the queen, loſt his ducheſs this year; ſhe was his third wife, and he had not lived with her above twelve months; her name was Elizabeth, ſhe was daughter of ſir Francis Leybourne, knight, and widow of Thomas, lord Dacres, of Gilleſland: by her death the duke unfortunately ſaw himſelf in a condition to form projects which proved his deſtruction.

The affairs of the Low Countries were much altered during this year. The great men were divided, and ſeveral had betrayed the common cauſe. The prince of Orange was withdrawn to his government, count Horn to his own town, and count Egmont continued with the governeſs, who, improving the diſſenſion, revoked whatever ſhe had been obliged to grant to the reformed. Then ſhe ſent for forces out of Germany, and raiſed ſome Walloon regiments. Soon after Philip II. reſolved to ſend the duke of Alva into the Low Countries, with an army of native Spaniards, to chaſtize both the nobles and the people: whereupon the prince of Orange retiring into Germany, the duke of Alva entered the country at the head of his army, without any oppoſition. On his arrival at Bruſſels, the ducheſs of Parma put the government into his hands, and then the duke exerciſed cruelties which it is needleſs to relate, ſince they are univerſally known: the counts of Egmont and Horn loſt their lives by the hands of the executioner, whilſt Montigny ſuffered the ſame puniſhment in Spain, and all the prince of Orange's lands were confiſcated.

On the other hand, the court of France, under colour of fearing the duke of Alva, who was to paſs near their frontiers, levied ſix thouſand Switzers, with deſign to extirpate the Huguenots, whilſt the duke of Alva ſhould do the ſame in the Netherlands, purſuant to the agreement at Bayonne. It is eaſy to ſee, that at ſuch a juncture Elizabeth could not attempt the recovery of Calais; it was ſufficient if ſhe could avert the flames which threatened England. Mean while the prince of Condé, having difficultly eſcaped the ſnares of the court, re-aſſembled the Huguenots, by the admiral's aſſiſtance, and had very near ſucceeded in his deſign of carrying off the king at Meaux. After that diſappointment, he went and blocked up Paris.

In

In ſhort, on the tenth of November was fought, at the gates of Paris, a battle, wherein the conſtable de Montmorency was ſlain. This action not being deciſive, the prince marched to meet Caſimir, count Palatine, who was bringing him a reinforcement of three thouſand foot and ſix thouſand five hundred horſe: in September, la Noue, one of the chiefs of the Huguenots, took Orleans. Thus all the neighbouring countries of England, namely, Scotland, France, and the Low Countries, were in trouble and confuſion, whilſt the Engliſh, by the wiſe management of the queen, enjoyed a profound peace.

It was, however, at the expence of her own, that Elizabeth ſecured the repoſe of her people. She had to fear both at home and abroad, and conſequently was obliged to attend perpetually as well to foreign as domeſtic affairs, in order to prevent the deſigns of her enemies. The ſtate of the Huguenots in France made her very uneaſy; their enemies were likewiſe her's, and as there was little appearance of their withſtanding the catholics, who were an hundred to one, and ſupported by the royal authority, ſhe was apprehenſive that, after their extirpation, the ſtorm would fall upon England. It was ſcarce to be doubted that the war which was waging at once with the proteſtants of France and the Low Countries, was the effect of the mutual councils of the French and Spaniſh courts, and that the deſtruction of the proteſtant religion was the principal object theſe two courts had in view; Elizabeth therefore thought it abſolutely neceſſary to let the king of France know ſhe was concerned for the preſervation of the Huguenots, whatever reaſon ſhe might have to complain of their behaviour to her. To that purpoſe ſhe ordered Norris, her ambaſſador to Charles IX. to intercede earneſtly for them, and give him to underſtand ſhe knew her own intereſt too well to ſuffer them to be entirely ruined. Theſe threats from England, the reſolution of the Huguenots, and their aſſiſtance from Germany, produced a good effect, and procured them a peace; but it was only a treacherous peace, wherein the court intended only to deceive them, and which, for that reaſon, was afterwards called the Lame Peace. Catherine de Medici, knowing it would not be long before the war was rekindled, reſolved to be before-hand to prevent Elizabeth from aſſiſting the Huguenots. To that end ſhe began now to hint to the Engliſh ambaſſador a marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou, who was but ſeventeen years of age: but we ſhall have occaſion elſewhere to ſpeak of the ſequel of this project.

Philip, who was now become an implacable foe to Elizabeth, as well on account of the zeal ſhe had ſhewn for the reſtoration of the reformed religion, as through reſentment of her refuſal of him for her huſband, took this opportunity to ſhew his enmity againſt her, by confining her ambaſſador, Mann, on ſome frivolous pretence, to his own houſe. On the other hand, ſir John Hawkins, an Engliſh merchant, who was gone to trade in the Bay of Mexico, with five ſhips, by virtue of the treaty between Charles V. and Henry VIII. was inſulted by the Spaniſh fleet, which took and rifled three of his ſhips. Theſe outrages were very grievous to Elizabeth, eſpecially as the merchants loudly murmured, and were importunate for a war with Spain; but ſhe did not think proper then to ſhew her reſentment, for fear of being engaged farther than the ſituation of her affairs would permit. She had the more reaſon not to enter into a war of this nature, as at the ſame time the affairs of Scotland, which touched her more nearly, took a new turn, and might be to her of very great conſequence.

While Mary continued in priſon at Lochleven, ſhe found means ſo far to mollify the hearts of her jailors, that, on Lady-day, 1568, ſome of them undertook to favour her eſcape, which ſhe attempted in the habit of a laundreſs; but one of the boatmen diſcovered her by the whiteneſs of her hand, which ſhe put up to prevent her muffiers from dropping from her face: the fellows were ſo honeſt to their maſter, the keeper of the caſtle, as to row her back, notwithſtanding her commands, but ſo humane to her as to conceal her attempt, notwithſtanding their danger in ſo doing. Murray, on his part, was too ſecure to give much heed to the repeated advertiſement he received of Mary's meditating an eſcape, and had the inſolence to refuſe a new ambaſſador from France, one Beaumont, a man of great quality, admiſſion to her.

Mary's next attempt, however, proved more ſucceſsful. She found means, by her charms and careſſes, to gain the confidence of Charles Douglas (brother to William Douglas, lord of the caſtle and iſle to which ſhe was confined), a youth only in the eighteenth year of his age, who, unable to reſiſt the temptation of ſo much beauty, ſuing to him in diſtreſs, yielded to her importunities, and drew others into a plot to effect her flight; and on Sunday, the ſecond day of May, while his brother was at ſupper, and the reſt of the family engaged in their devotions, he ſtole the keys out of his brother's chamber, and opening the gates to the queen and one of her maids, locked them behind her, and threw the keys into the loch; then getting into a ſmall boat, rowed her to the ſhore, where, upon a ſignal given (and previouſly concerted) the lord Seaton, James Hamilton of Rochbank, and John Bethune of Pillochie, came down to the ſhore, with a few ſervants, and received the queen with the utmoſt tranſports of joy. She inſtantly mounted on horſeback, and rode towards Hamilton, where ſhe was ſoon joined by numbers of the nobility, with their friends and dependants. A bond of aſſociation was formed for her defence, and ſigned by the earls of Argyll, Huntley, Eglinton, Crawfurd, Caſſils, Roſs, Montroſe, Sutherland, Errol, nine biſhops, the ſame number of barons, and a great poſſe of the moſt conſiderable gentry: and in a few days ſhe found herſelf at the head of an army amounting to no leſs than ſix thouſand men.

So ſudden a revolution in favour of a princeſs, who, but a day before, ſeemed abandoned to all the world, and doomed to drag out the remains of a wretched life in a loathſome priſon, may ſeem to border upon the romantic; it may therefore be neceſſary to aſſign the cauſes which apparently produced this unforeſeen effect. It muſt be obſerved then, that, notwithſtanding the univerſal ſubmiſſion which was paid to the regent's authority, there ſtill remained in the kingdom many ſecret murmurs and cabals: the friends of the houſe of Hamilton conſidered Murray's promotion to the regency as an injury to the duke of Chatelerault, who, as firſt prince of the blood, had, in their opinion, the beſt title to that office: all thoſe who leaned to the ancient opinions in religion, were

naturally inclined to favour the intereſts of Mary; and even the people in general, though they had formerly deteſted her crime, or condemned her imprudence, in being ſo cloſely connected with Bothwell, the murderer of her huſband, now that obnoxious perſon was removed, began to be touched with pity for the unhappy condition of their impriſoned ſovereign, and lamented that a perſon, endowed with ſo many amiable qualities, and poſſeſſed of ſuch high dignity, ſhould be ſubjected to ſuch hard and ſevere treatment. Moved by theſe conſiderations, many of the principal nobility began to aſſemble at Hamilton, and to concert meaſures for ſupporting the cauſe of their oppreſſed ſovereign. Such was the favourable diſpoſition of the nation towards Mary, when ſhe received her liberty in a manner no leſs ſurprizing to her friends, than unexpected by and mortifying to her enemies.

Among the firſt ſteps that Mary took, after her eſcape, ſhe diſpatched Bethune, a perſon of abilities, and one who had been very inſtrumental in her releaſe, with a letter to Elizabeth, to acquaint her with the tranſaction, and to demand of her a body of forces to act againſt her rebel ſubjects: but as Bethune was ordered, after having obtained an audience of Elizabeth, to proceed to France, to aſk an aid from that king likewiſe, Elizabeth thought proper to ſend Leighton, a gentleman of her court, to Scotland, to aſſure Mary of her readineſs to aſſiſt her, both with her good offices in the way of mediation between her and the male-contents, and with a body of forces if the exigence of circumſtances ſhould require it; but, as ſhe was afraid of the entrance of French troops into a kingdom ſo nearly bordering on her own, ſhe begged that the difference between Mary and her ſubjects might be left entirely to her arbitration, and that no foreign ſuccours might be invited or ſuffered to enter into Scotland.

The intention of Mary was to avail herſelf of the general good diſpoſition of her ſubjects in her favour, and to have retired to the ſtrong caſtle of Dunbarton, there to wait till ſhe could be either reſtored to her throne in a parliamentary way, or be reinforced from England or France, ſo as to cruſh the oppoſition: ſhe had even taken ſome ſteps towards bringing on a treaty with Murray, by means of ſecretary Maitland and Kirkaldy of Grainge; and had alſo employed Beaumont, the French ambaſſador, for that purpoſe: but Murray refuſing to hearken to any terms that were to diveſt him of his ill-aſſumed power, every thing was prepared by both parties to decide matters by a battle. The regent could get together no more than four thouſand men; but notwithſtanding that his army was ſo inferior in number to that of the queen of Scots, he took the field againſt her; a battle was fought, on the thirteenth of May, at Langſide, near Glaſgow, which was intirely deciſive in favour of the aſſociated lords, and the queen's troops were entirely diſcomfited.

Mary was ſo diſpirited with this event, which ſhe looked upon as the deſtruction of her laſt reſerve, that ſhe loſt her uſual courage, and, with a few friends, betook herſelf to flight, not ſtopping till ſhe arrived on the borders of England. Here ſhe held a conſultation about the courſe ſhe ought to purſue, and which, in all probability, would determine her future happineſs or miſery. It was probably the late good offices done this princeſs by Elizabeth, in ſending Throgmorton to ſolicit for her liberty, and the aſſurance given Bethune, which, with her own unwillingneſs to diſoblige the queen of England by retiring elſewhere for ſuccour, and the hopes of forming a ſtrict friendſhip with her, determined Mary to take refuge in England, contrary (as the Scottiſh writers ſay) to the opinion of the wiſeſt of her ſervants: but, however it was, the reſolution ſeems to have been taken on a ſudden, for, on the fifteenth of May, the ſecond day only after the battle, the lord Herries wrote to Lowther, deputy-governor of Carliſle, to know whether the queen of Scots, his ſovereign, might come ſafely to Carliſle, if ſhe ſhould be forced to ſeek refuge in England? But the next day, without waiting for an anſwer to this letter, ſhe embarked herſelf, with that lord and a retinue of ſixteen perſons, and landed at Warkington, in Cumberland; from thence ſhe was conducted to Cockermouth, and remained there till Lowther, aſſembling all the gentry of the country, attended her in an honourable manner to the caſtle of Carliſle.

Mary, the ſame day ſhe landed on Engliſh ground, wrote a letter to Elizabeth, acquainting her with her misfortune in loſing the battle of Langſide, of having taken refuge in her territories, and deſiring liberty to viſit her good ſiſter (as ſhe called her), and ſoliciting that aid and aſſiſtance which her former profeſſions of friendſhip gave her reaſon to expect. The lord Herries was the bearer of this letter, and was charged by his miſtreſs to deliver into Elizabeth's own hand the very ring ſhe had formerly ſent Mary as a pledge of her ſiſterly affection and readineſs to aſſiſt her on all occaſions.

Had Elizabeth been left on the preſent occaſion to follow the natural bent of her own mind, the manner in which ſhe received this letter ſeemed to ſhew that ſhe would willingly have complied with the requeſt of the Scottiſh queen; but, from ſuch a reſolution, which indeed would have been more generous than prudent, ſhe was ſoon diverted by the remonſtrances of Cecil: however, ſhe determined to proceed in a ſeemingly friendly, but really cautious, manner with the queen of Scots; and ſoon after the receipt of her letter, ſhe diſpatched the lord Scroop, warden of the Marches, and ſir Francis Knolles, vice-chamberlain, to pay her compliments to Mary; but, as the event proved, to detain that princeſs by fair words, in order to gain time for conſultation, and improve this misfortune of her ſiſter-queen to her own advantage. In the mean time Mary was treated according to her high birth and royalty; but, for ſecurity ſake, ſhe was, on the ſixteenth of June, removed from Carliſle, and lodged at Bolton, a place of more ſecurity, under the cuſtody of lord Scroop.

The privy-council being aſſembled, great debates enſued concerning the manner how to proceed with the fugitive queen: to detain her in England had many miſchiefs attending it, to ſend her into France as many, to ſend her back into Scotland ſtill more; at length, however, it was reſolved by the majority to have her detained, as one taken by right of war, and not to be diſmiſſed till ſhe had made ſatisfaction for aſſuming the title and arms of England, and for the death of her huſband Darnley, who was born a ſubject of the queen of England. Leiceſter, the moment that Mary's misfortunes commenced, became her moſt mortal enemy, and Cecil had been ſo from the be-

ginning. It is plain, from the foregoing account, that Mary had entered England without Elizabeth's leave, or any ſafe-conduct; hence the majority of the council were of opinion, that ſhe thereby became a priſoner. It cannot be denied that a ſovereign has power to ſeize a foreign prince who enters his dominions without a ſafe-conduct; but there are caſes wherein ſtrict right becomes the greateſt injuſtice: ſuch was that of Henry IV. with regard to the prince of Scotland, afterwards James IV. but in Mary's caſe the circumſtances appeared ſtill more favourable; ſhe had been driven out of her own kingdom by her rebellious ſubjects, and forced to take the ſhelter neareſt at hand; and as ſhe not only was in peace with England, but had received good offices from Elizabeth, that opinion was as contrary to the law of nations, as to the dictates of humanity.

It is hard to ſay what Elizabeth's ſecret reſolutions were, after hearing the debates of her council; they probably were not favourable to Mary, for that princeſs having wrote a ſecond letter of ſupplication to Elizabeth, to be admitted to her preſence, or to be permitted to depart the realm, the queen returned for anſwer, "that as ſhe (Mary) ſtood charged by the voice of the public with being privy to the murder of the king her huſband, or at leaſt with not cauſing ſtrict enquiry to be made after the murderers, and with keeping ſtill about her perſon, or in her ſervice, ſuch as were accuſed of being accomplices, ſhe could not ſee her till ſhe had cleared herſelf of ſo heinous an accuſation; and deſired to know in what manner ſhe intended to juſtify herſelf."

Mary, upon receiving this letter, perceived that Elizabeth expected ſhe was to clear her honour in a formal legal way, and before commiſſioners. This filled her with ſurprize and apprehenſion, and ſhe could not help expreſſing herſelf as highly offended (in a letter ſhe wrote to Elizabeth) that her good ſiſter would not hear the cauſe herſelf, but refer her, who was an abſolute prince, to ſubjects, whoſe proceedings ſhe had no reaſon to abide by. However, as ſhe ſaw no other method of extricating herſelf from her preſent difficulties, ſhe ſent the lord Herries with another letter to Elizabeth, wherein ſhe declared that ſhe would willingly vindicate herſelf to her ſiſter from all imputations, and would ſubmit her cauſe to the cognizance of ſo good a friend.

Elizabeth, taking Mary at her word, offered to ſend two noblemen as her commiſſioners, to hear the mutual charges between her and her ſubjects. The noblemen named were the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Suſſex, and to them, becauſe of his knowlege in Scottiſh affairs, was added ſir Ralph Sadler. Elizabeth then wrote to Murray, in a very peremptory manner, to deſiſt from any farther hoſtilities againſt the queen of Scotland's party, and to appear in perſon to juſtify his conduct with regard to his ſovereign, before the commiſſioners, who were to ſit at York, on the fourth of October following.

Murray was ſomewhat ſurprized at a meſſage which had ſo much the appearance of a command; but he had from the beginning been the abject ſlave of England, and as his domeſtic enemies were many and powerful, and Elizabeth was the only ally upon whom he could depend, he was determined to digeſt the affront, rather than forfeit the friendſhip of the queen by a refuſal. Accordingly, in ſpite of the remonſtrances of Maitland, and ſeveral of the moſt judicious of his party, who repreſented to him the the diſhonour it would bring upon himſelf and country, to accuſe his lawful native ſovereign, in a judicial way, before foreigners, profeſſed enemies of the Scottiſh nation, he, on the eighteenth of September, paſſed a commiſſion under the great-ſeal, empowering himſelf, James, earl of Morton, Adam, biſhop of Orkney, the lord Lindſey, and the abbot of Dumfermlin, to appear as delegates from the king of Scotland; to whom were added, as aſſiſtants, Maitland of Ledington, James M'Gill, a Scottiſh lawyer, Henry Balnaves, the laird of Lochleven, George Buchanan, the hiſtorian, and Mr. David Lindſey. The commiſſioners named by the queen of Scotland were the biſhop of Roſs, the lords Boyd, Livingſton, and Herries, Cowan, abbot of Killwinning, ſir John Gordon, of Lochinvar, and ſir James Cockburn, of Stirling. But it is now proper to attend other affairs, which, having a great influence on Elizabeth's proceedings towards Mary, are neceſſary to be premiſed in this place.

After the convention patched up between the queen-mother of France and the proteſtants, the civil war, towards the end of the laſt year, broke out more furiouſly than ever in that kingdom. The court of France made diſpoſitions for ſeizing the perſons of the chiefs of the Huguenot party; but they were ſo much upon their guard that they made their eſcape to Rochelle, as the cardinal Chaſtillon did his, in the habit of a ſailor, to England, where he managed the affairs of his party with Elizabeth. The prince of Condé having brought the queen of Navarre and her young ſon (afterwards the great Henry IV.) to declare themſelves in favour of the Huguenots, ſoon after took the field, and the beginning of the year was ſpent in a variety of military operations, not much to the advantage of either party. The queen-mother in the mean time renewed her propoſal, through Norris, the Engliſh reſident at the court of France, for a marriage between Elizabeth and her ſon the duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. then only ſeventeen years of age, and far from being a bigot to any religion. Elizabeth, for certain reaſons, did not ſeem to diſcourage this motion; and the prince of Condé, fearing her ſteadineſs, in September this year, diſpatched Cavaignes, one of his friends, into England, with ſuch inſtructions as were moſt likely to bring Elizabeth over to his party. Cavaignes exerted himſelf ſo effectually, that he entirely fixed Elizabeth in the reſolution of powerfully aſſiſting the proteſtant cauſe in France, and ſhe agreed to pay the prince of Condé one hundred thouſand crowns, and to lend him a good train of artillery, with ammunition. At the ſame time, perceiving that the proteſtants were debarred in France from the exerciſe of their religion, ſhe offered a ſafe retreat to the Huguenots in England: upon which many of the principal manufacturers came over hither, who were kindly received, and permitted to ſettle at Norwich, Colcheſter, Sandwich, Maidſtone, and Southampton, to the inexpreſſible improvement of the Engliſh woollen manufactures; for they were the firſt who brought into the nation the art of making bays, ſays, and other light ſtuffs, to which we were before ſtrangers.

The

The conduct of the duke of Alva in the Netherlands was equally alarming to Elizabeth as was that of the court of France: he had now eſtabliſhed the court of Inquiſition, he had aboliſhed all the privileges of the inhabitants and nobility of the Low Countries, he ruled them by Spaniſh laws, and omitted no occaſion of perſecuting with the utmoſt cruelty all whom he ſuſpected of favouring the reformed religion, in order to extirpate proteſtantiſm in thoſe provinces, and render Philip abſolute there. The prince of Orange had raiſed an army in Germany, with which he marched to ſupport the proteſtants; but the duke of Alva took ſuch precautions, and the prince's army was ſo ill paid, that he was obliged to take ſhelter in France.

Theſe proceedings convinced Elizabeth that ſhe had nothing to expect from France and Spain but to be attacked alſo in her own dominions by their united forces, ſhould ſhe ſuffer the proteſtants to be deſtroyed, and put her upon a reſolution to aid them as above, and to ſeize upon a great ſum of money which was on board ſome veſſels of Biſcay, that had been driven by ſtreſs of weather, or otherwiſe, into ſome of the Engliſh ports, and which the cardinal de Chaſtillon offered to prove not to belong to the king of Spain, but to certain private merchants, who deſigned the money to be employed by the duke of Alva to the ruin of the proteſtant cauſe. The ſeizure of this treaſure ſo exaſperated the duke, that, though Elizabeth promiſed to repay it, with intereſt, as ſoon as it ſhould be made appear, by good proofs, to belong to the king of Spain, he ſeized all the effects of the Engliſh within his power, and ſent their perſons to priſon; which was returned on the part of Elizabeth by the like treatment of the Flemings in England. De Speſi, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, behaving on this occaſion with great indecency, and even reflecting perſonally on the queen herſelf, this, joined with the treatment which Mr. Mann had received in Spain, exaſperated Elizabeth ſo much that ſhe ordered de Speſi to be confined to his own houſe, under a guard.

On the fourth of October, Elizabeth's commiſſioners and thoſe of queen Mary had their firſt meeting, and both parties produced and exchanged copies of their powers. But the duke of Norfolk, who is ſaid, about this time, to have conceived hopes of gaining the queen of Scots in marriage, ſo managed Murray and his aſſiſtants in private, that by his perſuaſions they refuſed to produce their allegations againſt their queen, till Elizabeth had given them a formal promiſe under her hand, to paſs ſentence as ſoon as the proofs ſhould be produced, and to ſupport the king of Scotland's party, in caſe the queen his mother was found guilty; alleging their apprehenſions that Elizabeth had only in view to make the troubles of Scotland ſubſervient to her own ends.

Mary, on her part, endeavoured to ward off their proceedings, by a meſſage to queen Elizabeth, which the lord Herries delivered in theſe moſt preſſing terms.

"Madam,

"The queen, my miſtreſs, who is nothing ſubject to you, but by misfortune, does deſire that you would conſider, that it is a work of evil example, and moſt pernicious conſequence, to give way that her rebellious ſubjects ſhould be heard againſt her; who, not being able to deſtroy her by arms, do promiſe themſelves to aſſaſſinate her even in your own breaſt, under colour of juſtice. Madam, conſider the ſtate of worldly affairs, and ſhew ſome compaſſion to the calamities of your poor ſuppliant. After the moſt horrid attempt upon the king, her huſband, the murder of her ſervants, and the cruel deſign on her ſacred perſon; after ſo many priſons and chains, the ſubjects are heard before their queen; the rebels againſt their lawful miſtreſs; the guilty againſt the innocent; and the felons againſt their judge. Where are we? or what do we do? Though nature hath planted us in the extremities of all the earth, yet hath ſhe not taken the ſenſe of humanity from us. Conſider, ſhe is your own blood, your neareſt kinſwoman, one of the beſt of queens in the world, for whom you are preparing bloody ſcaffolds, and that in a place where ſhe was promiſed, and expected, greateſt favours. I want words to expreſs ſo barbarous a deed. But I am ready to come to the effects, and juſtify the innocence of my queen, by witneſſes unreproveable, and by papers written and ſubſcribed by the hands of the accuſers. If this will not ſuffice, I offer myſelf, by your majeſty's permiſſion, to fight hand to hand, for the honour of my queen, againſt the moſt hardy and reſolute of thoſe who are her accuſers. In this I do aſſure myſelf of your equity, and that you will not deny this favour unto her, who will acknowlege herſelf obliged to your bounty."

This pathetic remonſtrance, however, produced very little effect upon Elizabeth or her counſellors, who had already planned out the track they meant to purſue. But Murray having now engaged in a correſpondence with the duke of Norfolk, and being gained over by his arguments, Maitland, his ſecretary, the captive queen's friend, and privy to the reſolution which had been formed of effecting a marriage between Norfolk and his miſtreſs, to which Mary had ſhewn herſelf not at all averſe, was more explicit, and opened the congreſs with a ſpeech, directed to the regent and deputies of Scotland, telling them, "that whereas it appeared by the authority granted by the queen of England to her commiſſioners, that her whole deſign was to engage the Scots to throw a blemiſh on the reputation of their king's mother, they would therefore do well to conſider carefully beforehand, what hazard they expoſed themſelves to, and how they would draw upon themſelves the reſentment of the queen, her relations, and friends, and the indignation of all Europe, ſhould they impeach her of a crime which muſt ſtain her honour, and in ſo public a manner, before the Engliſh, the profeſſed enemies of Scotland: what account would they be able to give their king, when he came of age, of a charge ſo bold and diſhonourable to the king, to his mother, and to the whole nation? He therefore, for his part, thought it neceſſary to wave ſo ſcandalous an accuſation; or, if they would proceed, it was requiſite at leaſt that the queen of England ſhould expreſly engage to aſſiſt them againſt ſuch as ſhould hereafter give them any diſturbance upon this account."

This ſpeech produced the deſired effect; the regent and deputies acquieſced in Maitland's advice, and it is probable would never have departed from this reſolution, had not Mary been weak enough to talk of the duke of Norfolk's friendſhip, and proceedings

ceedings at York in her favour, which reaching the ears of Cecil, he cauſed the congreſs to be removed from York to Weſtminſter, and from thence to Hampton-court, under a new commiſſion, which opened a way to gain Murray over to Elizabeth's will, and in the end proved the ruin both of the duke and queen Mary.

This management ſucceeded to the wiſh of Elizabeth; Murray now thought that his beſt courſe was to link himſelf with Cecil more cloſely than ever, and wholly to throw himſelf upon Elizabeth's generoſity: accordingly, on the twenty-ſixth day of November, he firſt entered a proteſtation, containing his reaſons for delaying to charge Mary home with her huſband's death, and his unwillingneſs to do it then, were it not that he could not by any other means vindicate himſelf from her charge, which had made impreſſions upon Elizabeth, and her council, very much to his prejudice. This proteſtatoin was attended by an additional article of accuſation againſt Mary, called by the Scots an Eik, and was as follows.

"The accuſation againſt queen Mary, entitled, An Eik to the anſwer preſented by us, James, earl of Murray, and regent of the realm of Scotland, and remanent commiſſioners, appointed for the king's majeſty of Scotland, our ſovereign lord, in his highneſs's behalf, and for ourſelves and remanent ſtates and people, his majeſty's obedient and faithful ſubjects, to the letter preſented to your grace the lords commiſſioners for the queen's majeſty of England, at York, on behalf of the queen, mother to our ſaid ſovereign lord, preſented the twenty-ſixth of November, 1568.

"Whereas in our former, upon good reſpects mentioned in our proteſtation, we kept back the chiefeſt cauſes and grounds whereupon our actions and whole proceedings were founded, wherewithout ſeeing our adverſaries will not ſubmit themſelves, but by their obſtinate and earneſt preſſing we are compelled, for juſtifying of our cauſe, to manifeſt the naked truth; it is certain, and we boldly and conſtantly affirm, that as James, ſome time earl of Bothwell, was the chief executor of the horrible and unworthy murder, perpetrate in the perſon of unquile (deceaſed) king Henry, of good memory, father to our ſovereign lord, and the queen's lawful huſband, ſo was ſhe of the foreknowlege, even to counſel, deviſe, perſuade, and commander of the ſaid murder to be done, maintainer and fortifier of the executors thereof, by impeding and ſtopping the inquiſition and puniſhment due for the ſame, according to the laws of the realm; and conſequently by marriage with the ſaid James, ſome time earl of Bothwell, declared and unanſwerably eſteemed chief author of the above-named murder. Wherethrough they began to uſe and exerciſe an uncouth and cruel tyranny in the whole ſtate of the commonwealth; and with the firſt (as will appear by their proceeding) intended to cauſe the innocent prince, now our ſovereign lord, ſhortly to follow his father, and to transfer the crown from the right line to a bloody murderer and godleſs tyrant. In which reſpect the eſtates of the realm of Scotland, finding her unworthy to regiment (i. e. govern), diſcerned her demiſſion of the crown, with the coronation of our ſovereign lord, and eſtabliſhing the regiment of that realm in the perſon of me, the earl of Murray, during his highneſs's minority, to be lawfully, ſufficiently, and righteouſly done, as in the acts and laws made thereupon more largely is contained.

James, regent.
Patrick, lord Lindſey. Morton.
Ad. Orchad. Dumfurline."

Copies of this eik being given to Mary's commiſſioners, ſome days paſſed before they made any anſwer, becauſe of the delicacy of the ſubject: at laſt, on the firſt of December, they attended the commiſſion; and both the biſhop of Roſs and the lord Herries, by their ſpeeches, very properly took notice, that the matter had taken a new turn, and that the nature of the commiſſioners proceedings were altered; becauſe, hitherto, Mary had been the accuſer of Murray, but Murray was now of her: they therefore demanded, in the name of their miſtreſs, that Murray ſhould now in perſon clear himſelf before Elizabeth, her nobility, and all foreign ambaſſadors; and that in the mean while, the parties who had ſubſcribed the eik, ſhould be put under arreſt till the matter ſhould be tried; when it was promiſed to throw the whole blame of Mary's accuſation on Murray and his colleagues.

Elizabeth found herſelf under inexpreſſible difficulties at this demand; but found means to ſhift it off by numberleſs evaſions; which Mary's commiſſioners perceiving, and underſtanding Elizabeth's drift, they, on the ſixth of December, entered a proteſt, that they would proceed no farther, unleſs Mary might be permitted to anſwer for herſelf: they alſo farther excepted againſt the Engliſh commiſſioners, and required that the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors might be added to them: nothing of all which Elizabeth could conſent to.

The neceſſary conſequence of the queen of Scots revoking the powers of her commiſſioners, and refuſing to give any anſwer to Murray's charge, ſeemed to be, that there could be no farther proceedings in the trial: but though this ſilence might be interpreted as a preſumption againſt her, it did not fully anſwer the purpoſe of thoſe Engliſh miniſters (Cecil and Leiceſter in particular) who were the enemies of that princeſs; they ſtill deſired to have in their hands proofs of her guilt, and, in order to draw them with decency from the regent, a farce was now acted, which had been planned out by Elizabeth for that very purpoſe. Murray was called before the Engliſh commiſſioners, and ſharply reproved, in the queen's name, for the atrocious imputations which he and his aſſociates had the temerity to throw upon their ſovereign; at the ſame time telling them, that though they had ſo far forgot the duty of allegiance to their prince, the queen would never forget the love of a good ſiſter, and of a good neighbour and friend towards the queen of Scotland; and ſhe therefore demanded to know what they could ſay in their own juſtification.

Murray, thus urged, proceeded to produce the proofs of his charge againſt the queen of Scotland, and, among the reſt, ſome love-letters and ſonnets of her's, to Bothwell, wrote all in her own hand, and two other papers, one wrote in her own hand, another ſigned by her and wrote by the earl of Huntley, each of which contained a promiſe of marriage with Bothwell. There were other papers likewiſe, which, if not forged to anſwer the villainous

purpoſe on foot, contained inconteſtible proofs of Mary's criminal correſpondence with Bothwell, of her conſent to her huſband's murder, and of her concurrence in that rape which Bothwell pretended to commit upon her.

We ſhall not take upon us to enter into a diſcuſſion of the authenticity of theſe letters, a ſubject which has furniſhed immenſe volumes from the pens of the different advocates; we ſhall only remark in general, that they were ſaid to have been intercepted during the ſiege of Edinburgh, by the earl of Morton, and that they all paſſed through that nobleman's hands, who was well known to be the leaſt ſcrupulous of all Mary's enemies; and that it even appears, at the time they were produced, Mary's commiſſioners were not ſo much as preſent; and that the collation between them and other letters of her writing, to prove the hand to be the ſame, was made at a time when no friend of Mary's was preſent. Surely now there was a fair opportunity here for Elizabeth, and Mary's other enemies, to have juſtified themſelves to all the world, by ſhewing her to be a monſter, as they could eaſily have done, had the letters produced been demonſtratively authentic!

This accuſation produced another proteſt from Mary's commiſſioners, on the ſixth of December, which ſhould ſeem to be a full vindication of Mary as to the charge brought againſt her by ſome authors, as if ſhe had declined to put in any anſwer to the regent's accuſation, or to have the matter farther tried, from a conſciouſneſs of her own guilt, and an intention to ſtop all enquiry concerning the genuineneſs of the letters and papers produced againſt her. After recapitulating the many ſteps they had taken to have this matter brought to a full hearing, and Mary to be confronted by her accuſers, which had been conſtantly denied them, even though they had offered to enter deeper into the mattert than Murray himſelf had propoſed, they go on thus:

"Becauſe we could not obtain a direct anſwer to our petition and ſupplication (for the queen of Scots to be admitted to Elizabeth's preſence) the deſire thereof being ſo reaſonable, we did ſignify to her majeſty, like as we now preſently do to your honours, conform to our commiſſion and inſtruction, that we conſent on no wiſe that any farther ſhould be proceeded in this conference, nor yet our ſovereign's diſobedient and rebellious ſubjects be heard, to give in any pretended probation for proving of their ſaid intended addition unto the time that the queen's highneſs, our ſovereign, was preſent and had conform to the deſire of our ſaid ſupplication. And we alſo ſolemnly do proteſt, in caſe your lordſhips proceed in the contrary, that whatſoever has been, or ſhall be done hereafter, ſhall not prejudice any manner of way our miſtreſs and ſovereign's honour, perſon, crown, and ſtate; and for our part diſſolves and diſcharges this preſent conference, having ſpecial command thereto by our ſaid ſoverign, in caſe aforeſaid. And alſo in reſpect that if her own preſence was admitted (as all reaſon requires) her highneſs would not alennerly declare her innocence to the ſatisfaction of the queen's majeſty, and all Chriſtian princes, but alſo would make her rebellious ſubjects, for their heinous and ill deſervings, unworthy to compeer before any Chriſtian prince, to exhibit ſo contrived and invented allegations againſt their native ſovereign, as hereafter to the world ſhall plainly be known. And deſire, before any farther proceedings, this our preſent petition, proteſtation, and diſcharge, be inſerted in this conference; and that we have the doublet thereof authentically ſubſcribed for our warrant.

"Preſented and given into the queen's majeſty's commiſſioners of England, by the queen's highneſs commiſſioners of Scotland, at Weſtminſter, the ſixth day of December, in the year of God 1568, and ſubſcribed with their hands.

Jo. Roſs, Herries,
Boyd, Killwinning."

To ſay the truth, Mary's cauſe was plainly prejudged, ſince ſhe was required to anſwer in a corner to a charge of the blackeſt nature, and upon points in which her judges had declared themſelves to be againſt her; for, after her commiſſioners had proteſted againſt the conferences going on, unleſs ſhe was admitted to a public audience in perſon, Cecil and her enemies refuſed to treat any longer with them as her commiſſioners, but as her ſervants. There was, however, great formality, and great ſhew of impartiality preſerved in the proceedings of the other commiſſioners.

For Elizabeth, apprehenſive that her conduct towards Mary might be liable to ſome miſconſtruction, ſhe therefore reſolved to acquaint the moſt eminent of her court with all theſe tranſactions, and to convince them of the equity of her proceedings. She convened the members of her privy-council; and, in order to add to the ſolemnity of the ſcene, as well as to ſhew her candour and impartiality, ſhe joined with them the earls of Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Shrewſbury, Worceſter, Huntingdon, and Warwick.

The whole proctedings of the Engliſh commiſſioners were laid before them; the proofs adduced by Murray were examined: the authenticity of the love-letters and ſonnets was aſcertained by comparing the writing with that of ſeveral letters which Elizabeth had received from Mary: the refuſal of the queen of Scots commiſſioners to make any reply was mentioned: and after conſidering all theſe circumſtances, Elizabeth declared, that as ſhe had, at firſt judged it improper to favour Mary with a perſonal interview, until ſhe ſhould have cleared herſelf from the crimes of which her enemies accuſed her, ſo, now that her guilt was proved by ſo many plauſible evidences, and all anſwer denied, ſhe muſt, for her part, adhere to the ſame reſolution.

She then called in the queen of Scots commiſſioners, and after obſerving, that it would be more for the honour of their miſtreſs to continue the conferences, than to demand the liberty of vindicating herſelf in perſon; ſhe told them, that Mary might either tranſmit her anſwer by one of her own ſervants, or deliver it herſelf to ſome Engliſh nobleman, who ſhould attend her for that purpoſe: but as to her reſolution of giving no anſwer at all, ſhe muſt conſider it as the ſtrongeſt preſumption of her guilt; nor could they ever be her real friends who adviſed her to follow ſuch an imprudent courſe. In a few days after, ſhe wrote a letter to Mary herſelf, in which ſhe inſiſted on the ſame topic.

The queen of Scots had no other method to elude theſe preſſing inſtances, than ſtill to require the liberty of viſiting Elizabeth; a favour which ſhe knew

knew would never be granted: both becauſe that expedient could be productive of no good effect, and becauſe it would bring matters to extremity, which Elizabeth, above all things, wanted to avoid.

Mean while, in order to keep herſelf in countenance, Mary had recourſe to another device. Even after the conference was entirely diſſolved, ſhe ordered her commiſſioners to accuſe the earl of Murray and his colleagues of the murder of the king: but this impeachment, exhibited ſo late, occaſioned merely by a complaint of Murray's, and ſupported by no kind of proof, could only be conſidered as an angry retaliation upon her enemy. She likewiſe required to have copies of the papers delivered by the regent; but as ſhe ſtill perſevered in her reſolution to make no reply, the demand was finally refuſed her.

The conference being now at an end, the regent was impatient to return into Scotland, where his enemies were endeavouring, in his abſence, to raiſe ſome commotions. Elizabeth therefore diſmiſſed him, after having gratified him with the ſum of five thouſand pounds, in order to defray the expence of this journey.

During the conference at York, the duke of Chatelerault arrived at London, in his way from France; and as the queen knew that he was ſtrongly attached to Mary's party, and had ſome claim to the regency of Scotland, ſhe detained him in England till after Murray's departure.

But notwithſtanding theſe inſtances of favour, and ſome other aſſiſtance which ſhe ſecretly afforded to Murray, ſhe could not be perſuaded to acknowlege the young king, or treat with Murray as regent of Scotland.

Murray having thus ſecured the friendſhip of Elizabeth, applied himſelf to re-eſtabliſh a good underſtanding with Mary likewiſe. The Hamiltons and the earl of Huntley were in arms in Scotland, and had taken poſſeſſion of Glaſgow, with a body of ſeven thouſand men, intending to march forward and to fight Murray as ſoon as he ſhould arrive. Murray apprehending the conſequences, before he ſet out ſent ſir Robert Melvill to Mary, to propoſe the marriage between her and the duke of Norfolk, and at the ſame time a ceſſation of all hoſtilities between the two parties in Scotland. Mary, though by this time fully acquainted with Norfolk's intentions, affected to be a ſtranger to the motion: ſhe expreſſed herſelf to be ready to agree to any match that ſhould be approved by her parliament, and to compromiſe matters with the rebels, but declined giving any definitive anſwer till ſhe was ſet at liberty and reſtored; however, ſhe condeſcended to ſend orders to the lords of her party to ſuſpend all hoſtilities againſt Murray till her farther orders; and thus he obtained a ſafe re-admiſſion into Scotland.

Mary now began to think her troubles were drawing to an end, but they were indeed only beginning. Elizabeth was exaſperated to the higheſt degree by ſome letters which Mary had wrote to her friends in Scotland, which, being intercepted, were put into the hands of the queen of England; and being informed that the pope was endeavouring to raiſe a rebellion in England in favour of Mary, by means of one Ridolfi, a Florentine merchant; on the eighteenth of January, 1569, ſhe ordered ſir Francis Knolles to remove his priſoner (for ſo we muſt henceforth call the unfortunate Mary) to Tutbury caſtle, in Staffordſhire, where ſhe was put under the cuſtody of George Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury. But it is now time to attend other affairs.

The difference which had lately aroſe between Elizabeth and Philip II. of Spain, brought on not only that king's reſentment againſt the Engliſh merchants in Spain, and that of the duke of Alva in the Low Countries, but alſo put him upon ſeveral intrigues with her ſubjects, both in England and Ireland, in order to ſtir up a rebellion in both countries at a time; which being diſcovered to the queen by the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Ormond, to whom Philip had principally applied, the Engliſh, notwithſtanding no war was proclaimed, fitted out a prodigious number of privateers, with which they fell upon all Spaniſh merchant ſhips that came in their way, and did Philip's ſubjects ſo much damage by ſea, that Elizabeth found herſelf obliged to reſtrain their repriſals by proclamation, leſt ſhe ſhould thereby be forced into a formal war, which ſhe did not deſire. The vigorous ſupport which Elizabeth had given to the Huguenots in France, and the treaty which ſhe had made with the prince of Condé, had ſo diſobliged that court, that it had ordered its ſubjects to interrupt the intercourſe between England and Rochelle: this produced a kind of a piratical war between the two nations; but when Elizabeth found herſelf embroiled with Spain in the ſame manner, ſhe ordered a proclamation to be iſſued, "for admitting Frenchmen to traffic in England as heretofore, notwithſtanding the many great cauſes of offence ſhe had with that court, which ſhe had ſo greatly obliged, and whoſe king and miniſters ſhe hoped would amend."

While the commercial affairs of England were thus embroiled with France and Spain, they were not in a much better condition in Muſcovy, through the avarice of the Engliſh merchants, who had injured the czar Baſilowitz: but the queen ſpeedily ſent thither ſir Thomas Randolph (the ſame who had been her miniſter in Scotland) to make up matters; and though he had no commiſſion to treat of the favourite point which Baſilowitz had in view, namely, a treaty offenſive and defenſive with England, yet he managed affairs ſo well, that he obtained divers privileges for the Ruſſia company. Shortly after the czar ſent Andreas Gregorewitz Saviena his ambaſſador to the court of England, who was magnificently received by Elizabeth. According to Camden, ſhe gratified the czar, who, by his abominable cruelties, had rendered himſelf moſt hateful to his ſubjects, with a promiſe, if ever he ſhould have occaſion for it, of a ſafe retreat in England. This ſo pleaſed the tyrant, that he ever after took the Engliſh company and nation into his ſpecial protection.

This cautious behaviour in Elizabeth to avoid a war with Spain and France if poſſible, and to ſtrengthen her intereſt by that alliance with Muſcovy, was ſoon accounted for, by a plot ſhe had diſcoyered to deprive her of her moſt faithful and able counſellor, ſecretary Cecil. The duke of Alva had ſent over d'Aſſonville, to reclaim the money that had been ſeized by Elizabeth from the Italian merchants; but d'Aſſonville receiving no ſatisfaction, returned to the duke his maſter, who thereupon oppreſſed all the Engliſh in his dominions

nions in the moſt cruel manner. Cecil had been the chief adviſer of that ſeizure, concerning the legality of which the council were greatly divided in their opinions, and a great handle was taken by Cecil's enemies to inveigh againſt him, as leading his miſtreſs into wrong meaſures, both as to the breach with Spain and the enormous ſums ſhe had ſent over to France to ſupply the Huguenots. The chief of thoſe who ſet themſelves againſt the ſecretary on this occaſion were the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Wincheſter, the earls of Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Arundel, Pembroke, and Leiceſter, and ſir Nicholas Throgmorton, who, having conſulted privately together, it was agreed upon that they ſhould order matters ſo as that Cecil ſhould be ſent to the Tower. But, to their great ſurprize, Elizabeth, who knew that Cecil always preferred her intereſt to every other view, and that the reſt of her council were too frequently led to make the intereſt of their ſovereign and country ſubſervient to their own private intrigues, impoſed ſuch a profound ſilence on her ſecretary's accuſers, as took from them all hopes of ſucceeding in a like enterprize for the future.

The propoſal, however, of Norfolk's marriage with the queen of Scots was ſtill very warmly purſued, and ſome talk was likewiſe held concerning a marriage between the young king of Scotland and the duke of Norfolk's daughter, who was about the ſame age. But Norfolk, before he would reſolve on the matter, deliberated with the earls of Arundel, Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Suſſex, Pembroke, and Southampton, whom he found all agree in adviſing him to it; and as the duke was extremely popular with men of all parties, he eaſily engaged the principal nobility and gentry in his ſcheme: the lord Lumley and ſir Nicholas Throgmorton alſo embraced the propoſal with great cordiality; and every thing being agreed upon, their next conſultation was how to proceed in it with ſafety. Throgmorton adviſed the duke to open the affair to the earl of Leiceſter, who, though Elizabeth's declared favourite, and one who had formerly flattered himſelf with the honour of eſpouſing Mary, yet relinquiſhed all his pretenſions, and ſeemed zealouſly to promote the intereſt of Norfolk, inſomuch that when the biſhop of Roſs, by the duke's deſire, made that nobleman a compliment that if his miſtreſs's marrying with an Engliſh nobleman was neceſſary for the good of the two kingdoms, he (Leiceſter) might, if he pleaſed, be the man; Leiceſter anſwered, that he would have nothing to do with ſuch a marriage; but he would be for the duke's eſpouſal, if no other way could be found to be rid of ſo dangerous a rival, and provided Elizabeth was pleaſed with the match.

Some little time after the earl of Leiceſter himſelf mentioned the matter to the duke, and even wrote a letter to Mary, which was ſubſcribed by ſeveral perſons of the firſt rank, recommending Norfolk to her for a huſband, and ſtipulating certain articles for the advantage of both kingdoms: theſe were, "that ſhe ſhould attempt nothing in conſequence of her pretenſions to the Engliſh crown, prejudicial to Elizabeth or her poſterity; that ſhe ſhould agree to a league offenſive and defenſive between the two kingdoms; that ſhe ſhould confirm the preſent eſtabliſhed religion in Scotland, and grant pardon to ſuch of her ſubjects as had appeared in arms againſt her*." It may eaſily be ſuppoſed, that the queen of Scotland was not long in giving her conſent to what ſeemed the ready road to liberty and recovery of royal dignity. But now the duke of Norfolk took a ſtep, the moſt imprudent of any he had yet taken: he communicated the matter to the kings of France and Spain, who were warmly attached to Mary's intereſts, and who heartily approved of the projected marriage, a treaty concerning which he conſulted foreign princes while he concealed it from his own ſovereign, could not be deemed entirely innocent, not was it poſſible that a confederacy ſo extenſive and complicated could long eſcape the penetrating eye of Elizabeth.

But, to ſay the truth, Leiceſter, in the whole of this affair ſeems to have acted the ſame part as Murray did, that of a traiterous ſpy, and that he only ſeemed to join with the Norfolk party, in order to get at the bottom of their ſecrets and ruin them effectually with Elizabeth; for the rumour of this marriage becoming in a manner public, the duke feared it might have reached Elizabeth's ears, and make her reſolve his ruin: he therefore repeatedly preſſed Leiceſter to make her majeſty privy to it out of hand, and, if poſſible, gain her conſent, or at leaſt know her diſpoſition on that head. This Leiceſter promiſed to do, but put it off from time to time, under various pretexts. The duke then made it know to Cecil, who adviſed him to go and acquaint the queen with it himſelf. This counſel Leiceſter oppoſed, promiſing to open it to her majeſty as ſhe went in progreſs. At length, when the court was at Farnham, the duke ſtanding by as the queen ſat at dinner, ſhe took occaſion, in a tart manner, to bid him take heed what pillow he reſted his head upon. Leiceſter, who attended the queen in her progreſs, pretended to be taken ill at Tichfield; and when the queen viſited him in his apartment, he ſhewed great ſigns of fear and trouble, which ſhe perceiving, asked him the reaſon. Then begging her pardon for having ſo long concealed from her a ſecret which he ought to have told her, he diſcovered all that had paſſed concerning the duke of Norfolk's marriage with the queen of Scots; whereupon ſhe ſent for the duke, and, after upbraiding him ſharply for preſuming to treat of ſuch an affair without her knowlege, ſhe commanded him, upon his allegiance, to deſiſt. The duke made her a ſolemn promiſe of obedience, and even affected to ſpeak contemptuouſly of the Scottiſh alliance.

Finding however, that the queen gave no credit to his aſſeverations, and that many of the nobility, and even Leiceſter himſelf, regarded him with an eye of coolneſs, he withdrew from court, without taking leave, and repaired to his houſe of Kenningſhall, in Norfolk. He was ſo much beloved in that county, that he could have aſſembled a conſiderable army in his own defence; but he piqued himſelf upon his loyalty, and reſolved to return again to court, and uſe his utmoſt endeavours to recover his ſovereign's confidence; but he had proceeded no farther than St. Alban's, when he was met by Fitz Garret, lieutenant of the band of penſioners, who arreſted him in the queen's name, and conducted him to Burnham, three miles diſtant from Windſor,

* Camden, p. 240.

where

where the court was now kept, where he underwent ſeveral examinations touching the marriage; his coffers were ſearched, his papers ſeized, and himſelf ſoon after ſent to the Tower. Leiceſter alſo underwent an examination, but received the royal pardon. The earls of Pembroke, Arundel, and the lord Lumley, were confined to their houſes; ſir Nicholas Throgmorton and Robert Rodolfi, a Florentine merchant (and an emiſſary from the pope), were impriſoned; the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland made their ſubmiſſion to the earl of Suſſex, warden of the Northern Marches. All theſe noblemen, as well as the biſhop of Roſs, agreed in declaring that the marriage had been propoſed by the earl of Murray, and that neither the queen of Scotland nor they would have concluded the match without Elizabeth's conſent. However, when the biſhop of Roſs applied to the queen for the enlargement of Mary, ſhe, in a great rage, anſwered him, "that the beſt ſtep his miſtreſs could take would be to reſt ſatisfied, unleſs ſhe had a mind to ſee thoſe on whom ſhe moſt relied, ſhorter by the head."

While theſe things were tranſacting in England, the earl of Murray, on his return to Scotland, invited ſeveral of the nobility of that kingdom to a conference, on pretence of accommodating matters, and reſtoring the queen to her liberty; but as the duke of Chatelerault, by Elizabeth's permiſſion (who probably knew of the treachery intended againſt him), and the lord Herries, with the abbot of Killwinning, were repairing thither, in order to appear in Mary's behalf, the regent cauſed them to be way-laid, and conducted, under a ſtrong guard, to Edinburgh, and, before any of the other lords could appear to be preſent at the propoſed conſultation, he committed them priſoners to the caſtle, and then proceeded by force of arms, to oppreſs every one whom he thought in the intereſt of his captive ſovereign. It is not improbable, from the general tenor of Murray's conduct, but he could have been content that Mary ſhould have been ſet at liberty, only that he was fearful her freedom might have brought on his own bondage; nay, Elizabeth perhaps would not have been unwilling to have had her reſtored to her kingdom, but that ſhe doubted ſuch an event might have been attended with conſequences detrimental to her own intereſt and ſecurity. Thus, while they both regarded their own ends as the principal object, and her's only in a ſecondary light, ſhe had the fortune to be pitied, but not the happineſs to be relieved; and all ſhe could do of herſelf, was to tie the knot of her bonds the faſter: if ſhe could have remained quiet, they would perhaps have looſened of themſelves; but now the more ſhe ſtruggled, the more ſhe was entangled.

The rigorous treatment of the duke of Norfolk, and the impriſonment of ſo many noble lords, filled the whole nation with terrors, and ſeveral ſuſpicious aſſemblies began now to be held in the North, where Mary was the darling of the people. The earl of Suſſex, lord-preſident there, had notice of this, and, alarmed at the proceedings, ſent for the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, in order to queſtion them on the ſubject; at the ſame time orders were ſent to them from the queen to repair to court, and anſwer for their conduct. This unexpected ſummons reduced the two earls to take arms before they were fully prepared; and, without waiting for a ſupply of men and money, which it is certain they had actually ſolicited from, and which had been promiſed by, the duke of Alva.

The firſt hoſtile action happened on the ſixteenth of October, when the earl of Northumberland, entering Durham, tore the Bible and Common Prayer Book in the public market-place, erected a crucifix in the cathedral, and cauſed maſs to be openly ſaid, no leſs than ſix thouſand perſons aſſiſting at the celebration. He propoſed likewiſe to ſeize York and Newcaſtle, but was prevented by the diligence of the earl of Suſſex. The rebels, however, ſoon became very numerous, and detached a party of five hundred horſe, to bring away the queen of Scotland from Tutbury: but ſhe having been removed, before their arrival, to Coventry, that enterprize miſcarried. They afterwards laid ſiege to Bernard's caſtle, which ſir George Bowes, after holding out eleven days, was forced to ſurrender, for want of proviſions; upon which the inſurgents fortified Hartlepool.

Whilſt part of their forces, which amounted to above fifteen thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, were employed in theſe operations, the reſt, in different bands, over-ran all Yorkſhire, while Suſſex, the lord Hunſdon, and the governor of Berwick, were cooped up with five thouſand men, a force far too weak to hazard an engagement. But the rebel-chiefs falling ſhort of money, the only ſinews of war, either civil or foreign, they could not furniſh proper ſubſiſtence for their forces, which for that reaſon could not move for London, as was at firſt intended, nor keep in a body longer than the beginning of November. In theſe circumſtances Weſtmoreland began to deſpond ſo viſibly, that many of his men ſlunk away: the earl of Northumberland ſtill kept up his reſolution, and remained maſter of the field till the thirteenth of December, when the earl of Suſſex, marching out of York with three thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, was joined by ſir George Bowes, with a good body of both, raiſed in the palatinate of Durham. Upon this ſhew of reſolution, and hearing that the earl of Warwick and the lord Clinton were advancing againſt them with eight thouſand men, levied in the midland counties, the rebels fled to Hexham, and from thence, on Suſſex's approach, into Cumberland, on the borders of Scotland, where they diſperſed, the common men retiring to their own houſes, and the leaders eſcaping into Scotland. Northumberland being found ſkulking in that country, was ſeized by Murray, and committed to the caſtle of Lochleven. Weſtmoreland took refuge among the clans of the Grahams and Kers, by whoſe aſſiſtance he made ſhift to get into Flanders, where he had a ſlender penſion from the king of Spain, and there lived to an old age.

This rebellion was ſoon followed by another, ſtill more raſh and imprudent, raiſed by Leonard Dacres, ſecond ſon to the lord Dacres of Gilleſland. He was a party with the two earls in all their projects; but they breaking out into action ſooner than he expected or thought prudent, he thought proper to temporize; and being then at court, and admitted to kiſs the queen's hand, he tendered his ſervice to go againſt them, and to that purpoſe was ſent home: but, by a ſtretch of double diſloyalty, he repaired to the rebels, and encouraged them, by all the arguments he could deviſe, to continue their inſurrection; then, making uſe of the letters of

credence he had received from the queen, he ſurprized the caſtle of Greyſtock (in Cumberland), and gathered together a body of three thouſand men. But after the overthrow of the two earls, being encountered by the lord Hunſdon, at the head of the garriſon of Berwick, after a ſharp battle, in which Dacres behaved with a gallantry that would have done honour to any cauſe but that of rebellion, his army was put to flight: he himſelf fled into Scotland, from whence, ſoon after, he paſſed into the Low Countries, and, in great miſery and poverty, died at Louvaine.

The unhappy people who had engaged in theſe criminal enterprizes were treated with great ſeverity. Sixty-ſix petty conſtables were condemned to the gallows, and no leſs than eight hundred perſons are ſaid in the whole to have fallen by the hands of the common executioner: and the chiefs of the rebels, being convicted of high-treaſon, were proſcribed, namely, Charles Neville, earl of Weſtmoreland; Thomas Piercy, earl of Northumberland; Anne, his counteſs; Edward Dacres, of Merton; John Neville, of Leverſedge; John Swinburn; Thomas Markenfield; Egremond Radcliff, brother to the earl of Suſſex; Chriſtopher Neville; Richard Norton; Chriſtopher Marmaduke; George Stafford, and forty other gentlemen of condition*.

It muſt be remarked, that both theſe rebellions declared for the releaſement of Mary, queen of Scots, the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion, and the reſtoring the popiſh faith and religion; and the conſpiracy was looked upon by Mary's party ſo ſure of ſucceſs, that ſhe ſent a letter to the ſtates of Scotland, deſiring them to enquire into the validity of her marriage with Bothwell, who was ſtill alive in Denmark, in order to have it annulled, and make room for her intended marriage with the duke of Norfolk: and Murray was aſſured, by a letter from ſir Nicholas Throgmorton, that all the forces of England and Scotland were not able to prevent its ſucceſs. It is ſurmiſed that Elizabeth herſelf was terrified at their firſt appearance in arms; and that, to take off the equity of the demand of her rebellious ſubjects in regard to the queen of Scots releaſement, ſhe wrote to the ſame ſtates, demanding that they ſhould either reſtore Mary to her throne, as formerly, or admit her to reign jointly with her ſon, or that ſhe might live in Scotland with ſuch honours as ſhould not be prejudicial to the young king's authority. But after the danger was over, Elizabeth, in her diſcourſe with foreign ambaſſadors, affected to laugh at the whole as a fooliſh trifling enterprize; and thought on nothing but how ſhe might diſtreſs the queen and her friends more and more. Camden ſcruples not to ſay, that ſhe entered into a private negociation with Murray, to deliver Mary into his hands, finding the detention of her in England ſo dangerous, that ſhe would have been pleaſed, on any ſafe terms, to rid herſelf of a priſoner that gave her ſo much inquietude. But all theſe ſchemes were defeated by the death of the regent, who was murdered in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton.

While the rebellions were raging in England, the duke of Norfolk, who ſtill remained in the Tower, underwent frequent examinations, to draw from him whether he had any concern with the conſpirators; but either his conſtancy, or his innocence, baffled all attempts that way. The earl of Pembroke continued inconſolable at Elizabeth's diſpleaſure; and his great age, his former ſervices, and his penitence, won ſo far upon her, that ſhe ordered the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Leiceſter, and Cecil, to ſend him a letter declaring that ſhe took him again into favour, and was willing to accept of his ſervices as lord high-ſteward: but he did not long enjoy this comfort, for he died ſome months after. As to the duke of Norfolk, the queen's reſentment was ſo much appeaſed by his behaviour that ſhe releaſed him from the Tower, and, upon his engaging to relinquiſh all farther thoughts of the Scottiſh alliance, ſhe allowed him to live in his own houſe under a ſlight guard.

France was this whole year diſtracted with the continuance of the civil war. On the thirteenth of March was fought the battle of Jarnac, wherein the prince of Condé was killed; d'Andelot, the admiral's brother, did not long ſurvive him. Some time after, the duke of Deuxponts led an army into France to the aſſiſtance of the Huguenots; but died there in June, leaving the command of the army to count Mansfeldt, who joined the admiral. With this reinforcement the admiral laid ſiege to Poictiers, but was forced to raiſe it in September. In October the Huguenots loſt the battle of Moncontour. This defeat obliged the admiral to ſend for a ſpeedy aid from Elizabeth, who lent him money upon the queen of Navarre's jewels, which were ſent to her in pawn: ſhe alſo furniſhed a company of gentlemen volunteers, to be raiſed to ſerve in the army of the Huguenots. The campaign ended with the taking of St. Jean d'Angeli, which the king became maſter of before the end of October.

The duke of Alva ſtill continued his oppreſſions in the Netherlands. The Inquiſition, which he had ſet up, acted with the moſt bloody fury againſt the wretched proteſtants; and all who had the temerity to appeal to the king againſt the rigorous treatment they ſuffered, were puniſhed without mercy: in ſhort, theſe provinces were now conſidered by the Spaniards but as a conquered country, and every method taken to drive them to deſpair.

The death of the earl of Murray, regent of Scotland, which happened on the twenty-third of January, 1570, involved that kingdom in its former anarchy; for, immediately upon his aſſaſſination, a large body of Scots, under the command of Walter Scot, and Thomas Carr, or Ker, of Ferniherſt, entering England, ravaged the places where they came with greater cruelty than had been practiſed even in the moſt barbarous times between thoſe two nations. This ſeems to have been done on purpoſe to provoke England to revenge theſe affronts on all the Scots without diſtinction, and thus to revive the old enmity between the two people, and unite all the Scots againſt the Engliſh; whilſt the more zealous papiſts were to act their part in this kingdom: and, indeed, this intention is in a manner confirmed by an embaſſy to the duke of Alva from the Hamiltons, and the pope's bull which was ſoon after iſſued to ſtir up Elizabeth's ſubjects to rebellion, as will be hereafter ſhewn.

* Camden, p. 422, 423.

As Mary's party had reſolved to bring the ſtate into confuſion by the regent's death, ſo they had addreſs enough, under the ſpecious pretence of conferring the regency on a perſon to be approved by both parties, to put off the election of a new regent till the great men on all ſides ſhould concur in ſuch a choice: but as this was barely a feint to gain time to ſee how the court of England would behave under the late unprovoked ravages on their borders, Elizabeth and her council were too wiſe to give into the ſnare; on the contrary, the more they perceived the Hamiltonian ſcheme to be to unite the Scots in one intereſt, the more they judged it neceſſary to keep them divided, nothing being found more advantageous to Elizabeth's politics than to tie up her neighbours hands, by cutting them out a ſufficiency of work at home, through the ſtirring up or encouraging inteſtine broils and confuſion among them.

With this view Randolph, who had now returned from Muſcovy and was made poſt-maſter-general, was diſpatched to Scotland, to aſſure the king's party (as we muſt henceforward denominate thoſe who headed the oppoſition againſt Mary, and had the young king in their hands), that ſhe could not ſuppoſe them guilty of being concerned in the late unprecedented inſult upon her ſubjects, nor was inclined to caſt the blame on the whole nation; on the contrary, ſhe offered her aſſiſtance to the young king to reſettle the affairs of his kingdom, and to redreſs the great diſorders that had been committed by Mary's friends upon the Borders; adding farther, that ſhould her ſo friendly offers be rejected, ſhe was ready to do herſelf juſtice by force of arms, which ſhould attack, not the whole nation, but only take condign vengeance on ſuch as had wantonly, and without the leaſt provocation, inſulted her crown and dignity.

This declaration, which was delivered by Randolph to an aſſembly of the ſtates, on the tenth of April, diſcovered all the meaſures of Mary's friends, and all they could do was to take advantage of the excuſe which the anarchy furniſhed the miniſtry with, namely, to put off their anſwer to the firſt of May, when the ſtates were again to re-aſſemble. In the mean time both parties ſet all their political talents to work: Elizabeth prepared an army to give weight to her counſels, her ambaſſador artfully cheriſhed the diviſions of Scotland while he ſeemed to be labouring to promote its union; and the queen of Scotland's party employed the keeneſt writers they could engage to try what they could do, by publiſhing libels and the moſt provoking ſarcaſms upon Elizabeth and her council, to urge them to a general rupture.

Elizabeth's army being ready, and it being apparent that Mary's party, which grew daily ſtronger, waited only for promiſed ſuccours from France and Spain, to enable them to carry their purpoſes againſt England into execution, ſhe ordered it to march to Berwick, under the command of the earl of Suſſex, to revenge her ſubjects, to ſupport the king's party, and to influence the election of a regent that ſhould be a friend to the intereſts of England. Accordingly the earl of Suſſex, the lord Hunſdon, and the lord Scroop, warden of the Weſtern Marches, entered Scotland on the eighteenth of April, and, in the ſpace of a few weeks, razed, burned, and overthrew above three hundred towns and villages; but at the ſame time theſe generals declared againſt taking part in the quarrels of the two factions, though it viſibly appeared by the whole of their conduct, that their orders were to oppreſs Mary's friends and countenance the king's party to the utmoſt of their power; and as the former were not in a condition to defend themſelves, they could not hinder a reſolution of the ſtates, aſſembled in the beginning of July, in the king's name, by the earl of Morton, the chief of that faction, by which they choſe the earl of Lenox their regent, upon the recommendation of Elizabeth; and he was accordingly inveſted with that high office on the twelfth of the ſame month.

But, notwithſtanding this inſtance of partiality to Mary's enemies, Elizabeth ſtill maintained her ambiguous conduct, and preſerved the appearance of friendſhip with that princeſs: at the requeſt of the biſhop of Roſs, and her other agents, as well as of ſome foreign ambaſſadors, ſhe now procured a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities between the Scottiſh factions, and by that means checked the progreſs of the king's party, when they appeared likely to gain too conſiderable advantages over their opponents. By this variable conduct did the artful Elizabeth feed the flames of diſcord in Scotland, and rendered the whole country a ſcene of deſolation and bloodſhed. Throgmorton, who now remained under confinement in his houſe at Carſhalton, ſcrupled not to load Cecil with all the blame of ſo perfidious a dealing, which, however reconcileable it may be to the policy of the ſovereign or her miniſters, is the diſgrace of honour and humanity.

As a counter-ſcheme to theſe machinations of Elizabeth, ſeveral ſchemes were ſet on foot to procure the deliverance of the captive queen of Scots, who was now more cloſely confined than ever; and the inſtruments to carry on thoſe ſchemes were appointed and ſupported by France, Spain, and the pope. Charles IX. ſent Montluc, biſhop of Valence, to London, to join with the Spaniſh ambaſſador in ſoliciting her enlargement of Elizabeth in a public manner, and at the ſame time to raiſe, if poſſible, a ſtrong party to back them, in caſe of need: but when not all the inſtances of theſe ambaſſadors wrought any effect on Elizabeth, pope Pius V. tried to terrify her into a compliance, by fulminating forth a bull of excommunication againſt her, which was faſtened, in the night-time, upon the gate of the biſhop of London's palace, wherein he abſolved all the queen's ſubjects from their oath of allegiance, or any other duty to her, and pronounced anathema againſt all who ſhould continue to acknowlege or ſerve her as their ſovereign. This bull was affixed by one John Felton, who, being ſeized, boldly owned the fact, for which he was arraigned, and hanged in Alderſgate-ſtreet, oppoſite the ſaid palace. Upon this ſeveral inſurrections preſently began in different parts of the kingdom. John Throgmorton, brother to ſir Nicholas, was detected of a deſign to take up arms, and executed for the ſame. It was alſo diſcovered that ſir Thomas and ſir Edward Stanley, two younger ſons of the earl of Derby, by a daughter of the duke of Norfolk, had plotted to carry off the queen of Scotland, and ſet her at liberty; and as John Leſley, biſhop of Roſs, who acted as Mary's ambaſſador, was accuſed of being the chief promoter of theſe plots, it was thought proper to confine him priſoner in the biſhop of London's palace.

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The longer Mary continued in England, and the more closely she was confined, the more Elizabeth found her own dangers increase, both at home and abroad. She had been this summer upon a progress; on her return she feigned to listen more kindly than ever to the pressing remonstrances made in her favour by the ambassadors of foreign powers to release her captive sister; she even pretended that she desired nothing more earnestly than to find means to restore Mary to her royal dignity, provided it could be done without danger to England: and, the more easily to amuse and deceive that princess and her friends, she, in the beginning of October, dispatched secretary Cecil and sir Walter Mildmay, chancellor of the Exchequer, to Mary, who was then removed to Chatsworth, in Derbyshire, to propose certain articles of agreement for her deliverance. The terms were somewhat rigorous, and such as the captive queen might expect from a jealous rival, whereby they bore a greater semblance of sincerity on the part of the English court.

"It was required that the treaty of Edinburgh should be ratified: that Mary should renounce her claim to the crown of England during the life of queen Elizabeth, and her heirs lawfully begotten: that she should not enter into any confederacy against England, nor permit foreign forces to land in Scotland, nor maintain correspondence with the English or Irish, but with the consent of Elizabeth: that she should deliver up the English fugitives who had taken refuge in Scotland; and repair the damage done to the English frontier: that she should punish the murderers of her husband and the earl of Murray, and send her son to be educated in England: that she should not marry an Englishman without the consent of Elizabeth, nor any other person except such as should be approved by the estates of Scotland: that her subjects should not cross the sea into Ireland, without permission from the queen of England: that this treaty should be signed by Mary and her delegates: that, for the ratification of the articles, six hostages, to be named by Elizabeth, should be sent into England: that Mary, by engaging in any attempt against the queen of England, should forfeit all title of succession to the crown: that Hume castle and Fast castle should remain three years in possession of the English; and some other fort, in Galloway or Cantyre, be delivered to Elizabeth, for preventing the Scots from infesting Ireland: and lastly, that the estates of Scotland should ratify these articles by act of parliament."

Queen Mary referred Cecil and Mildmay for an answer to the bishop of Ross, her ambassador, the bishop of Galloway, who was uncle to the earl of Huntley, and William, lord Levingston, who were delegates from her lieutenants in Scotland. These agreed to some of the articles, but refused to renounce the ancient league with France, because the queen would lose her dowry, and the Scottish nation forfeit the valuable privileges they enjoyed in that kingdom. "They promised that no foreign troops should be admitted into Scotland, except in case of a rebellion which could not be suppressed by the domestic forces of the nation: that the queen of Scotland should not maintain any correspondence with the subjects of England to the prejudice of Elizabeth, provided this last would enter into the same engagement with respect to the subjects of Mary: they said they could not deliver the prince to Elizabeth, because they were not masters of his person: that the demand with respect to the queen's marriage was altogether unreasonable, considering she was an independent princess: that the Scots should not molest Ireland, provided the Irish were prohibited from making descents on Scotland: that any hostages required, should be given, except the duke of Chatelerault, the earls of Huntley, Argyll, and Athol: that Mary should forfeit her title to the crown of England, according to the proposal on that subject, provided that queen Elizabeth should be restrained by the same penalty from attempting aught to the prejudice of the Scottish queen: but they absolutely insisted on Elizabeth's restoring Hume castle and Fast castle to the proprietor, and refused to deliver any fortress, either in Galloway or Cantyre, into the hands of a foreigner." After these articles had been debated twenty days successively, the English commissioners returned, and made such a report to Elizabeth, that she declared herself perfectly well satisfied with the answers of the Scottish queen, and said, she did not doubt that the only difference remaining, would be removed at the arrival of the commissioners from the regent of Scotland, without whose consent the young prince could not be conveyed to England.

But it was not long before she altered her language, but without seeming to alter her sentiments; for she pretended, that before the treaty could be either ratified or executed, it was necessary to have the consent of the earl of Lenox and the nobility of the country; and it was agreed that the queen should require Lenox, the regent, to send up commissioners to treat of conditions, under her mediation. At the same time Elizabeth took care to support the spirits of the king's party, by informing them, through Cecil, that all the proposals she had done were so far from being irrevocably fixed, that they were to be canvassed anew in the conference, and that it should be her care effectually to provide for their future safety. Hereupon Lenox convened the Scottish parliament, and, laying before them the transactions in England, and the dispatches he had received from the queen, they proceeded to nominate commissioners for ending the treaty; these were the earl of Morton, the abbot of Dumfermling, who had been made secretary of state in the room of Maitland of Lethington, and sir James M'Gill, a famous civilian. In this situation were affairs between the courts of England and Scotland at the close of the year 1570.

In Ireland, Connor O' Brien, earl of Thomond, being disgusted with the government of Edward Fitton, president of Connaught, entered into a consultation with other malecontents, to raise a new rebellion; and they had taken their measures so well, that they were on the point of making themselves masters of the president's person, and of the whole province, when their plot was frustrated by an odd accident: the day before they were to have executed their project, Fitton, who knew nothing of their design, sent the earl word in a friendly manner, that the next day he, and a few friends with him, would come to be his guests. The earl, struck with conscious guilt, imagined that his machinations were all discovered, and that Fitton meant to make him his prisoner under the pretence of a visit, and thereupon, in a violent panic, took shipping and fled over to France, where he confessed the

the whole plot to Norris, the queen's ambaſſador there, and, by his interceſſion and his own ſubmiſſion, and promiſes of future loyalty, he was afterwards pardoned and reſtored.

This year alſo produced a peace to the French Huguenots, which was concluded at St. Germain en Laye. This peace, though made by the queen-mother (Catherine de Medici) with a wicked view, bore a good appearance to the proteſtant cauſe, nor could the Huguenots have hoped for a better, in the moſt proſperous ſituation of their affairs: among other advantages, Rochelle was ſuffered to continue in their hands, by which they ſtill retained their communication with England.

In the Low Countries, the duke of Alva continued his infamous cruelties: and being in want of money to pay his troops, impoſed the moſt arbitrary taxes on the people. He not only required the hundredth penny, and the twentieth of all immoveable goods; he alſo demanded the tenth of all moveable goods on every ſale: an abſurd tyranny, which would not only have deſtroyed all arts and commerce, but even have reſtrained the common intercourſe of life. The people refuſed compliance; the duke had recourſe to his uſual expedient of hanging. And thus matters came ſtill nearer the laſt extremity between the Flemings and the Spaniards.

We enter now upon the year 1571, which began in Elizabeth's court with a commiſſion to her faithful and moſt truſty ſervant and ſecretary, ſir William Cecil (whom ſhe now created baron of Burleigh), and to Robert Dudley, earl of Leiceſter; Radcliff, earl of Suſſex; ſir Nicholas Bacon, lord-keeper; Vere, earl of Oxford, lord-chamberlain; ſir Walter Mildmay, and ſir Francis Knolles, all privy-counſellors, to hear the reaſons for and againſt the queen of Scots, alleged by the deputies from Scotland already mentioned, and thoſe for queen Mary, who were the biſhops of Roſs and Galloway, with the lord Levingſton*. The conference was opened at London, on the twentieth of February, but was ſpun out, in the ſame manner as the former, with fruitleſs enquiries and remonſtrances, and at laſt broke up, on the eighteenth of April, without coming to any determination, Elizabeth's ſole aim being to gain time, and to furniſh herſelf with a plauſible anſwer to the French king's unremitting ſolicitations in behalf of the captive queen, who, upon finding herſelf thus trifled with, and that the treaty of Chatſworth was not likely to be ratified, loſt all patience, and loaded Elizabeth and her council with the moſt bitter reproaches. This ſo nettled Elizabeth, that at firſt ſhe ordered the biſhop of Roſs to leave London, with the other commiſſioners; but he pleaded the commands of his miſtreſs for his remaining there: Elizabeth repeated her orders, and he his plea, till at laſt he drove her to the alternative, either to ſuffer him to remain in London, or to deny his privilege as an ambaſſador of an independent princeſs.

Upon the breaking up of the conferences in England, all Scotland became a ſcene of blood and confuſion: the truce betweeen the two factions was now expired, and the regent, Lenox, began hoſtilities with the ſurprize of the caſtle of Dunbarton, which was ſtill kept for Mary by the lord Fleming, but in ſo careleſs a manner, that when it was attacked, the garriſon had no time to ſave either their perſons, their effects, or their papers. Amongſt the priſoners was Hall, who had been deeply concerned in the late rebellions in the North of England; Verac, the French agent; and James Hamilton, archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, an inveterate enemy to all Engliſhmen. Hall was ſent to England, and there executed; Verac was ſent priſoner to St. Andrew's, but afterwards ſuffered to go to France; but the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, being extremely obnoxious to the regent and his party, it was reſolved to get rid of him at any rate; accordingly he was proceeded againſt as an acceſſary in Darnley's murder, on the evidence of a prieſt, who declared that he had revealed the ſame to him in confeſſion; upon which the archbiſhop was condemned, and publicly executed on a gallows at Stirling.

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton during all the laſt year, had been kept in confinement, either in London or at his own houſe at Carſhalton; but perceiving that the earl of Leiceſter had abandoned his former party, in the matter of the duke of Norfolk's marriage with the queen of Scotland, both the duke and he threw themſelves upon Cecil's friendſhip, who did them many ſervices with Elizabeth: but Throgmorton, being ſoon after ſet at liberty, died ſuddenly at an entertainment in Leiceſter's houſe, and the public did not ſpare to load Leiceſter with the blame of having poiſoned him, from an apprehenſion that he might make diſcoveries to his prejudice.

In the mean while Mary's party in England grew very alert, and more bold than ever, which gave a ſuſpicion that ſome new plot was hatching againſt Elizabeth and her miniſtry, who being perſuaded that nothing but a marriage could ſecure their queen from ſo many conſpiracies, which were daily renewed, importuned her ſo much, that at laſt Elizabeth yielded for them to reſume the negociations for her marriage with the duke of Anjou; though, as it afterwards appeared, ſhe never had any intention that the match ſhould take place.

Soon after the peace of St. Germain en Laye was concluded, Elizabeth had recalled Norris from his embaſſy in France, to make room for ſir Francis Walſingham, who was a creature of Cecil's (now lord Burleigh), and ſent to reſide in that court, to take care of Elizabeth's intereſts, and to countermine the many plots which the papiſts had formed againſt her crown. Walſingham was in all reſpects, as a ſtateſman, a very extraordinary perſon: his ſagacity in tracing all the windings of a conſpiracy, is perhaps not to be parelleled; his intelligence being ſo admirable, that it gave him as it were a key to every cabinet in Europe. This man, therefore, was thought the moſt proper perſon to manage the affair of the projected marriage, and he had orders to talk at the court of France as if Elizabeth was ſincerely reſolved upon it, provided that court was equally well diſpoſed. This brought on a negociation, which took up great part of the ſummer, and was managed by Walſingham, on the part of Elizabeth, at the court of France; and here by the French ambaſſadors, Mauvaſiere and la Motte Fenelon.

Towards the end of Auguſt each party was brought to ſtate their reſpective demands: thoſe of

* Spotſwood, p. 248.

the court of France were, "that the duke of Anjou might be crowned king; secondly, that he might be joined in the administration of public affairs; and lastly, that he should have a toleration for his religion." The two first were points that had been already settled in the former negociation between Elizabeth and the archduke Charles; and she readily agreed that the duke of Anjou should have the matrimonial crown, and be admitted to the joint-administration; but insisted "that the duke, if she thought proper to make him her consort, should promise to accompany her whenever she went to chapel, and not refuse to hear and learn the principles of the church of England; and that his domestics should use no rites and ceremonies repugnant to the church of God, and those only in a private place, and so as the people might not take occasion from thence to violate the established laws of the land*." After various conferences, in which the French court endeavoured to render Elizabeth more flexible on the point of religion, while she still persisted unalterably in her demand, this difference was made a pretext for breaking off the treaty, in which indeed both parties seem to have been alike insincere.

The queen-mother of France wanted to divert Elizabeth from a rumoured match between her and the young king of Navarre, and to create a false confidence in the chiefs of the Huguenots, whom she had devoted to destruction; while, on the other hand, Elizabeth's aim was to amuse the court of France with a negociation, which would prevent their sending succours to Mary's friends in Scotland. After this treaty was laid aside, Francis, duke of Alençon, younger brother to Henry of Anjou, was proposed as an husband to the queen of England; but the same difficulties about religion recurred, Elizabeth objected to his youth, and declared she would not engage in any contract of marriage before she should have seen the person proposed to be her husband.

In the mean time a new parliament, after five years interval, was assembled at Westminster, on the second of April this year; and as the queen, by the rage of the pope against her, was become still more the head of the ruling party, it might be expected, both from this incident and her own prudent and vigorous conduct, that her authority over the two houses would be absolutely uncontroulable. It was so in fact; yet it is remarkable, that it prevailed not without some small opposition, and that too arising from the height of zeal for protestantism, amongst a new sect lately sprung up, called Puritans (of whose rise and principles we shall give an account in their proper place), and who had, in the former parliament, introduced several bills for a farther reformation in religion, but had not been able to carry any one of them. Religion was a point of which Elizabeth was extremely jealous; she pretended that, in quality of supreme head of the church, she was fully empowered, by her prerogative alone, to decide all questions which might arise with regard to discipline or worship; and she never would allow her parliaments so much as to take these points into consideration. The courtiers forgot not to insist upon this topic, when the Puritans resumed their motions for a farther reformation: this brought on several warm debates, in which many principles, very popular, noble, and generous, were advanced; but the open assertion of them was very new in England, and the queen was so highly offended with the speech of Strickland, one of the members, that she sent for him to the council, and prohibited him from thenceforth to appear in the house of commons. That act of power was too violent even for this submissive parliament to endure; and the queen, finding that the experiment which she had made was likely to excite a great commotion, sent, the next day, to Strickland her permission to give his attendance in the house; but, at the same time, the parliament was, by Elizabeth's orders, hurried to a close, on the twenty-ninth of May.

The following were the principal laws enacted this session: it was declared treason, during the life-time of the queen, to affirm, that she was not the lawful sovereign: that any other enjoyed a better title; that she was an heretic, schismatic, or infidel; or that the parliament has not power to settle and limit the succession of the crown: whoever should assert, in writing, or printing, that any person, except the natural issue of her body, is or ought to be the queen's heir or successor, was, for the first offence, to be imprisoned during a year, and to forfeit half their goods; for the second offence, they were to incur the penalty of a Præmunire. This law was directly levelled against the queen of Scots and her adherents; and plainly implied that Elizabeth never intended to name her successor.

It is observable, that the usual term of *lawful issue*, which the parliament thought indecent in speaking of the queen, as if she could be supposed to have any other, was changed into that of *natural issue*. But this alteration was a fund of much wit and humour during the time; and some people suspected a deeper design, as if Leicester intended, in case of the queen's death, to impose one of his own bastards on the public, as the offspring of her majesty.

It was also decreed, that whoever should publish bulls or other mandates of the pope, or should, by means of these, reconcile any man to the church of Rome, should themselves, as well as those who were so reconciled, be guilty of treason. Whoever imported any agnus dei, crucifix, or such other implement of superstition, was subject to the penalty of a Præmunire. It was likewise moved, that if, for the future, the queen of Scots shoud be concerned in any conspiracy, she should be proceeded against by law, as the wife of an English peer; but the queen hindered this bill from passing, being satisfied with letting her prisoner see to what she would be exposed, in case of such practices. The former laws against taking interest, which was called usury, were enforced by a new statute; and a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths was granted to her majesty. We must now turn to other matters.

During the before-mentioned negociation between Elizabeth and the court of France, the queen of Scotland, looking upon her own affairs as entirely ruined, should they unite, tried what assistance she could procure from the king of Spain, by the means of Rodolfi, the Florentine, whom she dispatched, with letters, to Philip and the pope; but first with copies of them in cypher, and a let-

* Camden, p. 433.

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ter of credence to the duke of Norfolk, recommending him as a truſty perſon, and deſiring he would give him full confidence. Rodolfi, who was the pope's private agent in England, prevailed upon the duke to undertake the queen of Scotland's defence, upon aſſurances of a powerful aid from the pope and the king of Spain, and the queen's repeated promiſes to make him her huſband as ſoon as ſhe ſhould have recovered her liberty.

The duke of Norfolk was naturally cautious, and gave his ear rather than his aſſent to this plauſible propoſal; neither would he ſign the letters of recommendation to foreign powers, which Rodolfi preſented him in his own favour, and which Mary requeſted the duke to honour him with: however, he ordered Hickford, his ſecretary, who had the key to decypher the queen's letters to Rome, and Madrid, and to the duke of Alva, and then bid him throw them into the fire: but Hickford, whether he was already gained by the court, or thought to make his own fortune by betraying his maſter, hid all theſe papers under a matt in his bed chamber, which proved fatal to the duke and Mary alſo. Theſe proceedings could not be long a ſecret in ſo prying a court as that of Elizabeth. Rodolfi, indeed, got ſafe abroad, but one Bayley, a ſervant to the queen of Scots, whom Rodolfi had ſent to inform that princeſs of his negociations, and had likewiſe entruſted with letters for her, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, the biſhop of Roſs, the duke of Norfolk, and the lord Lumley, was ſeized at Dover immediately upon his landing, and thoſe letters were ſent to the lord Cobham, governor of the Cinque Ports, who, being a friend to the duke of Norfolk, ſuffered the biſhop of Roſs to change the pacquet for other letters of no moment: but the privy-council were not to be ſo eaſily impoſed upon; Walſingham had gotten notice of the whole affair in France, and was perpetually alarming Elizabeth and her miniſtry with the plots forming againſt them by Mary's party. Bayley was ſent for to the council, and, being a ſimple young fellow, he betrayed as much upon his apprehenſion as made the government ſend him to be racked in the Tower, where he preſently confeſſed all he had learned from Rodolfi; and that the original pacquet he had brought over, was in the biſhop of Roſs's poſſeſſion.

The biſhop had foreſeen this, and, ſuſpecting that his public character would not protect him, prudently ſecreted all his papers of any conſequence; and, on the thirteenth of May, after undergoing a ſtrict examination by a committee of the council, he was given into cuſtody of the biſhop of Ely; as Henry Howard, who had aſpired to the archbiſhopric of York, was to the cuſtody of the archbiſhop of Canterbury; and ſir Thomas Stanley, ſir Thomas Gerard, and one Rolſton, to the Tower on ſuſpicion. Hitherto nothing had appeared that could effectually hurt the duke of Norfolk; but another attempt, in which he was concerned, being diligently traced, produced a full diſcovery, which completed that nobleman's deſtiny.

Mary had given a large ſum of money to the French ambaſſador, to be conveyed to her friends in Scotland. The ambaſſador, as afterwards appeared, with the duke of Norfolk's privity, gave the money to Banniſter, one of the duke's gentlemen, who was to find ſome means to tranſmit it to Scotland; but a menial ſervant, who was not in the ſecret, ſuſpecting from the weight and ſize of the box that it was full of gold, carried it, with a letter he was alſo charged with for Banniſter, to lord Burleigh, who immediately cauſed Banniſter and Hickford to be apprehended and brought before the council, where, being threatened with the torture, they immediately confeſſed the truth; and as Hickford, though enjoined to commit all the copies of Mary's decyphered letters to the flames, had diſpoſed of them as above related, he now thought proper to put all the cyphers and papers into the hands of the government, together with other letters from Mary to the biſhop of Roſs, containing her reſolution to retire to Spain rather than France; her intention to amuſe don John of Auſtria, natural ſon to the late emperor Charles V. with overtures of marriage; her ſettled reſolution to reſerve herſelf entirely for the duke of Norfolk; many injurious reflections on queen Elizabeth; and a requeſt that he would diſpatch her meſſenger, Rodolfi, with inſtructions to Rome.

Norfolk himſelf, who knew nothing of the diſcoveries made by his ſervants, was cited before the council, and, though exhorted to merit the mercy of his ſovereign by a full confeſſion, he ſtill continued to deny every article of the charge preferred againſt him; upon which the queen ordered him to be ſent to the Tower, on the ſeventh of September. The biſhop of Roſs was already in private cuſtody, and every method was uſed to make him diſcloſe the ſhare he had in the conſpiracy: he at firſt alleged, that, as an ambaſſador, his perſon was ſacred; but he was told, that as his miſtreſs was no longer a ſovereign, he could not be conſidered as a public miniſter, and that even if that character was allowed, it did not warrant him in forming conſpiracies againſt the ſovereign in whoſe court he reſided. As he ſtill refuſed to anſwer any interrogatories, he was informed of the diſcovery made by Norfolk's ſervants, and then he admitted the truth of ſome of the points alleged againſt him, by which the duke of Norfolk's guilt was more plainly proved. On the nineteenth of October the biſhop was committed to the Tower, "for attempting to diſturb the peace of the kingdom."

While theſe matters were in agitation, Scotland was more and more rent by inteſtine broils: each faction ſummoned a ſeparate aſſembly of the ſtates, and met in two different places, mutually condemning and annulling the acts of each other; but, by the policy and aſſiſtance of Kirkaldy, laird of Grainge, governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh for the young king, but in reality Mary's friend, her party got poſſeſſion of the city and the ſaid caſtle; and, about the latter end of Auguſt, met with ſuch ſucceſs that they ſeized the perſons of the earls of Morton and Lenox the regent, and muſt have carried off all the lords of the king's party, aſſembled at Stirling, had not the earl of Marr ſallied out of the caſtle, and with his garriſon compelled the queen's ſoldiers to retire, who, for the ſake of plunder, had diſperſed themſelves careleſly in parties about the town. In the diſorder the earl of Morton happily eſcaped, but the regent was carried off, and murdered in cold blood on the road, by one captain Calder, on the eighth of September; upon which the lords of the king's party choſe John Erskine, earl of Marr, to ſucceed him in the regency, to the great mortification of the earl of Morton, who aſpired to that dignity, and was zealouſly

zealouſly ſupported by the Engliſh ambaſſador, who knew him to be a penſioner to his court.

The impriſonment of the duke of Norfolk, and that of ſo many noblemen and gentlemen who had been committed with him*, made ſo much noiſe in England, that the court thought it was proper to ſatisfy the public concerning the ſame. Accordingly, by Elizabeth's orders, the recorder of London laid before the lord-mayor and court of aldermen a full account of all that the duke had been charged with and confeſſed; and they again were ordered to communicate the ſame to the ſeveveral companies and wards of the city. This ſtep had great effect upon the populace, whoſe vaſt regard for the duke of Norfolk was formidable to Elizabeth.

We have little to add to the account of public affairs in England this year, only that the Engliſh having, ſince the year 1552, carried on a gainful trade for gold with the natives of the coaſt of Africa, wherein they had often been diſturbed by the Portugueſe, who laid claim to an excluſive trade to that country, as the firſt diſcoverers of it, Elizabeth made a treaty with the court of Portugal this year, by which all differences were adjuſted between the two nations on that ſcore. On the fifth of October this year, the famous ſea-fight of Lepanto was gained by don John of Auſtria againſt the Turks; and though the news was firſt communicated to Elizabeth by her mortal enemy, the duke of Alva, yet, to ſhew her great regard for the general intereſts of Chriſtianity, ſhe gave orders for public rejoicings to be made all over England for the victory †. In the beginning of this ſame year 1571, viz. on the twenty-third of January, queen Elizabeth went in great ſtate into the city, to dine with ſir Thomas Greſham, an eminent merchant, and viſited the magnificent ſtructure he had lately erected, upon the model of the Bourſe at Antwerp, for the uſe and convenience of the merchants to meet and do buſineſs in, when ſhe gave it, with great ſolemnity, and under the ſound of trumpets, beating of drums, &c. the name of the Royal Exchange. This year alſo died, in an advanced age, William Parr, marquis of Northampton.

Burleigh and his party were now very earneſt to bring the duke of Norfolk to a trial, and were very importunate with the biſhop of Roſs to give full evidence againſt him, which that prelate, with a great and noble reſolution, refuſed, inſiſting on the promiſe that had been made him by the council, at a former examination, that nothing of what he ſaid ſhould be made uſe of to accuſe any man; and declaring that, as he had never conferred with the duke himſelf on any of the matters in queſtion, but only with his ſervants, what he could ſay would not affect him; and he muſt at the ſame time publicly profeſs before the court, that he never heard him, in all his life ſpeak one word at any time that was againſt his duty to his queen and country. This made them think it improper to produce him in perſon, though Baſham, the queen's ſerjeant at law, in breach of the ſolemn promiſes of the council, made uſe of his confeſſion at the duke's trial, who, on the ſixteenth of January, 1572, was brought, with the other lords and gentlemen in confinement, by water to Weſtminſter-hall, the ſtreets being lined with ſoldiers, and the guards doubled at Whitehall, and arraigned before a jury of twenty-ſix peers, George Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, ſitting as lord high-ſteward. The articles upon which he was accuſed, were as follow:

"That, in the eleventh year of queen Elizabeth, and afterwards, he had entered into a treaſonable conſpiracy about depoſing her from the throne, and taking away her life, and invading the kingdom, by raiſing war, and bringing in a foreign power.

"That though he knew for certain, that Mary, late queen of Scots, had uſurped the crown of England, with the title and arms thereof; yet he had treated about a marriage with her (witout acquainting the queen) and had lent her a great ſum

* Theſe were the earls of Arundel and Southampton, the lords Lumley and Cobham, with his brother Thomas, and Lowther, Powel, Gooder, and ſir Henry Piercy.

† Pope Pius V. out of his great zeal for Chriſtianity, had endeavoured to ſtir up ſeveral of the princes of Chriſtendom againſt the Turks, who were by this time become very formidable; but there was only Philip II. who took part with the pope in his deſign. He alone, of all the Catholic princes, was ſufficiently rich to anſwer the prodigious expence of the neceſſary armament; and was alone able, by the good regulations of his government, to carry this project into ſpeedy execution. He was principally intereſted in this, through the neceſſity there was of ſecuring his Italian dominions, and the places he poſſeſſed on the coaſt of Barbary, from the inſults of the Ottoman fleet; accordingly he entered into an alliance with the Venetians, though always their ſecret enemy in Italy, againſt the Turks, whom he feared ſtill more.

Never was ſo large an armament fitted out with ſo much expedition. Two hundred gallies, ſix large galeaſſes, twenty-five ſhips of war, with fifty ſail of tranſports, were all ready in the ports of Sicily by the month of September, which was leſs than five months after the taking of Cyprus. The one half of this armament was furniſhed by Philip; the Venetians were at the charge of two thirds of the other half, and the reſt was ſupplied by the pope. The command of the fleet was given to the famous don John of Auſtria, natural ſon to the emperor Charles V. and Marc Antonio Colonna commanded under him, in the pope's name.

Hiſtorians tells us, that there were no leſs than fifty thouſand fighting men on board this fleet. Nothing but exaggerations are to be found in the accounts of battles. A fleet of two hundred and ſix gallies, and twenty-five other ſhips, could not contain at moſt more than twenty-thouſand fighting men. The Turkiſh fleet alone was ſtronger than the three Chriſtian ſquadrons all together: it was compoſed of about two hundred and fifty gallies. The two fleets met in the gulph of Lepanto, the ancient Naupactus, not far from Corinth. Never ſince the famous battle of Actium, had ſo numerous a fleet been ſeen in the Grecian ſeas, nor ſo memorable an engagement. The Turkiſh gallies were worked by Chriſtian ſlaves, and the Chriſtian gallies by Turks, who were, againſt their wills, obliged to ſerve againſt their country.

The two fleets engaged with all the ancient and modern weapons of offence; ſuch as arrows, long javelins, grenades, grappling-irons, cannon, muſkets, ſpears and ſabres. Moſt of the gallies were grappled together, and the ſoldiers fought hand to hand on their decks, as on a field of battle. At length the Chriſtians gained the victory, which was the more glorious, as being the firſt of its kind.

Don John of Auſtria, and the Venetian admiral Veniero, attacked the ſhip which carried the Turkiſh admiral Ali, who was taken with his galley, and his head ſtruck off, and hoiſted upon his own flag-ſtaff. This was abuſing the rights of war; but thoſe who had flayed Bragadino in Famagoſta, did not deſerve better treatment. The Turks loſt above one hundred and fifty ſhips in this engagement. It is difficult to tell the number of ſlain: ſome make them amount to fifteen thouſand; about five thouſand Chriſtian captives were ſet at liberty. Venice celebrated this victory with ſuch feaſts as ſhe alone was capable of giving at that time. Conſtantinople was in the utmoſt conſternation; and pope Pius V. when he received the news of this ſignal victory, the honour of which was aſcribed to the generaliſſimo don John, but in which the Venetians had the greateſt ſhare, cried out in a tranſport of joy: "There was a man ſent from God, and his name was John!" words that were afterwards applied to John Sobieſki, king of Poland, when he delivered Vienna. Volt. Gen. Hiſt. vol. v. p. 259—261.

of money, contrary to what he had promiſed under his hand.

" That though he was ſure that the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, Markenfield, and others, had raiſed a rebellion againſt the queen, and were driven into Scotland, yet he had ſupplied them with money.

" That, in the thirteenth year of the queen's reign, he had, by his letters, craved auxiliary forces of pope Pius V. the queen's profeſſed enemy, of the Spaniard, and the duke of Alva, to ſet the queen of Scots at liberty, and reſtore the popiſh religion in England.

" Laſtly, That he had relieved Herries, the Scot, and other the queen's enemies, in Scotland."

The duke deſired that he might be allowed counſel to plead for him, and that he might be informed which were articles of treaſon, and which not; but both his requeſts were refuſed. It was on the two ſuppoſitions, that Mary, and the lords of her party, were enemies to Elizabeth and her crown, that the charge of high-treaſon was chiefly founded againſt the duke, who was by his peers found guilty, to the aſtoniſhment of every unprejudiced perſon, the infinite concern of all good men, and the grief of the people in general; for no public evidence that could convict him of high-treaſon, was produced againſt him, nor were the witneſſes brought into court, as the ſtatute of 5 & 6 Edw. VI. required*: nor had he the ſmalleſt indulgence, or opportunity to prepare his defence. It is true, while in the Tower, he confeſſed ſo much, that it was thought he came within the exception of the above mentioned ſtatute, which, in caſe of voluntary confeſſion, diſpenſes with the producing witneſſes in court; but ſtill the proceeding againſt him was inhuman and ungenerous. The reader may ſee a full account of the above in Camden, and in the Collection of State Trials.

The condemnation of a nobleman ſo high in rank, and ſo dear to the people, revived the compaſſion of the public for his fate; and ſeveral plots were laid for his deliverance, which coming to the knowlege of Elizabeth, ſhe thought no remedy was ſo effectual againſt the danger of the times as a parliament, which was ſuddenly ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter, on the eighth of May. In the mean time the Spaniſh ambaſſador was ordered to quit the kingdom, for having entered into a plot with one Mather and Barney, two deſperate ruffians, to kill both the queen and ſecretary Burleigh, and ſet the duke of Norfolk at liberty. Mather confeſſed, that he had been offered money by the ambaſſador and his ſecretary, to kill Burleigh; and Hall, another aſſaſſin in the plot, ſwore the ſame; upon which they were all three executed.

The diſgraceful diſmiſſion of the Spaniſh ambaſſador was ſo highly reſented by Philip, that he ordered all the Engliſh ſubjects in Spain to be impriſoned, and their effects confiſcated, and prohibited all commerce between the two nations. His reſentment was very little regarded by Elizabeth, who, in the month of April, concluded a defenſive league, at Blois, with Charles IX. of France, by which both parties agreed to aſſiſt each other againſt all invaſion: they agreed that no innovation ſhould be made in the kingdom of Scotland; but that they ſhould jointly defend it from all foreigners: and it was ſtipulated, that in caſe any Engliſh ſhips ſhould be taken or ſeized in the Low Countries, or in Spain, the French king ſhould ſolicit reſtitution at the court of Madrid, or, that interceſſion failing, make repriſals upon the Spaniſh and Flemiſh ſubjects in his dominions; Elizabeth engaging to act in the ſame manner in his behalf†. The lord high-admiral Clinton, now created earl of Lincoln, was ſent, with a magnificent train, to Paris, to ſee this treaty ratified by Charles; and the marſhal de Montmorency arriving in England, to procure Elizabeth's ratification, was inveſted with the order of the Garter. Immediately after this event the poſt of lord-keeper of the great-ſeal, vacant by the death of the old marquis of Wincheſter, was conferred upon lord Burleigh; the privy-ſeal was given to the lord Effingham; the earl of Suſſex was appointed lord-chamberlain of the houſhold; and ſecretary Smith made chancellor of the order of the Garter. About the ſame time (namely, the fourth of April) the queen favoured Walter d'Evreux, or Devereux, with the title of earl of Eſſex, he being a deſcendant of the noble family of Bourchier, formerly earls of Eſſex, by the grand-mother's ſide.

The parliament meeting in May, according to its ſummons, the commons addreſſed the queen that the duke of Norfolk might be put to death without farther delay, alleging this ſtep was neceſſary for her own preſervation and the peace of the kingdom. Elizabeth had hitherto, from a tenderneſs which ſhe well knew how to affect, delayed to order the duke's execution; but now pretending that ſhe could no longer reſiſt the importunities of her people, ſhe ſigned the fatal warrant, and the duke was brought to execution on Tower-hill, on the ſecond of June. His behaviour was, as it had been all along, calm and decent; he bewailed his having broken his faith with Elizabeth, by renewing his intrigues with Mary; but to the laſt denied his having conſented to deprive Elizabeth of her crown, to invade the kingdom, or to deſtroy the city of London; and openly declaring that he died in the proteſtant faith of the church of England, and refuſing to have his eyes blinded, as being, he ſaid, fearleſs of death, he received the ſtroke that finiſhed his life.

Thus fell Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, the firſt nobleman in England. He was grand-ſon to Thomas Howard, ſecond duke of Norfolk, and lord high-treaſurer under Henry VIII. and ſon to Henry, earl of Surry, who was beheaded by that prince, in the beginning of the year 1547. This Thomas was born in 1536, and ſucceeded his grand-father in his title: queen Elizabeth honoured him with the order of the Garter, ſoon after her acceſſion to the throne, and advanced him to the poſt of lieutenant-general of her forces North of the Humber. We have already ſhewn, in the courſe of this reign, how he fell under diſgrace with his ſovereign, on account of his propoſed marriage with the queen of Scots, and that he had promiſed, under his hand, never more to concern himſelf in that affair without the queen's approbation; notwithſtanding which, and the danger that attended the breach of his engagements with a

* See p. 310, of this volume.

† Recueil des Traités, par Leonard.

princeſs of Elizabeth's jealous and arbitrary temper, he again countenanced the propoſal, which ended in his ruin. All of his family had firmly adhered to the catholic religion except this duke, who embraced proteſtantiſm in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign; and as he declared he died in the reformed religion, charity forbids us to diſpute the truth of his dying aſſertion. He had been thrice married: firſt to Mary, daughter to Henry Fitz Allan, earl of Arundel, by whom he had one ſon, named Philip; ſecondly, to Margaret, daughter to Thomas, lord Arundel, by whom he had two ſons and two daughters; and laſtly, to Elizabeth, daughter to ſir Francis Leybourn, knight, by whom he had no iſſue.

Some few days after the duke's execution, queen Elizabeth ſent William, lord Delawar, ſir Ralph Sadler, Dr. Wilſon, and Thomas Bromley, eſq. to the queen of Scots, now overwhelmed with mourning, to expoſtulate with her by way of accuſation, for that ſhe had uſurped the title and arms of the crown of England, and had not renounced the ſame, as was agreed upon in the treaty of Edinburgh: that, for the full poſſeſſing herſelf thereof, ſhe had treated of a marriage with the duke of Norfolk, without acquainting the queen therewith; for the conſummation whereof, and the freeing the duke out of the Tower by force of arms, ſhe had uſed all methods poſſible by her: that ſhe had raiſed a rebellion in the North, relieved notorious rebels in Scotland and Flanders, petitioned for a foreign aid from the Spaniard and others, by Rodolfi, an Italian, in order to invade England; and conſpired with certain of the Engliſh, who ſhould free her out of priſon, and declare her queen of England: that ſhe had received letters from the pope, wherein he promiſed to cheriſh her as a hen doth her chickens, and eſteem them true ſons of the church who ſhould ſtand for her: laſtly, that ſhe had procured the pope's bull againſt the queen, and permitted her party in foreign parts to ſtyle her publicly queen of England. To all which Mary anſwered in general terms, inſiſting upon her being born of the blood-royal of England; and deſiring that, if there were any malpractices laid to her charge, ſhe might be allowed to give in her perſonal anſwer at the next ſeſſion of the Engliſh parliament*. However, as there was no deſign at preſent to bring her to a trial, the affair reſted there; only Elizabeth thought convenient to confine her good ſiſter more cloſely, and to reduce the number of her domeſtics.

All this time Scotland was diſtreſſed with a more cruel civil war than ever, and for two months no quarter was given on either ſide. At laſt the two courts of France and England ordered their miniſters, le Croc and Randolph, to mediate a ceſſation of arms, which they effected, from the firſt of Auguſt to the firſt of October. The earl of Morton was generally looked upon as the author of thoſe violences, and it was owing to him, that, contrary to the general ſenſe of the Scots, the earl of Northumberland was now delivered up to the lord Hunſdon, and by him conveyed to York, where he was beheaded. The earl of Marr, the new regent of Scotland, though a wiſe and virtuous man, found himſelf too weak to withſtand Morton, even after he perceived that he was the tool of the Engliſh, and that nothing was done but by his direction and advice. Killigrew, who was ſent to ſucceed Randolph in Scotland, confeſſed privately to ſir James Melvill, that the Engliſh court depended upon Morton only, as its friend in Scotland; and that, unleſs Mary's party could bring him over, they were to expect no favour from England. Ledington had been ſenſible of this ſome time, and ſir James Melvill dealt ſo earneſtly with the regent, that a coalition between him and Mary's friends in the caſtle was actually formed, and upon the point of being declared, when the regent, after dining at Morton's houſe, was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs which carried him off†.

Notwithſtanding the great ſolemnity and proteſtations of friendſhip and ſincerity on both ſides, with which the treaty of Blois had been ſworn to and ratified by Elizabeth and Charles IX. of France, the remainder of that monarch's life was conſtantly employed in ſome action that proved his intentions to be never to perform any one of the articles, any farther than they, or any of them, might ſerve to cover ſome baſe and diſhonourable deſign; his chief drift being to tie Elizabeth's hands, and to lull the Huguenots in his kingdom into a careleſs ſecurity, till he could effect his bloody purpoſe of totally exterminating their ſect, of which the maſſacre of ſeveral thouſands of them, in cold blood, on St. Bartholomew's day this year, under the royal inſpection at Paris, and openly approved of by the pope, was a melancholy earneſt‡. And at the very time he ſhewed the greateſt deſire to live in a good

* Camden's Eliz. ad ann. 1571.

† Melvill's Memoirs, p. 116, 117.

‡ As the particulars of this bloody maſſacre are not properly introducible into the body of our hiſtory, and yet may not be unacceptable to the reader, we have reſerved the relation of them for this note.

This inhuman butchery, which was deviſed by the order, and under the immediate inſpection, of Charles IX. and the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, evince them to be two monſters of perfidy and diſſimulation. This dreadful day had been meditated and planned for above two years. It is hard to ſay, how a woman like Catherine de Medicis, brought up in the midſt of pleaſures, and to whom the Huguenot party had given the leaſt umbrage of any, could have been capable of forming ſo barbarous a reſolution. It is ſtill more ſurprizing in a young king, not quite twenty years of age. This plot was laid with as deep diſſimulation as the action itſelf was horrible.

The queen of Navarre was decoyed to Paris by a propoſal of marriage between her ſon, who was afterwards Henry IV. and the princeſs Margaret, ſiſter to Charles IX. the reigning king. The ſame pretence was uſed for alluring thither Henry, then prince of Bearn, and his uncle the prince of Condé. The admiral Coligni was invited by Charles, with a promiſe of declaring him general in a war againſt Spain in the Low Countries, and Coligni was accompanied by other chiefs of the Huguenots, depending upon the peace which had been lately ratified. The queen of Navarre died ſuddenly, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon. The admiral going home to his own lodgings, about eleven in the forenoon, and reading a petition which had been preſented to him, was wounded by a ſhot from a window, fired by one Maurevel, hired for that purpoſe. The king viſiting him in the afternoon, expreſſed the utmoſt concern for his diſaſter, and aſſured him he would take ample vengeance of the aſſaſſin and his abettors. This perfidious prince had, with his mother and council, already projected the ſcheme, which was now put in execution on the eve of St. Bartholomew. The duke of Guiſe, who was at the head of this ſhocking enterprize, communicated the king's intention to the preſident Charron, intendant of Paris, who ordered the captains of the different wards to arm the burghers privately: that at the alarm, which would be rung on the bell of the palace-clock, the citizens ſhould place lights in their windows, then break into the houſes of the Huguenots, and put them all to the ſword, without diſtinction. About midnight the duke of Guiſe, accompanied by the duke d'Aumale, the grand-prior of

good understanding with Elizabeth, he was taking private measures to cause her disturbances both in England and Scotland, of which her watchful and faithful ambassador, Walsingham, gave her sufficient notice; yet, though Elizabeth could not longer depend upon such an ally, having a mind to see a little farther into the designs of her enemies, she kept an outward appearance of friendship with Charles, and even carried her political dissimulation so far as to stand god-mother to his new-born daughter, and to countenance a renewed proposal of marriage with his brother, the duke of Alençon, to the great surprize and terror of the Huguenots, who dreaded the most fatal effects from the growing union betwixt England and France.

But though Elizabeth so cautiously avoided the coming to extremities with Charles, whose union with the courts of Spain and Rome for the extermination of the protestants filled her with very disagreeable apprehensions, she gave all the assistance in her power to such of that sect as lived near the frontiers, and, immediately on the first news of the massacre of their brethren, fled into England; and when the French ambassador presumed to make a proposal from his master to have them delivered up as rebellious fugitives, Elizabeth plainly told him, that humanity would not suffer her to shut the door against so many wretches, who were driven by the barbarity of their enemies to seek refuge in her country.

Mean while she prepared herself for that attack which seemed to threaten her from the combined power and violence of the Romanists, as she, not without reason, looked upon the late massacre as the overt-act of the league of Bayonne, which had been formed for the extinction of the protestant religion. She therefore fortified Portsmouth, put her fleet in order, exercised her militia, cultivated popularity with her subjects, not only by restoring several sums of money she had borrowed of them for her own use, but also by freeing England at this time of the debts which her father and brother had contracted with foreign courts, and were increased by yearly interest: she also caused the obligations the city of London had given for those sums to be remitted, to the great joy of the citizens. But we are now to attend the concerns of the Netherlands.

The same principles which had engaged Elizabeth to support the Huguenots in France, would have led her to assist the distressed protestants in the Low Countries, but the mighty power of Philip, the tranquility of all his other dominions, and the great force which he maintained in these mutinous provinces, kept her in awe, and obliged her, notwithstanding all temptations and provocations, to preserve some terms of amity with that monarch; and Philip having remonstrated to her, by a new ambassador, that many of the Flemish exiles, who infested the seas and despoiled his master's subjects, were harboured and entertained in England, contrary to the leagues subsisting between the two courts, Elizabeth thought proper to issue a proclamation, that all the Flemish, suspected of rebellion, should forthwith depart the realm: a proclamation which, in its effect, was so far from answering the views of the Spaniards, that it proved extremely prejudicial to their interests. These desperate exiles, finding no longer any possibility of subsistence, were forced to undertake the most perilous attempts. William Vandermark, lord of Luney, a Netherlander of distinction, with a great number of his countrymen, leaving England in the beginning of April, surprized the Brill* first, and then Flushing; and, before the end of this year, almost the whole provinces of Holland and Zealand had revolted from the Spaniards, and openly declared against the tyranny of the duke of Alva, whom they, by their late successful efforts, excluded from the sea. This neglect of the sea-coasts of the Low Countries was accounted an irreparable oversight in the duke of Alva, who was, in other respects, a great general; and was the first means of enabling the protestants to hold out so long as they did against all the power of Philip; it likewise encouraged Elizabeth, who had now a strong fleet at sea, by which a safe communication could be kept up with the Netherlands, to permit her subjects to go over to serve in Flanders, as in a school of war, either under the prince of Orange ‡, or the duke of Alva, as their affections should direct them. Some of the popish affected went to the Spaniards,

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of France, a number of officers, and three hundred choice soldiers, marched to the admiral's hotel, broke open the gates, and entered the house. A colonel and two other desperadoes going up stairs to the admiral's apartment, butchered him without question, and threw his body out of the window. All his domestics met with the same fate, while the trained-bands acted the same tragedy in the Louvre, as well as within the city. Two thousand persons were massacred that night, and a great number perished next day. At the same time the Huguenots were sacrificed in like manner by orders from court, at Meaux, Orleans, Troye, Bourges, Angers, Tholouse, Rouen, and Lyons. The mangled body of the admiral was insulted by the populace, and hung upon the gibbet of Montfaucon. The young king of Navarre and his cousin, the prince of Condé, were closetted by the king, who told them, that if they refused to embrace the Roman catholic religion, they should not be alive in three days. The parliament being assembled, and informed by their sovereign of the steps he had taken, in consequence (as he said) of a conspiracy against the catholics, the president, who was father to the celebrated historian Thuanus, harangued in praise of the king's conduct; and the advocate-general proposed that the admiral and his accomplices might be proceeded against in form of law. Accordingly the murdered Coligni was tried, condemned, and hanged in effigy. In a word, this whole affair was one of the most infamous plans of perfidious cruelty that ever was executed, and leaves an indelible stain on the French nation.

* A fortified town at the mouth of the river Maes, in the isle of Voorn, in Holland, five miles distant from Helvoetsluys.

‡ William of Nassau, prince of Orange, descended from a sovereign family of great lustre and antiquity in Germany, inheriting the possession of a sovereign family in France, on account of his noble birth and immense riches. as well as his personal virtues, was universally regarded as the greatest subject who lived in those provinces. He had opposed, by all regular and dutiful means, the progress of the Spanish usurpations; and when Philip conducted his army into the Netherlands, and assumed the government, this prince, well acquainted with the violent character of the man, and tyrannical spirit of the court of Madrid, wisely fled from the danger which threatened him, and returned to his paternal estate and dominions in Germany. He was cited to appear before Alva's tribunal; was condemned in his absence, declared a rebel, and his ample possessions in the Low Countries were confiscated. In revenge, he levied an army of protestants in the empire, and made some attempts to restore the Flemings to liberty, but was still repulsed by the vigilance and military conduct of Alva; and by the great bravery as well as discipline of those veteran Spaniards who served under that general. The revolt of Holland and Zealand, provinces which the prince of Orange formerly commanded, and where he was infinitely beloved, called him anew from his retreat, and he added conduct no less than spirit to that obstinate resistance which was here made to the Spanish dominion. By uniting the revolted towns into a league, he laid the foundation of that illustrious commonwealth, the offspring of industry and liberty, whose arms and policy have made so signal a figure in every transaction in Europe. Hume's Hist. of the Tudors, vol. ii. p. 548, 549.

but far greater numbers preſſed to ſerve under the prince of Orange; the firſt of whom was Thomas Morgan, who carried three hundred Engliſh to Fluſhing; then followed, by his procurement, nine companies more, under the conduct of Humphrey Gilbert. Theſe volunteers arrived juſt as the duke of Alva was preparing to recover Fluſhing and the other ſea-port towns, and, it is thought, defeated the duke's deſign. At the ſame time Elizabeth, by the advice of her council, ſent other relief to the prince of Orange; but it was ſo ſecret that the Spaniards had no grounds to reproach her for breach of faith.

The year 1573 opened with the embaſſy of William Somerſet, earl of Worceſter, who was ſent by Elizabeth into France, with a font of maſſy gold, to ſtand at the baptiſm of the new-born daughter of Charles IX. which was ſo highly reliſhed by that court, that they began now to be more and more earneſt for an alliance with Elizabeth, and the duke of Alençon was ordered to write repeated letters of ſuitorſhip to her. At laſt the queen-mother became very preſſing, by the French ambaſſador here, for the young duke to have leave to come and pay his reſpects to the queen of England in perſon, to which Elizabeth, wearied out with their importunities, after ſome time affected to aſſent, but upon condition that he ſhould not take it as a diſgrace if he returned without obtaining his ſuit.

But Elizabeth hearing ſoon after that his brother Henry, duke of Anjou, was elected king of Poland, and that Charles IX. was ill of a dangerous diſorder, ſhe gave intimation to Alençon, by Edward Horſey, governor of the Iſle of Wight (whom ſhe had appointed her reſident at the French court in the room of Walſingham, now recalled at his own requeſt) that he ſhould not for the preſent think of undertaking a journey to England; but, if he meant to give her real proofs of his affection, that he ſhould firſt procure a peace for the diſtreſſed Huguenots in France, which would render his reception in England much more favourable. The Romaniſts had for ſome time cloſely beſieged Rochelle, the bulwark of the proteſtants in France, who made ſuch a deſperate reſiſtance, that the duke of Anjou, who commanded againſt the place, loſt twenty-four thouſand men, without making any conſiderable progreſs in the ſiege. When he received tidings of his being elected king of Poland, this event affording him a ſalvo for his reputation, he concluded a treaty with the inhabitants, in which their allies of Niſmes and Montauban, and at laſt all the proteſtants of France, were comprehended, and in ſome places allowed the free exerciſe of their religion. And now the king of France and the queen-mother preſſed the affair of the marriage more cloſely than ever to Elizabeth, and withal they requeſted Elizabeth to grant the duke of Anjou a ſafe-conduct, in caſe he ſhould take his voyage to Poland by ſea. To this laſt requeſt ſhe not only conſented with great alacrity, but alſo offered a fleet to conduct him thither. In the mean while the duke of Alençon falling very ill of a fever, his mother ſignified the ſame to Elizabeth by the count de Retz, and excuſing the duke thereupon for not coming to England as he had determined; Elizabeth, who had by this time received a report but little to the duke's advantage, who was repreſented to her as a very homely figure of a man, and much defaced with the ſmall-pox, cooled in her affection ſo much, that ſhe gladly accepted the excuſe, and even ſhewed a manifeſt reluctance to have any connections with him.

All this time, ſince the death of the earl of Marr, there had been no regent in Scotland; but now, by the procurement of Elizabeth, James Douglas, earl of Morton, was choſen regent; who when his authority, in a parliamentary aſſembly, was eſtabliſhed, enacted many excellent laws for the ſupport of the proteſtant religion againſt papiſts and heretics, in the name of the king. But the protection and keeping of the royal perſon he confirmed to Alexander, earl of Marr, ſon of the deceaſed regent, though that nobleman was himſelf a minor; the cuſtody of the perſons of the Scottiſh kings, during their minority, belonging, by especial privilege, to that family. In the interim the French king ſent his ambaſſador, Verac, to engage the earls of Athol and Huntley, with large promiſes, to oppoſe the regent; while Elizabeth, on the other hand, exerted all her efforts to ſupport her creature. She had already found means, through Killigrew, her ambaſſador at the Scottiſh court, to draw the duke of Chatelerault, with the moſt eminent of that faction, to acknowlege the regent, by a public inſtrument, dated in March this year; but William Kirkaldy, laird of Grainge, whom Murray (when he was regent, had made governor of Edinburgh caſtle), the lord Home, Ledington, the biſhop of Dunkeld, and ſome others, could by no means be brought to own Morton, but fortified themſelves in the caſtle; and, truſting to the natural ſtrength of the place, and to the ſupplies promiſed them by the French king and the duke of Alva, they reſolved to hold it for queen Mary, againſt all oppoſition.

Hereupon Morton and his party ſent a deputation to the Engliſh court, for aſſiſtance to reduce the caſtle, then deemed impregnable. Elizabeth's wonted policy would not ſuffer her to be a quiet ſpectator, till the fortune of war ſhould enable France and Spain to pour in troops into Scotland: ſhe therefore readily liſtened to the requeſt of the deputies, and promiſed them immediate aſſiſtance, upon certain conditions, whereof one was, that ten hoſtages ſhould be ſent into England, to be ſecurity for the ſafe return of the troops and ammunition, unleſs by the common hazard of war they ſhould be ſlain or loſt. The conditions being agreed on, ſhe ordered ſir William Drury, the marſhal of Berwick, to march into Scotland, at the head of twelve hundred ſoldiers, and three hundred pioneers with a ſtrong train of artillery. Killigrew, the Engliſh ambaſſador, ſerved as an officer in this army, together with ſeveral gentlemen of the firſt diſtinction as volunteers. Upon the Engliſh forces entering the Borders, they were joined by one thouſand Scots and four pieces of cannon; and on the twenty-fifth of April the whole army appeared before Edinburgh caſtle.

The place was very ill provided with ammunition, and the number of ſoldiers in garriſon did not exceed one hundred and ſixty. Notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, Kirkaldy, who was a man of exemplary courge, conduct, and experience, made a vigorous defence for three-and-twenty days; but, at laſt, their water failing them, and a ſickneſs getting among the garriſon, which raged ſo as to reduce it to fifteen individuals, Kirkaldy was obliged

obliged to capitulate, and obtained from ſir William Drury very honourable conditions: but Morton having, during the ſiege, practiſed with Elizabeth, ſhe refuſed to accept of the priſoners taken in the caſtle as her priſoners, and ſent orders to ſir William Drury to deliver them all up, to be diſpoſed of as the regent of Scotland ſhould think proper. Accordingly the gallant laird of Grainge, James Kirkaldy, and ſome others, were ignominiouſly executed upon a gibbet at the Market-croſs of Edinburgh. Camden ſays, an hundred of the family of Kirkaldy offered to be vaſſals for ever to the regent, to pay a yearly penſion of three thouſand marks, and two thouſand pounds Scots in hand, if he would ſpare his life, but that Morton would not hear of it. As to Ledington, Elizabeth had taken care to give orders for his ſafety; but he died at Leith a few days after the capitulation, having contracted a mortal diſeaſe in the caſtle, a place noted for its unwholeſomeneſs. The lord Home, on paying ten thouſand pounds to Morton, was pardoned, and put in the poſſeſſion of his eſtates.

The regent, not yet ſatisfied with blood, ſent to demand of Elizabeth, that ſhe would deliver into his hands the biſhop of Roſs, who had been releaſed from the Tower, at the interceſſion of the French ambaſſador in England, and committed in cuſtody to the biſhop of Winchester: but the ambaſſador remonſtrating againſt ſuch an outrage upon good faith and the laws of nations, the queen of England rejected Morton's demand, and allowed the biſhop to withdraw himſelf into the French dominions. And now Scotland began to reſt a little from the inteſtine troubles which had ſo long deſolated it, and every thing being reduced under the authority of the young king, and a regent devoted to England, Elizabeth was freed from great uneaſineſs: and, as a farther increaſe of her happineſs, ſhe received advice from the Low Countries, that the Zealanders had defeated a fleet under the duke of Medina Celi, which was deſtined for the aſſiſtance of the queen of Scots and her friends; as alſo that the duke of Alva, finding in the reſolute reſiſtance of the oppreſſed Flemings, the pernicious effects of his violent counſels, had ſolicited to be recalled from the government, and that don Lewis de Zuniga, commendator of Roqueſanto, in Caſtile, had been ſent to replace him. The tyrant Alva departed finally from the Netherlands, the beginning of the following year, leaving his name in execration to the inhabitants, and boaſting in his turn, that, during the courſe of five years government, he had delivered above eighteen thouſand of theſe rebellious heretics into the hands of the executioner *.

This year died William, lord Howard of Effingham, lord privy-ſeal, ſon of Thomas Howard the martial duke of Norfolk, by his ſecond wife, Agnes Tilney. He was made lord high-admiral by queen Mary, and afterwards lord-chamberlain, in which poſt he ſerved queen Elizabeth; and was ſucceeded by his ſon Charles, who, a while after, was made lord-chamberlain and lord high-admiral. This year alſo died Reginald Grey, earl of Kent, whom the queen, the year before, had raiſed from a private gentleman to that dignity, after the title had been dormant fifty years: his brother Henry ſucceeded him in his honours.

The ſucceeding year, 1574, the duke of Alençon grew more and more importunate in his ſuit to Elizabeth, inſomuch that he obtained her conſent to come into England any time before the twentieth of May; and to this conceſſion ſhe was the more readily moved, becauſe ſhe knew the young prince to be a great oppoſer of the family of the Guiſes, her ſworn enemies: but before Elizabeth's anſwer could be carried to the duke, ſhe received advice from Valentine Dale, doctor of the civil law and her reſident in France, that Alençon and the king of Navarre were both put under arreſt, through the intereſt of the Guiſes, who had perſuaded the queen-mother that they held a treaſonable correſpondence with the chief of the proteſtant intereſt in France. It appears that Alençon, who was a weak young man, actually confeſſed that he had held ſome conſultation with the duke de Bouillon, a proteſtant chief, about his intended marriage with the queen of England, and of the beſt meaſures to be taken for ſecuring to the proteſtants the ſafe enjoyment of the privileges granted them by the late treaty of Rochelle, as alſo for ſupporting the Flemings againſt the oppreſſive power of the court of Spain. Elizabeth was greatly concerned at the news of Alençon's impriſonment and that of the king of Navarre, leſt they ſhould be intimidated to confeſs ſome practices which ſhe had underhand held with the Huguenots; and accordingly ſhe immediately wrote to Dale, to re-aſſure thoſe two princes, and to give them the ſtrongeſt promiſes of her friendſhip and protection. As Dale himſelf durſt not be ſeen in executing this commiſſion, he committed it to Thomas Wiekes, his ſecretary, who diſguiſed himſelf to admiration; nor is there, in all the confeſſions and declarations given by thoſe two princes, the ſmalleſt circumſtance reflecting on the honour of the engagements of the queen of England. Soon after Elizabeth ſent ſir Thomas Randolph into France, to the queen-mother, to bring about, if poſſible, a reconciliation between that princeſs and her ſon, the duke of Alençon, and the king of Navarre.

But while this affair was on the carpet, Charles IX. died, on the thirtieth of May, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, after having rendered his name odious to all the world, at a time of life when his own ſubjects were not reckoned out of their minority. He died of a very extraordinary diſtemper: his blood oozed from all the pores of his body. This uncommon end, which, however, is not without example (and was probably the effect of a putrid colliquation of the blood, and a general relaxation of the ſmaller veſſels), paſſed with the people, eſpecially the proteſtants, for the effect of divine vengeance: an uſeful notion, did it put a ſtop to the wickedneſs of thoſe who are powerful or unfortunate enough not to be ſubject to the curb of the laws!

The queen-mother took her meaſures ſo well, that, cauſing the dying king to confer on her the regency of the realm, ſhe kept all quiet till the arrival of the duke of Anjou, king of Poland, who ſucceeded his brother, by the name of Henry III. He arrived in France the fifth of September this year, but came not to Paris till about the middle of February following.

Nothing memorable paſſed in England during the year 1574. The only thing Camden has re-

* Grotius, lib. ii.

marked in his Annals, is the marriage of Charles, earl of Lenox, uncle to the young king of Scotland, with Elizabeth Cavendiſh, daughter to the counteſs of Shrewſbury: as this marriage was made unknown to the queen, ſhe impriſoned the mothers of the new-married couple. It may not be uſeleſs to mention, that this year, in order to put a check to the growing luxury of the Engliſh, eſpecially in dreſs, the queen, by proclamation, commanded that every one ſhould, within fourteen days, wear cloaths of ſuch a faſhion, of which ſhe herſelf fixed the pattern. On the third of April the queen granted a commiſſion to lord Burleigh, lord high-treaſurer of England, and to ſir Walter Mildmay, chancellor and under-treaſurer of the Exchequer, to manumiſe and enfranchiſe bondmen and bond-women, or, as they are now called, copyholders, regardant and appertaining to the royal manors and poſſeſſions within the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerſet, and Gloceſter *. It is with reluctance that we muſt obſerve, the ſpirit of Chriſtianity in the church could not keep pace with its doctrines, for we find, in Stowe, that ſome of our reforming biſhops, about this time, for a few doubtful points in religion, dragged innocent people to the ſtake, where they were burned to death, with all the circumſtances of popiſh cruelty.

In the Netherlands, the confederates ſtill continued their progreſs, taking ſeveral towns from the Spaniards. But, on the other hand, Lewis, count of Naſſau, who was leading an army to his brother, the prince of Orange, was defeated upon Moker heath, near Nimeguen, and was himſelf ſlain, with his brother Henry and Chriſtopher Caſimir, count Palatine. Upon this untoward accident the prince of Orange began to entertain thoughts of applying to the French; but Elizabeth ſent Daniel Rogers to diſſuade him from it; which he not being able to do, ſhe ſent Henry, lord Cobham, to Philip of Spain to inform him of the prince of Orange's deſign.

The paucity of events in England during this inactive year, affords room to introduce a brief account of the affairs of its ſiſter kingdom, Ireland.

There the deprivatory bull, fulminated by the pope againſt Elizabeth, continued to have dreadful effects. But ſir John Perot, preſident of Munſter, kept that turbulent country in ſo good order, that James Fitz Maurice, the moſt formidable of all the confederates againſt the Engliſh government, was forced to ſubmit. In Connaught, the ſons of the earl of Clanrickard took arms againſt the ſevere government of the preſident ſir Edward Fitton, and engaged a thouſand mercenary Scots in their ſervice. The earl their father, who was then priſoner in Dublin, offered to ſuppreſs his ſons, and the government there would have entruſted him with the command; but Elizabeth, more prudently, removed Fitton from his place, and the rebels then returning to their duty, the thouſand Scots were left to the mercy of the garriſon-ſoldiers, under captain Collier, by whom they were all cut to pieces. The earl of Kildare was not ſo ſucceſsful in Leinſter, againſt the O'Mores, whom he was unable to reſtrain from joining the O'Connors, and making an irruption into the Pale, where they burned Athlone, and were guilty of dreadful exceſſes, while their confederate Brien M'Phelim took and burned Carrickfergus. Fitz Maurice being ſubdued by ſir John Perot, who likewiſe took the caſtle of Mayo, wherein was a garriſon of French free-booters, the rebels of Leinſter were diſappointed in their intention of joining thoſe of Munſter: but M'Phelim ſtill continued in arms.

Thoſe repeated commotions in Ireland, the ſuccours which the rebels received from abroad, and the ſmall proſpect of reducing the iſland to perfect quiet, put Elizabeth upon very ſerious conſiderations. Upon examining her accounts laſt year, ſhe found that the groſs amount of all the revenues of Ireland, ſince her ſucceſſion to the throne, came only to one hundred and ninety thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine pounds, ſeven ſhillings, and ſix pence half-penny. This vaſt diſproportion of expence and ſupply made her lend an ear to a propoſal of the earl of Eſſex, an active young nobleman, full of ſpirits, and under ſome diſguſts with the courtiers: it was, that the earl ſhould, before Michaelmas, carry over to Ireland, two hundred horſe and four hundred foot, and maintain them there, to be employed againſt the rebels for two years, the queen furniſhing the ſame number during that time; while the earl was to have a commiſſion to be captain-general for ſeven years. In conſideration of this, the queen was to give him half the lordſhips of Clandeboy, Ferney, and other lands to a great extent, which were to be occupied by him; with an equal number of ſoldiers, as the queen ſhould think fit to maintain upon the other half of the ſaid lordſhips. They were to be at equal expence in maintaining neceſſary fortifications. Every horſeman ſerving as volunteer gratis for two years, was to be recompenſed with four hundred acres of land, at two pence an acre at the ſame rent. Several other articles were inſerted in this agreement, which ſeems to have been founded on the foot of the old feodal tenure; but the above are the chief. Eſſex was ſo fond of this command, which ſet him upon the footing of a prince, that he borrowed ten thouſand pounds of Elizabeth, upon a mortgage of his lands in Eſſex; and, about the latter end of Auguſt this year, he landed in Ireland, accompanied by the lords Dacres and Rich, three ſons of the lord Norris, and many other gentlemen of diſtinction, who ſerved under him as volunteers. But Fitz Williams, the lord-deputy, conſidered this command, given the earl of Eſſex, as derogating from his own authority, and underhand gave him all the obſtruction he could. M'Phelim, one of the principal chieftains, at firſt ſubmitted to the earl, but ſoon after revolted, preceiving the troops he brought with him were but few, and ill diſciplined. The lord Rich and ſir Henry Knolles in a few weeks became ſo diſpirited, that they returned to England, which threw a damp upon the whole expedition. The lord-deputy, under frivolous pretences, with-held the earl's commiſſion, ſo that his hands were in a manner tied up; while M'Phelim, putting himſelf at the head of the Iriſh and Hebridian Scots, endeavoured to cut him off. With great difficulty he kept his ground all this ſummer, and endeavoured to fortify Clandeboy. In the following ſpring the lord-deputy marched againſt the earl of Deſmond, who had eſcaped out of priſon, and Eſſex was ordered to guard the borders of

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xv. p. 371.

Ulſter. The earl of Deſmond, through the perſuaſion of Eſſex, ſubmitted himſelf to the government. The reſt of the year was ſpent in reducing Turlogh, Leinigh, Con O'Donald, and the other Iriſh. But Eſſex, broken both in body and mind, earneſtly applied to Elizabeth for leave to return, or to allow him pay for one hundred horſe and ſix hundred foot, or to grant him the peninſula of Mayo. Elizabeth of herſelf was inclinable to have recalled him, but Eſſex had enemies, particularly Leiceſter, who did all they could to prevent his returning to court, ſo that he continued in his diſagreeable commiſſion, to the almoſt utter ruin of his fortune. Towards the end of the year 1574, Eſſex ſent over to Elizabeth a plan for civilizing Ulſter, by building there three new towns and ten forts. While the project was under deliberation, M'Phelim, Turlogh, and the Scots, again endeavoured to ſurprize and cut him off: but the earl diſcovering the plot, he was beforehand with the conſpirators, of whom he killed two hundred, and took M'Phelim and his wife priſoners. Theſe commotions in Ireland gave Elizabeth great diſquiet, ſhe looking upon them as fomented underhand by the French and Spaniards; ſhe therefore redoubled her attention towards ſettling the affairs of that country. One Chaderton, an Engliſh gentleman, offered to people the Fues and the O'Hanlan territory with Engliſh; but the inexpreſſible obſtinacy of the native Iriſh, and the ſelfiſhneſs of the Engliſh already ſettled in Ireland, defeated that deſign, to the ruin of Chaderton's fortune. A worſe fate befel a natural ſon of ſir Thomas Smith, the ſecretary of ſtate, who was ſent over to plant a colony in the peninſula called the Arles, in the eaſt of Ulſter: every horſeman inhabiting that tract was to have one hundred and forty Iriſh acres, and every footman one hundred and twenty (almoſt five hundred Engliſh acres); but the deſign was defeated, and young Smith, after carrying over the colony, was treacherouſly murdered by Neal Breanarths. His death was ſoon after revenged by Malbey, the Engliſh governor of Lecale, who killed the murderer, and left his body to be devoured by wolves. So many untowardly circumſtances determined Elizabeth at laſt to give the earl of Eſſex leave to return to England, which he did; and to change the government of the country, which was once more put into the hands of ſir Henry Sidney. This gentleman had ſerved in that capacity twice already with great ſucceſs; and the finances there were now put under a new regulation. He undertook to plant Leih and Offaley with Engliſh adventurers, and, if poſſible, to raiſe from them ſums for diſcharging the crown-debts in Ireland. But Elizabeth, in the mean time, beſides the ordinary revenues of Ireland, was to remit him twenty thouſand pounds every year out of England, provided that he fortified Carrickfergus, and built ſome bridges, neceſſary for the quiet of the country*.

Early in the year 1575, the queen ſent Roger, lord North, into France, to congratulate Henry III. on his return and happy inauguration into the kingdom of his anceſtors. Henry was no ſooner ſeated in the throne than he reſolved to purſue the favourite ſcheme of his mother, and the late king his brother, to extirpate the proteſtants, and actually renewed hoſtilities againſt the Huguenots, without any provocation given by them ſince the peace granted by Charles IX. in the year 1573. But, fearing the queen of England ſhould aſſiſt them, his firſt care was to renew the treaty of Blois in its utmoſt extent, to which Elizabeth conſented, and, by Mr. de la Chatre, ſent Henry the order of the Garter.

This, however, did not hinder her from furniſhing John Caſimir, ſon to the deceaſed elector Palatine, with a ſum of money, to levy and lead into France a body of ten thouſand Germans to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Alençon and the king of Navarre, who, making their eſcape from the French court, had put themſelves at the head of the malecontent party, and made war upon the government jointly with the Huguenots. It was probably to furniſh out ſupplies for this occaſion, that the queen, in April this year, iſſued out privy ſeals for a loan of ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling, half of which was charged upon the citizens of London, ten thouſand pounds on the clergy, and the other twenty thouſand pounds on the gentry of the kingdom.

Whilſt Elizabeth was thus ſecure from any attempts on the ſide of France or Spain, who were both too much embarraſſed with their own affairs to have leiſure to think of diſturbing her peace, it is not eaſy to conceive how ſhe could have any reaſon to be jealous of the queen of Scots, who was kept ſo cloſe a priſoner, that it was ſcarce poſſible for her to correſpond with any one; yet a great ſtir was made about letters and pacquets being conveyed to her, and a negociation being ſet on foot between her and de Guouza, the Spaniſh reſident. Five perſons of quality were committed to the Tower, and divers others examined on the ſubject; but, after the utmoſt diligence in enquiry, nothing came to light, all being founded on mere ſuſpicion. The death of the duke of Chatelerault‡, in the beginning of this year, and the inſane ſtate of mind under which his ſon, the earl of Arran, now laboured, ſeemed to overturn all hopes of reviving a party for Mary in Scotland. The regent, Morton, was maſter of the kingdom, and being a moſt obedient ſlave to the queen of England, this laſt had nothing more to deſire in Scotland but to get the young prince delivered into her hands, which, perhaps, was the reaſon why ſuch large ſums were ſent at this time to Killigrew, reſident in that country. Unluckily this happened to be the only point in which Morton could not gratify her, the prince being in cuſtody of the young earl of Marr's uncle, in the caſtle of Stirling; and this truſty guardian would not give up his charge without an order from the eſtates of Scotland, who would not ſuffer the prince to be carried out of the kingdom. Morton next formed a ſcheme for getting the king out of the hands of Erskine, by making a match between the late earl of Marr's widow and his own nephew the earl of Angus; but the lady dying in July this year, he was diſappointed in this meaſure alſo.

* Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland.

‡ James Hamilton, duke of Chatelerault, and earl of Arran, was great-grand-ſon to James II. of Scotland, by his daughter. He was appointed tutor to Mary, queen of Scots, and governor and preſumptive heir of the kingdom during her minority. Upon his delivering her to the French, he was made duke of Chatelerault in France. Camden, p. 454. This year alſo, on the fifteenth of May, died the learned Matthew Parker, archbiſhop of Canterbury. Strype. Stowe, p. 679.

Before the end of this year the Huguenots, ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of the German army under the prince of Condé and prince Caſimir, but much more by the credit and influence of the king of Navarre, who had aſſumed the command of them, rendered themſelves ſo formidable that Henry III. was glad to grant them a truce of ſix months, at the mediation of Elizabeth, who now openly patronized the duke of Alençon. This was the fifth pacification made with the Huguenots; but the terms of it being extremely diſgraceful and diſadvantageous to the crown of France, it gave the higheſt offence to the catholics, and furniſhed Henry, duke of Guiſe (ſon to Francis, the deceaſed duke, ſlain at the ſiege of Orleans), with the deſired pretext for condemning the meaſures and maxims of his ſovereign. That bold and daring leader embraced the ſame opportunity of forming his party into a regular and conſiſtent body, and laid the firſt foundation of the famous league, which, without regarding the royal authority, aimed at the total extirpation of the Huguenots; while Henry endeavoured, but in vain, to adopt a new plan, by acting as an umpire between the two parties, and, by balancing their power, to reduce both to a dependence on himſelf. But ſuch was the wretched condition of France, from the paſt ſeverities of its princes, that toleration and indulgence could be no longer practiſed, and an edict for liberty of conſcience, which would probably have ſatisfied the proteſtants, inflamed the reſentment of the catholics to the higheſt pitch.

Philip II. in the low ebb of his affairs, had, ſome time before, ſolicited an accommodation with Elizabeth, who, with a view to obtain ſome advantages in trade to her ſubjects, agreed to adjuſt the difference ſubſiſting between the two crowns. Commiſſioners were appointed to ſettle the accompts of the ſeizures on both ſides; the balance was very honourably paid to the king of Spain; and the commerce between England and his territories renewed by a treaty concluded at Briſtol. Upon the faith of this good underſtanding between the two courts, Lewis Zuniga, the ſucceſſor of the duke of Alva in the Netherlands, being wholly bent to recover the command of the ſea, which his predeceſſor had ſo impoliticly neglected, ſent to Elizabeth, deſiring leave to hire ſhips and mariners in England, and demanded that all the Dutch rebels ſhould be expelled the kingdom. Although the queen refuſed to comply with thoſe requeſts, yet, upon his ſending away the earl of Weſtmoreland and other Engliſh fugitives out of the Low Countries, ſhe baniſhed all the Dutch who carried arms againſt the king of Spain, and prohibited her ſubjects from receiving any ſuch perſons into her ports or harbours.

This however did not hinder the prince of Orange and the eſtates of Holland and Zealand, who found themſelves unable to ſupport the war much longer againſt the wealth and power of Spain, from venturing, in the ſpring of the year 1576, to ſend deputies to implore the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth, and to offer her the ſovereignty of their country, as being deſcended from Philippa, wife to Edward III. and daughter to William III. of Bavaria, earl of Holland and Zealand. Though this title was ridiculous, yet it ſerved Elizabeth as ſome pretext to pauſe upon their offer. The deputation conſiſted of Philip Marnix, lord of Aldegonde; James Douza, William Nieuville, Paul Buys, advocate for the ſtates of Holland, and Melſen, a lawyer. A deputation of ſo many illuſtrious men was what Elizabeth had long wanted, and ſhe neither granted nor rejected their requeſt; but, after having taken ſome time for conſideration, ſhe gave them for anſwer, that "as yet ſhe conceived not how, with the ſafety of her honour and an upright conſcience, ſhe could receive thoſe provinces into her poſſeſſion; but promiſed ſhe would uſe her beſt offices with the king of Spain, for obtaining them a ſuitable peace." Accordingly ſhe actually ſent an ambaſſador to the court of Spain for that purpoſe; but Philip found means to evade a punctual anſwer, no accommodation enſued, and the war continued to rage with as much violence as ever.

The Hollanders, who now appeared on the very brink of perdition, were happily delivered from their diſtreſſes by a mere accident: Zuniga being carried off this year by a ſudden death, the Spaniſh troops, diſcontented for want of pay, and licentious for want of a proper commander, broke out into a moſt terrible mutiny; they ſacked and plundered the cities of Antwerp and Maeſtricht, and maſſacred near ſeventeen thouſand perſons of all ages and ſexes, without any poſſibility of preventing their outrages; and the mutineers menacing all the other cities of the Low Countries with the fate of the two already mentioned, all the provinces, excepting only that of Luxembourg, engaged in an aſſociation for their mutual defence, and ſent to the prince of Orange, who was then in Holland, imploring his protection, and that he would put himſelf at their head. Hereupon conferences were held at Ghent, where was formed the union of the Low Countries, called the Union or Pacification of Ghent, which laid the foundation of the preſent States of the United Provinces. This union, which was ſigned on the eighth of November this year, 1576, was for the defence of the laws and liberties of the inhabitants of the Low Countries, againſt the encroachments, oppreſſions, and cruelties, that had been exerciſed upon them by Spaniſh tyranny. Notwithſtanding this, they were ſtill willing to own the king of Spain's authority, provided he would govern according to the ancient laws. This union being thus formed, the fortreſſes raiſed by the duke of Alva, to keep the Netherlands in ſubjection, were demoliſhed every where. Some time after the aſſociation was ſworn to by the clergy and nobility at Bruſſels. By this Philip II. loſt almoſt all his authority in the Low Countries, having only the bare title of ſovereign, unleſs he would confine himſelf to the rights enjoyed by his predeceſſors, which was very far from his thoughts.

France was not at more quiet than the Low Countries. The duke of Alençon had aſſembled an army againſt the king, in favour of the Huguenots. On the other hand, the prince of Condé, with the forces levied by prince Caſimir, his brother, entered France, and joined the duke of Alençon. Thus the Huguenots, whom the court was determined to extirpate, were in a condition to ſell their lives dear, having at their head the king's brother, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, with an army of thirty thouſand men. But the queen-mother had the addreſs to break all their meaſures: ſhe ſent them offers of treating, and, during the negociation, found means to ſow jealouſy among them, and win from them the duke of

Dutch Ambassadors implore Assistance of Q. Elizabeth.

To His Grace
Duke of
This Plate is most

Evelyn Pierrepoint,
Kingston.
humbly Inscribed.

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of Alençon and prince Caſimir: in ſhort, ſhe cauſed them to agree to a truce, which, for all its ſeeming advantages, proved fatal to them, as it diſunited their forces. The treaty was concluded on the ninth of May, and enrolled ſix months after by the parliament of Paris. The Huguenots had never obtained ſo advantageous a peace ſince the beginning of the troubles. In October the duke of Alençon came to court, where the queen his mother diſengaged him entirely from the party of the Huguenots: then it was that he aſſumed the title of duke of Anjou, borne by the king his brother before he aſcended the throne‡.

But the peace was no ſooner ſigned, than the catholic party took effectual meaſures to fruſtrate its ſalutary intentions. The condeſcenſion of Henry III. in granting ſuch favourable terms to the Huguenots*, emboldened the duke of Guiſe to form the league, which had been projected by his uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, now dead, in defence of the catholic religion, with a deſign to raiſe himſelf upon the ruins of a miſerable and ill-governed kingdom. The ſtate now teemed with factions, and Henry de Guiſe was formed for them. He was ſon to the deceaſed duke Francis, ſlain at the ſiege of Orleans, and is ſaid to have had all the noble qualities of his father, with the moſt headſtrong and deſigning ambition: like him he captivated all hearts; and it was commonly ſaid of the father and ſon, that, in compariſon with them, all other princes appeared but as common men.

The league, or Holy Union as its eſtabliſhers thought proper to term it, was ſet on foot at Paris; papers were diſperſed among the citizens, containing a project of aſſociation for the defence of religion, the king, and the liberty of the ſubject; or rather to oppreſs at once king, religion, and ſtate. The league was afterwards ſolemnly ſigned at Peronne, and through the greateſt part of Picardy; and ſoon after the reſt of the provinces acceded to it: the king of Spain declared himſelf its protector, and it afterwards received the ſanction of the apoſtolic ſee. The king, preſſed between the proteſtants, who demanded additional privileges, and the leaguers, who wanted to deprive him of his own, thought to ſtrike a blow in politics by ſigning the league, for fear it ſhould cruſh him, and declaring himſelf its chief, which inſpired the other members with double boldneſs. He now found himſelf, much againſt his will, obliged, in an aſſembly of the ſtates, to revoke the edict of pacification which he had concluded with the reformed, and to renew the war againſt them. However, we ſhall in the end find him not only obliged once more to give peace to that deceived and diſtreſſed part of his ſubjects, but even to owe his ſafety on the throne to their loyalty.

And now the earl of Eſſex, who, out of Leiceſter's enmity, had been recalled from Ireland, was, out of Leiceſter's fear, ſent thither again. It ſeems Eſſex had threatened him with vengeance; and the miniſter, who never durſt venture his credit with Elizabeth in glaring acts of injuſtice, pocketed all his reproaches, and, under pretence of making him amends, he was this year created earl-marſhal of Ireland for life, in the room of ſir Nicholas Bagnal, and ſent back to that kingdom, where every thing was, as uſual, in the utmoſt confuſion; but the earl finding, notwithſtanding his late conferred dignity, that he was little better than a private officer, took it ſo to heart, that, about September, he fell ill of a bloody flux, which carried him off in the thirty-ſixth year of his age, not without ſuſpicion of having been poiſoned by the earl of Leiceſter's procurement; and what gave this ſuſpicion greater weight, was, that ſcarcely had the grave received the laſt remains of Eſſex, when Leiceſter, putting away his wife, the lady Douglas Sheffield, married the deceaſed earl's relict: we leave the reader to draw his own concluſion.

We ſhall add to the occurrences of this year, that a company of Engliſh merchants ſent out Martin Forbiſher, the famous ſeaman, with three pinnaces, to diſcover the north-weſt paſſage. Forbiſher ſailed from Harwich on the eighteenth of June, and on the ninth of Auguſt entered in a bay, under the latitude 63°, where he found inhabitants much reſembling the ancient Britons, as they have been deſcribed: but being frozen up, he was obliged to return without any farther diſcovery, on the twenty-fourth of September. Two years after, he made the ſame attempt, and with the like ill ſucceſs.

This year died the emperor Maximilian, a prince that had deſerved well of queen Elizabeth and the Engliſh, who thereupon ſent ſir Philip Sidney to his ſon Rodolphus, king of the Romans, with compliments of condolance on the death of his father, and to congratulate him on his acceſſion to the Imperial dignity.

But the moſt memorable event in this period was a ſeſſion of parliament, ſummoned on the eighth of February this year, where debates were ſtarted, full of that ſpirit of freedom which was ſo new and ſo offenſive to the ear of majeſty at that time: accordingly it drew on the promoters the indignation of the queen and the courtiers. Some of the members were committed, but ſoon after releaſed. The curious reader may find the ſum of thoſe debates accurately and conciſely related by Mr. Hume, in his hiſtory of this reign: as they would too much ſwell this work, were they to be here inſerted, we have contented ourſelves with this curſory mention of them.

We come now to the year 1577, which was opened by the ambitious projects of don John of Auſtria, who had been made governor of the Netherlands in the preceding year, and who was a prince famous through Europe for the glorious victory he gained over the Turkiſh fleet at Lepanto, and for his ambition in attempting to get himſelf made king of Tunis. Don John was naturally of an aſpiring genius, and, encouraged by the ſucceſſes which had hitherto attended him in all his undertakings, had projected in his mind a ſcheme far beyond the reduction of the revolted provinces, and had actually entered into a league with the pope and king of Spain, to aſſiſt him in obtaining the queen of Scots for a wife, and placing him upon the throne of Britain.

‡ Mezerai. P. Daniel.

* By this treaty Henry diſowned the late bloody maſſacre, in which, however, he was but too deeply concerned: he exempts from taxes, for ſix years, the children of all thoſe who were killed on that fatal day: reſtores the memory of the late attainted admiral Coligni to its honours: and, to complete his own humiliation, ſubmits to pay the German troops of prince Palatine Caſimir, thoſe very troops who had forced him to conclude this peace. But not having money enough to ſatisfy them, he permitted them to live at diſcretion for three months in the provinces of Champagne and Burgundy. Vol. Gen. Hiſt. vol. v. p. 67.

On his taking upon him the government of the Netherlands, he choſe rather to inflame than allay the quarrel between the Flemings and the Spaniards, and as he found the ſtates reſolved to confine his authority within very narrow limits, he took all occaſions of mortifying them. But the prince of Orange having gotten notice of his deſign upon the queen of Scots, imparted the ſame to Elizabeth; who now ſeeing, from the ruin of all the provinces, a probable proſpect of oppoſing the Spaniſh uſurpations, ſhe no longer ſcrupled to undertake the defence of their liberties, which ſeemed to be intimately connected with her own ſafety.

In the mean time the breach between don John and the ſtates grew daily wider: the latter thought that don John wanted to ſtrip them of their liberties, and he imagined his life to be in danger from the ſtates. The effect of all this mutual diſtruſt was, that don John, thinking himſelf no longer ſafe in Bruſſels, where he had hitherto reſided, ſurprized the caſtle of Namur, to the great joy of the prince of Orange's party, who thought, as don John had now thrown off the mask, that the ſtates might throw away the ſcabbard, which they accordingly did; for they not only openly challenged don John to ſhew any cauſe for ſo violent a proceeding, which ſet aſide the late pacification, but ſent the marquis of Hautrec and Adolphus Meetkirck to Elizabeth in the autumn of this year, to vindicate their proceedings, and to ſolicit from her the loan of one hundred thouſand pounds for eight months. Elizabeth readily gave them credit for this, provided certain towns were bound for the repayment: and ſhe alſo entered into a treaty with them, whereby "ſhe engaged to aſſiſt them with five thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe, to be paid by the Flemings, and to be commanded by an Engliſh general, who was to have a ſeat in the council of the ſtates; that no ſtep relating to peace or war ſhould be taken, without previouſly imparting it either to the queen or him; that they ſhould conclude no league without her conſent; that if any difference happened among themſelves, it ſhould be ſubmitted to her arbitration; and that if any prince, on any pretext, ſhould preſume to make war upon her, they ſhould ſend to her aid an army equal to that which ſhe employed in their ſervice *.

In the mean time Elizabeth ordered Wilkes to repair to the court of Spain, where he preſented a memorial to that king, on the twentieth of December, importing, "that the queen by no means intended to break the ancient alliance between England and the houſe of Burgundy; that with this view ſhe had refuſed the principality of Holland and Zealand when offered her; had adviſed the prince of Orange to return to his allegiance, and had even threatened him with her diſpleaſure, in caſe of refuſal; but withal, if the king of Spain would wiſh to ſee this part of his ſubjects quietly embrace his rule, ſhe counſelled him, as a friend, to oblige don John to reſign his government, and that ſome other prince, more popular, might be appointed in his room; that the Spaniſh forces might be recalled, and the Flemings re-eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of their liberties:" adding, "that if, after theſe conceſſions, they ſhould ſtill refuſe to return to their duty, ſhe engaged to join her arms with thoſe of the king of Spain, and compel them to ſubmit †." It is likely Philip was not very well pleaſed with theſe reaſons, but he feigned to be ſo, yet ſtill continued to furniſh don John with money and troops.

The rumour of the correſpondence between don John and the queen of Scots had this ſummer alarmed the court with a report of her having eſcaped from Chatſworth: this produced a very earneſt letter, by Elizabeth's orders, from Burleigh to the earl of Shrewſbury, who had the cuſtody of Mary, recommending to him a greater circumſpection than ever with regard to his charge, and not without expreſſing ſome ſuſpicion that ſome of his lordſhip's family were in confederacy with Mary. But though we know not that any ſuch eſcape was attempted, yet Elizabeth this year held a ſtrict hand over the papiſts: many ſuſpected of that religion were put out of the commiſſion of peace; ſome were ſeverely fined; and one Maine, a prieſt, was put to death, upon the ſtatute prohibiting the importation of popiſh trinkets into England; while a gentleman of Cornwall, one Trugion, was condemned to loſe his eſtate, and to be impriſoned during life, for harbouring him. Theſe ſeverities occaſioned many reflections upon the government: and while one Jenkins, a bookſeller, was trying at the Oxford aſſizes, a ſudden peſtilential vapour ſo fatally affected the judge, the ſheriff, with ſome other perſons of diſtinction, and about three hundred common people, that they all died within a fortnight after.

At this time the affairs of France were in a very melancholy ſituation. Henry III. could not be ſaid to reign: the catholic league and the proteſtant confederacy (whereof the king of Navarre was declared general, and the prince of Condé appointed his lieutenant) made war upon each other in deſpite of him, in all the provinces of the kingdom. Epidemic diſeaſes and famine were added to theſe ſcourges: and at this time of general calamity, in order to ſet up his own favourites againſt the duke of Guiſe, after having created Joyeuſe and d'Eſpernon dukes and peers, and given them precedence over their ſeniors, Henry expended four millions of livres on the marriage of the duke of Joyeuſe with the ſiſter of the queen his conſort, and gave him rank as the king's brother-in-law. New taxes were impoſed to defray theſe prodigalities: this excited the indignation of the public afreſh. Had the duke of Guiſe not made a league againſt the king, his conduct was ſufficient to have produced a general defection. In a word, the faction of Sixteen was now formed: this was a kind of particular league for Paris only, conſiſting of ſeveral perſons, who were diſtributed in the ſixteen wards of that city, and who ſhared the adminiſtration one among another: they were ſtaunch friends to the duke of Guiſe, and ſworn enemies to the king, to whom nothing of that auguſt rank remained but the name.

England mean while enjoyed peace and plenty under the wiſe adminiſtration of Elizabeth; but Philip of Spain burned with an eager deſire to retort upon the queen the ill offices he thought ſhe had done him, by aſſiſting the confederates of the Low Countries. With this view he entered into a conſultation with the pope (now Gregory XIII.) to invade at once both England and Ireland. Gre-

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xv. p. 784. Camden, p. 466. † Stowe, p. 682.

gory

gory had formed a project ſome time before, to gain the latter of theſe kingdoms for James Buon Campagno, his baſtard ſon, whom he had made marquis of Vincola. As the greateſt ſtrength of England conſiſted in her ſhipping, it was reſolved, under various pretexts, to hire ſeveral of the veſſels for long voyages, to the end that while they were abſent, the Engliſh ports might be ſeized by a ſuperior fleet. At the ſame time one Thomas Stukeley, an Engliſh fugitive, was to be ſent over to join the Iriſh rebels with a ſtrong body of forces. This man, by making a great boaſt, and pretending that he was able to reduce the kingdom of Ireland for the pope's baſtard, had ſo inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the ambitious old pontiff, that he inveſted him with the titles of marquis of Leinſter, and earl of Wexford and Catherlough (the principal dignities of Ireland), and appointed him commander of eight hundred Italians, to be employed in the Iriſh war; with which Stukeley ſetting ſail from Civita Vecchia, in the ſpring of 1578, landed at Liſbon. Here he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded by don Sebaſtian, king of Portugal (to whom the chief command of the expedition againſt England was aſſigned) to engage in his ſervice againſt the Moors in Africa, after which they were to proceed together to Ireland: but both Sebaſtian and himſelf being ſlain in the memorable battle of Alcazar, this deſign was fruſtrated.

In the Netherlands, don John of Auſtria being reinforced by the Spaniſh troops from Italy, and another body of forces from that country, under the command of Alexander Farneſe, prince of Parma, obtained a ſignal victory, at Gemblours, over the confederates, whoſe affairs began to decline in conſequence of religious diſputes. The towns of Amſterdam, Haarlem, and Utrecht, expelled their magiſtrates, and put the government into the hands of the proteſtants. The catholics, alarmed at theſe events, which ſeemed to portend the deſtruction of the old religion, propoſed to confer the government of the ſtate upon the duke of Anjou, who was accordingly declared protector of the Belgic liberty. The proteſtants demanded, that they ſhould be admitted to the exerciſe of public employments as well as the catholics; this demand was granted by the ſtates, on condition that the catholics ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges in Holland and Zealand. Theſe two provinces eluded this article, and hence diſſenſions aroſe among the confederates. This diviſion was increaſed by the inhabitants of Ghent, who expelled the Romiſh prieſts from their city, while the people of Artois and Hainault baniſhed the proteſtants, in their turn. Don John, in hope of profiting by this animoſity, attacked the army of the ſtates in their camp at Rymenant, in Brabant, and was repulſed, after a very obſtinate engagement, in which ſir John Norreys, ſecond ſon of the lord Norreys of Rycot, and colonel Stuart, at the head of two regiments of Engliſh and Scottiſh volunteers, ſignalized themſelves by remarkable acts of valour. This event miſcarrying, don John endeavoured to amuſe them with propoſals of peace, till his army ſhould be reinforced: they agreed to the negociation for the ſame reaſon, for they expected to be joined by prince Caſimir and a conſiderable body of Germans, and the duke of Anjou had already advanced to the frontiers of Hainault with eight thouſand auxiliaries. By theſe junctions on both ſides, don John found himſelf at the head of fifty thouſand men, including infantry and cavalry, and the army of the eſtates amounted to threeſcore thouſand; but this laſt was rendered uſeleſs by the diſputes between the inhabitants of Ghent and the provinces of Hainault and Artois; ſome of their troops mutinied, and joining the people of Artois, made incurſions into Flanders; and the inhabitants of Ghent brought over prince Caſimir to their intereſt, by promiſing to pay his ſoldiers, he having ſquandered away the money which Elizabeth had remitted to him for that purpoſe. Daviſon was ſent over by the queen to make ſevere remonſtrances on this ſubject; but he made ſuch an apology as ſhe admitted, for in the winter he viſited her court, where he was graciouſly received, and inveſted with the order of the Garter. Don John dying ſuddenly, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon, was ſucceeded in command by the prince of Parma, to whom the eſtates of Artois and Hainault ſubmitted; and the duke of Anjou ſeeing this defection, diſmiſſed his troops and retired to France. While he reſided in the Low Countries, he diſpatched Martel de Bacqueville to England, to renew the negociations of his marriage with Elizabeth; afterwards the king of France ſent over Rambouillet for the ſame purpoſe; and both theſe envoys were received in ſuch a manner as ſeemed to denote her approbation of the propoſal. This was thought to be the more ſincere, as ſhe had now no cauſe to diſſemble her ſentiments.

This year ſir Henry Sidney was, at his own requeſt, recalled from Ireland, where the ſervice was full of trouble and danger, and the reward void of profit or reputation: ſir William Drury was ſworn lord-deputy in his ſtead. But we are now to attend the affairs of Scotland, the critical ſituation of which now demanded all Elizabeth's attention.

The earl of Morton had hitherto retained that kingdom in a cloſe alliance with England, and had alſo re-eſtabliſhed domeſtic tranquility: but it was not likely, that the factitious authority of a regent would be long able to maintain itſelf in a country unacquainted with law and order, where the natural dominion of hereditary princes was ſo frequently oppoſed and controuled.

The nobility began anew to ſplit into factions; the people were offended at ſome inſtances of Morton's avarice; and the clergy, who complained of farther encroachments on their narrow revenues, contributed to inflame the diſcontent of the other orders. The regent foreſaw the approaching danger; and having dropt ſome peeviſh expreſſion, as if he was willing to reſign the government, the noblemen of the oppoſite party, favourites of the young king, embraced ſuch a favourable opportunity, and demanded that diſmiſſion which he ſeemed ſo readily to offer. James was only in the twelfth year of his age; yet Morton having, as he imagined, effectually provided for his own ſecurity by a general pardon, on the twelfth of March this year, reſigned his authority into the hands of the king, who now pretended to conduct, in his own name, the affairs of the nation, while the late regent withdrew from the government, and ſeemed to devote himſelf entirely to his own private concerns; but, either diſguſted with this inactivity, which appeared ſo inſipid after the buſtle of public life, or thinking it time to pull off the maſk, he returned again

to

to court, and obtained an aſcendant in the council; and though he reſumed not the title of regent, continued to rule with his former authority.

The oppoſite party, after holding ſome private meetings, took to arms, under pretence of reſcuing the prince from captivity, and re-inſtating him in the free exerciſe of his government: queen Elizabeth interpoſed her good offices, and effected an agreement between the factions: Morton kept poſſeſſion of the government; but his enemies were numerous and powerful, and his authority ſeemed every day to be approaching towards its end.

Eſme Stuart, count d'Aubigney, of the houſe of Lenox*, couſin-german to the king's father, had been born and educated in France; and being a young nobleman of a polite and inſinuating addreſs, he was judged by the duke of Guiſe to be a proper inſtrument for drawing off James from the Engliſh alliance, and attaching him to his mother and her relations. He no ſooner arrived at Sterling, where James reſided, than he engaged the affections of the young monarch; and uniting his influence with James Stuart of the houſe of Ochiltree, who had acquired the king's confidence, he employed himſelf, under the appearance of plays and amuſement, in infuſing into the tender mind of the prince, new ſentiments of politics and government. He convinced him of the injuſtice which had been done to Mary in her depoſition, and made him entertain ſome thoughts, either of reſigning the crown in her favour, or of giving her a ſhare in the adminiſtration.

Elizabeth was no ſooner informed of theſe intrigues, than ſhe diſpatched ſir Robert Bowes into Scotland; accuſed d'Aubigney, now created duke of Lenox, of an attachment to the French; and adviſed James to beware of engaging in ſuch ſuſpicious and dangerous commotions. The king apologized for his conduct by means of his ambaſſador; and Lenox, regarding the queen as his enemy, was farther inſtigated to undermine the Engliſh intereſt, and particularly to ruin Morton, who was conſidered as the head of that party.

Morton was ſeized in council, accuſed as an accomplice in the late king's murder, thrown into priſon, brought to trial, and condemned to ſuffer the death of a traitor. He acknowleged that Bothwell had acquainted him with the deſign, had pleaded Mary's aſſent, and had ſolicited his aſſiſtance; but he denied that he had ever given his approbation to that crime; and in excuſe for his ſilence, repreſented the danger of diſcloſing it, either to Henry, who had no reſolution nor conſtancy, or to Mary, who ſeemed to have a capital ſhare in perpetrating the deed. Elizabeth diſpatched ſir Richard Randolph, to intercede in Morton's favour; and that ambaſſador, not ſatisfied with performing this duty of his function, perſuaded the earls of Argyll, Montroſe, Angus, Marr, and Glencairn, to engage in a confederacy for protecting, even by force of arms, the life of the priſoner. The more to intimidate that nobleman's enemies, Elizabeth cauſed a body of forces to advance towards the borders of Scotland: but this expedient, inſtead of producing the deſired effect, contributed only to precipitate his fate.

Morton died with that courage and reſolution, which he ever diſcovered in all the various ſcenes of his life; and, though blameable in ſome parts of his private conduct, he left behind him the character of an able and accompliſhed ſtateſman.

In the courſe of this year, 1578, Egremond Radcliffe, ſon to Henry, earl of Suſſex, by his ſecond wife, who had been a leading man in the rebellion in the North, and afterwards ſerved under don John of Auſtria, in the Netherlands, was accuſed by the Engliſh fugitives in the Spaniſh intereſt, with being acceſſary to the death of don John, upon which, whether true or falſe, he was arreſted and put to death. The Spaniards have affirmed, that Radcliffe, in his laſt moments, voluntarily confeſſed that he had been freed from his confinement in the Tower of London, and ſent over by Walſingham with large promiſes if he would perpetrate this fact; but the Engliſh, who were preſent at his death, deny his having made any ſuch confeſſion, though all means were uſed to wreſt it from him by the Engliſh rebels.

The year 1579 opened with the departure from England of prince Caſimir, who returned highly pleaſed with the honours paid him here, and repaired to his army in the Netherlands; and with the death of that great ſtateſman and zealous friend to the proteſtant cauſe, ſir Nicholas Bacon: he was deſcended from an ancient family in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, but was himſelf born at Chiſlehurſt, in Kent, A. D. 1509. Mr. Lloyd ſums up his character in this manner: "He underſtood his miſtreſs well, and the times better: he could raiſe factions to ſerve one, and could allay them to ſuit the other. He had the deepeſt reach into affairs, of any man at the council-table; the acuteſt head to penetrate into difficulties, the moſt comprehenſive judgment to diſcern the merits of a cauſe, the ſtrongeſt memory to recollect all buſineſs at one view, the greateſt patience to debate and conſider, and the cleareſt reaſon to urge any thing that came in his way, in council or chancery. His favour was eminent with his miſtreſs, and his alliance ſtrong with her ſtateſmen. His dexterity and diſpatch advanced him to the court of wards, his deep experience made him lord-keeper. He was the exacteſt man to draw up regulations in council, and the moſt diſcreet to execute them in court. When others urged the repeal of the act whereby Elizabeth was declared illegitimate, he was for waving that deſign, thinking the cloſure of a feſtered wound more prudent than the opening it; and judging it higher wiſdom to ſatisfy the world with the old law, that the crown takes away all defects, than to perplex it with new diſputes. His account of England and all its affairs, was punctual; his uſe of learned artiſts, was continual; his correſpondence with his fellow ſtateſmen, exact; his apprehenſion of our laws and government, clear; his model of both, methodical; his faithfulneſs to the church, eminent; and his induſtrious invention for the ſtate, indefatigable: he was, in a word, a father to his country, as he was of ſir Nicholas Bacon, of Redgrave, the firſt baronet of England, and of ſir

* He had his title from the town of Aubigney, in France; which title Charles IX. of France had formerly conferred on John Stuart, of the family of Lenox, who being conſtable of the Scottiſh army in France, vanquiſhed the Engliſh in one battle, and was ſlain by them in another; and from that time this title belonged to the youngeſt branch of that houſe.

Francis Bacon, lord viſcount Verulam, and lord-chancellor of England.

It was not only the loſs of this good and faithful ſervant, but the growing power and artful contrivance of the papiſts that gave the queen, at this time, more than ordinary concern. The pope himſelf, not diſcouraged by the miſcarriage of Stukeley, as noted before, ſent more forces into Ireland, and renewed the bull of pope Pius V. and granted a bull for founding a new college a Rome for training up the Engliſh fugitives in rebellion, of whom, among other things, it was required, before they could be admitted, to take the oath, "that they would at any time, at the command of their ſuperiors, return into their own country, and be ready to," &c.

This year alſo was remarkable for bringing Robert Parſons and Edmund Campain into England, who were the firſt two Jeſuits that ever appeared in this kingdom. At the ſame time the nation ſwarmed with prieſts and emiſſaries from the pope, to preach ſedition and rebellion, under colour of adminiſtering the ſacraments to the ſcrupulous catholics, and under the diſguiſe of gentlemen, merchants, artificers, and even in the garb of ſoldiers. Which being known at court, was enough to awake the attention of the queen and her council, who had not forgot the effects of bulls and excommunications, where many were bound by oath, and others thought themſelves obliged by conſcience, to ſee them executed; and this produced a proclamation, commanding all thoſe that had any children, wards, or kinſmen beyond ſea, to give in their names to the ordinary in ten days, and to call them home in four months; and forbidding all perſons to entertain or harbour any Jeſuit or prieſt ſent forth from the ſeminaries of Rome or Rheims, on pain of being puniſhed as rebels and ſeditious perſons. However, this did not deter the malecontents from their pernicious deſigns. Seditious books were diſperſed, aſſerting the king of Spain's right to the crown, and his and the pope's engagements to aſſiſt Elizabeth's rebellious ſubjects, in caſe they would take up arms to dethrone her. And theſe declarations being backed immediately by the forces of theſe two enemies, which landed in Ireland, under San Joſeppo, an Italian commander, though without ſucceſs, they being obliged by the earl of Ormond to ſurrender at diſcretion in five days after he had opened the trenches before the fort del Oro, which they had built, the queen iſſued out another proclamation, that they who would not keep within the bounds of their duty, muſt expect no favour.

The difficulties and dangers which ſo threatened the ſtate greatly forwarded the treaty of marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou; for which purpoſe ambaſſadors from the court of France had all laſt year been paſſing backwards and forwards between France and England; at laſt the baron de Simier, the moſt artful man in France for the management of a love-intrigue, was ſent over to put a finiſhing hand to this negociation. This man gained ſuch an aſcendant over the paſſions of Elizabeth, that ſhe ſeemed to have conceived a very warm affection for the perſon of the duke of Anjou, inſomuch that Leiceſter and others affirmed ſhe was infatuated by the arts of incantation. Simier, in revenge, did Leiceſter all the ill offices he could with the queen, and was the firſt that informed her of that nobleman's private marriage with the widow of Eſſex. She was ſo incenſed at this information, that ſhe ordered the earl to be confined in the caſtle of Greenwich, and would actually have committed him to the Tower, had not the earl of Suſſex, though his enemy, generouſly interpoſed in his behalf, and repreſented the injuſtice of puniſhing any ſubject for contracting a lawful marriage.

In the mean while the duke of Anjou, flattered by the intelligence he received from his agent, came over to England incognito, attended by two domeſtics only, towards the end of May this year, and paid the queen a viſit at Greenwich, who expreſſed great ſatisfaction at his unexpected arrival; and, after a ſhort converſation with her, the ſubject of which has not tranſpired, he departed.

But Elizabeth was ſo apprehenſive of the hoſtile intentions of Philip, whoſe power was greatly augmented by his late acquiſitions, that ſhe reſolved not to let the affair of the marriage cool; and this winter ſhe ordered Burleigh (now treaſurer), Suſſex, Leiceſter, Bedford, Lincoln, Hatton, and ſecretary Walſingham, to ſettle with the French ambaſſador the terms of the intended alliance.

Henry III. of France ſent on this occaſion a very ſplendid embaſſy into England, compoſed of Francis de Bourbon, dauphin of Auvorgne, and many conſiderable noblemen: and as Elizabeth had, in a manner, the power of chuſing what terms ſhe pleaſed, the articles were ſoon adjuſted with the Engliſh commiſſioners.

It was agreed, "I. that the marriage ſhould be ſolemnized within ſix weeks after the ratification of the articles.

"II. That the duke and his attendants ſhould be indulged with the free exerciſe of their religion.

"III. That, after the marriage, he ſhould enjoy the title of King, but the adminiſtration ſhould remain in the hands of Elizabeth.

"IV. That their children, male or female, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of England.

"V. That if there be two males, the eldeſt, in caſe of Henry's death without iſſue, ſhould be king of France, the younger of England.

"VI. That if there be but one male, and he ſucceed to the crown of France, he ſhould be obliged to reſide in England eight months every two years.

"VII. That the laws and cuſtoms of England ſhould be preſerved inviolate.

"VIII. And that no foreigner ſhould be advanced by the duke to any office in England."

Theſe articles, however, were not poſitively concluded, but the diſcuſſion of them referred either to a parliament, or a conference between the queen and the duke of Anjou.

The public, who generally judge by appearances, began now to conſider the match to be as good as concluded, and the puritans thought popery was already at their gates. The apprehenſion of this drove one Stubbs to publiſh a libel againſt the match, in which he abuſes the French king, his brother, and the French ambaſſador with great virulence. This performance had ſo remarkable an influence upon the public, that Elizabeth ordered a proclamation to be drawn up, expreſly in anſwer to the facts and reaſonings brought by the libeller; and all the clergy in England had orders to ſet the

queen's proceedings, in the matter of her marriage, in a true (that is, favourable) light to their congregations. Stubbs, the author, and Page, the bookſeller, were proſecuted as libellers, and condemned to loſe their right hands, which were accordingly chopped off by the executioner; and Stubbs afterwards endured a long impriſonment in the Tower.

This year affords little extraordinary beſides what we have already related, except the execution of Matthew Harmont for blaſphemy, at Norwich; the eſtabliſhment of the Turkey Company, by virtue of a treaty with Amurath, ſultan of the Turks, managed by ſir William Harbourn; the appointing ſir Thomas Bromley lord high-chancellor of England, upon the deceaſe of ſir Nicholas Bacon; and the death of ſir Thomas Greſham, who built the Royal Exchange, and dedicated a large houſe to the purpoſes of learning, called after him Greſham College, where he founded lectures in divinity, the civil law, medicine, aſtronomy, geometry, rhetoric, and muſic.

In the Low Countries, the prince of Parma amuſed the confederates with a negociation at Cologne, and in the mean time fomented their diſſenſions and mutual animoſities. The prince of Orange, far from being diſpirited by the defection of Hainault, Artois, and ſome other popiſh provinces, which ſubmitted to Philip, exerted all his influence and induſtry in ſtrengthening the confederacy of thoſe provinces which ſtill perſiſted in the reſolution to throw off the Spaniſh yoke. At length he effected the famous treaty of Utrecht, between Holland, Zealand, Frieſland, and Utrecht, to which Ghent and Ypres afterwards acceded, and the prince was elected governor of Flanders. Mean while the prince of Parma reduced Maeſtricht, and then diſmiſſed great part of his Spaniſh and Italian troops, according to his agreement with the ſtates who had ſubmitted; an act of honour and good faith which was productive of the voluntary ſubmiſſion of Mechlin, Liſle, and Valenciennes.

The news from Scotland was rather diſagreeable than otherwiſe to Elizabeth. The young king was now wholly governed by two young favourites, minions of the duke of Guiſe, who wanted to engage the king to marry a daughter of France, and, after marriage, to declare the duke of Guiſe his lieutenant-general, which muſt have ended in the worſt of conſequences to Elizabeth.

The city of London increaſing exceſſively, to the detriment of the reſt of the towns of the kingdom, the queen thought it neceſſary to remedy this inconvenience: ſhe publiſhed therefore, in the beginning of the year 1580, a proclamation, prohibiting any new buildings within three miles of the gates of the city, upon pain of impriſonment, and forfeiture of the materials; and ordered that no more than one family ſhould live in a houſe.

But there was ſtill a more preſſing evil which it was no leſs neceſſary to remedy, I mean the practices of the papiſts; for the farther the enquiries of the government reached, the ſtronger reaſons were found for being upon its guard againſt the pernicious order of Jeſuits, which had now got footing in England. It was diſcovered, that, notwithſtanding the late regulations, they ſtill perſiſted in ſpreading ſeditious tenets, and encouraging, not only thoſe of their own religion, but all the lewd, the needy, and the turbulent, to join in attempting a revolution. In ſhort, the zeal and activity of the papiſts were ſuch as drew upon themſelves a ſtorm of perſecution; nor can the ſeverities now exerciſed againſt them be excuſed by any other apology but the danger they had brought upon their country. Campian, the Jeſuit, who publiſhed a treatiſe, called the Ten Reaſons, in favour of the church of Rome, was taken and executed; but Parſons, the other Jeſuit, who had come over with him, making his eſcape to the continent, joined the Engliſh refugees in ſoliciting the king of Spain to invade England.

While the church and ſtate of England were thus threatened on the one hand from the fury of the papiſts, they were no leſs diſquieted on the other by the fanatical opinions of ſectaries, imported from Germany and the Low Countries. A new ſect, founded by Nicholai, a Dutchman, and termed the Family of Love, prevailed at this time in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk: they rejected the Lord's Prayer, the ſacraments, and the outward admiſſion of miniſters; they confined ſalvation to themſelves, holding the reſt of the world as reprobates; they were guilty of the moſt ſcandalous impurities and libertiniſm, and publiſhed apologies, filled with all the abſurdities of fanaticiſm; till at length, a proclamation being publiſhed againſt them, they were proſecuted and ſuppreſſed.

This year, 1580, was remarkable for the return of captain Francis Drake from his voyage, which he had completed round the world. This man was born of mean parents in the county of Devon: having amaſſed a large fortune by ſome depredations made on the Spaniards in the Iſthmus of Panama, and having there got a view of the Pacific Ocean, or South Sea, was ſo actuated by ambition and a thirſt of gain, that he ventured to employ his whole ſubſtance in a new adventure through thoſe ſeas, ſo little known at that time to the European nations.

It falls not under a general hiſtory to give all the particulars of this famous voyage; but it is proper to mention thoſe of a public concern. He was introduced to court by Hatton, upon propoſing to ſail to the South Seas through the ſtreights of Magellan, a voyage till that time unattempted by Engliſhmen. The fleet with which he ſet ſail conſiſted of the following veſſels: the Pelican, commanded by himſelf, of the burden of one hundred tons; the Elizabeth, vice-admiral, eighty tons, under captain John Winter; the Marygold, a bark of thirty tons, commanded by captain John Thomas; the Swan, a fly boat of fifty tons, under captain John Cheſter; and the Chriſtopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons, under captain John Noon. On board thoſe ſhips, the largeſt of which would at this time be deemed too ſmall for undertaking a common voyage to any of our own ſettlements, embarked one hundred and ſixty-four men, and on the thirteenth of December, 1577, Drake ſailed from Falmouth; on the twentieth of Auguſt following, having turned two of his ſhips adrift, but taking their crews and proviſions on board, he entered the ſtreights of Magellan, and paſſed them with his own ſhip only. While he was in the South Sea he took a prodigious booty from the Spaniards, whom he treated as enemies: he ſacked and plundered the town of St. Aricia; and in one ſhip he took four hundred pounds weight of Baldivian gold: on land he ſeized the value of four hundred thouſand

thouſand ducats, in bars of ſilver; and all along the coaſt he found ſuch ſecurity that he had little to do but to load his ſhip with gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. At laſt he had intelligence that the viceroy of Peru had ſent Pedro Sarmiento, with two ſhips, to intercept him on his return through the Streights of Magellan.

This news, with his own adventuring ſpirit, determined him, if poſſible, to find a way back to England by the north of America, which he coaſted to the latitude of forty-eight degrees; but finding this impracticable, fell back to the latitude of thirty-eight degrees, where he landed in a convenient harbour, amongſt an hoſpitable people, and, in Elizabeth's name, took poſſeſſion of the country, to which he gave the name of New Albion. It was the twenty-ninth of September before he ſet ſail from thence, and the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, joined to the danger of the navigation, determined him to ſail to the Moluccos, where he arrived in the middle of November. On the fifteenth of June next year, after various adventures and dangers, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, with but fifty-ſeven men on board his ſhip, and three casks of water. On the twenty-fifth of September (Camden ſays the third of November) he entered again the harbour of Plymouth, finding his countrymen in high admiration of his intrepidity, his conſtancy and good fortune.

His adventure, however, became matter of very ſerious conſideration to Elizabeth. Drake had left England on pretext of a voyage to the Levant: the treaties between Elizabeth's anceſtors and the houſe of Burgundy were ſtill in full force, and many doubted whether they were not violated by Drake's proceedings. Mendoza, the Spaniſh reſident, preſented very warm memorials, accuſing him of robbery and piracy, and reclaiming all the treaſure he had taken. Elizabeth for ſome time forbore to declare her opinion either for or againſt Drake, and he therefore ſought to procure friends at court, by making large preſents to ſome of the chief men there. The voice of the public, and her own good ſenſe, which never failed her, ſoon determined Elizabeth in the part ſhe was to act; ſhe ſequeſtered the treaſure, all but what ſhe allowed to Drake, though what that was does not appear.

The Spaniſh miniſtry was informed that if Drake had been guilty of any thing irregular, he was ready to anſwer the law, and that the booty he had made was ſequeſtered to make ſatisfaction: it was added, by Elizabeth's order, that his catholic majeſty had forced her, by ſupporting her rebels in Ireland, to ſpend a greater treaſure than even that which Drake had brought into England: that no treaty betwixt his catholic majeſty and her ſubſiſted, by which her ſubjects were excluded from trading to the Weſt Indies; that ſhe could not look upon that country to be the ſole property of his catholic majeſty, as he held it from no better title than the donation from the biſhop of Rome, who having no right over thoſe countries himſelf, could convey none to another, and whoſe authority, both in ſpiritual and temporal matters, ſhe diſowned; that the inſignificant ceremonies which the Spaniards made uſe of, in taking poſſeſſion of tracts of land in America, ſhould never preclude her from ſending thither colonies of her people, far leſs from looking upon the ocean as the property of any prince or perſon.

Though this was the true language which all proteſtant princes ought to have held during the infancy of the Spaniſh power in the Weſt Indies, before it was eſtabliſhed by preſcription, or confirmed by treaties, yet Elizabeth would not venture to puſh that doctrine ſo far as to treat the Spaniards as they had treated the natives of America; ſhe ordered a large ſum of money to be reſtored to Seburra, a Spaniſh agent, who, inſtead of paying it to the proprietors, remitted it to the prince of Parma, in the Low Countries. But that the whole was not returned, appears from the complaints the Spaniards continued to make concerning Drake's piracy; and the court of England, which, in the manifeſto it publiſhed when the Spaniſh ambaſſador was baniſhed the kingdom, thought proper to give an anſwer to all the other charges brought by the Spaniards, excepting that againſt Drake.

Henry Fitz Allan, earl of Arundel, died this year, in whom the ſirname of a noble family ended, which had been poſſeſſed of this title for above three hundred years, from Richard Fitz Allan, who, being deſcended from the Albineys (ancient earls of Arundel, in Suſſex), in the reign of Edward I. obtained the title of earl without any creation, on account of his being poſſeſſed of the caſtle and lordſhip of Arundel. One of his daughters married Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, by whom ſhe had a ſon, named Philip, who, in right of his mother, took the title of earl of Arundel, which thus came to the Howard family.

In Ireland, Arthur, lord Grey, the deputy-governor, was ſo fortunate as to ſuppreſs a dangerous conſpiracy raiſed by the O' Connors, the M'c Geoghans, and the other ſepts, and put ſeveral of the heads to death, particularly the lord Nugent, ſon to the earl of Weſtmeath. It is ſaid that this lord declared his innocence to the laſt, and that the queen was extremely offended at the lord-deputy for his precipitate cruelty; but this ſeverity had a good effect, for it brought Turlogh Leynigh to accept conditions of peace, and the O' Briens and Cavenaghs (rebellious families in Leinſter) to ſue for pardon, and offer hoſtages for their future good behaviour.

The civil war was renewed in France in the month of February, and ended in November, by a ſixth treaty of peace.

It was in the beginning of this year that Philip II. of Spain ſeized the throne of Portugal, vacant by the death of king Henry: don Antonio, prior of Crato, natural ſon to don Lewis, brother to the late king, would have diſputed the crown with the king of Spain, but the forces of the two competitors being very unequal, all Antonio's endeavours were fruitleſs.

The great expences Elizabeth had been at, obliged her to re-aſſemble her parliament, on the ſixteenth of January, 1581, which, after ſome diſputes about the chuſing a ſpeaker, and filling the vacant ſeats, applied themſelves to the national buſineſs. The puritans in the houſe of commons, not humbled by the checks they had received in the two former ſeſſions, made another attempt in this, to encroach upon what the queen conceived to be her prerogative in eccleſiaſtical matters, and, on the twenty-firſt of January, Mr. Paul Wentworth making a motion for a public faſt to be appointed on a certain day, it was carried by one hundred

hundred and fifteen voices againſt one hundred. The debate ſeems to have turned on the power of the houſe of commons in this point, which was not ſupported by any precedent; but as there were inſtances of faſts having been appointed in London by orders of the privy council, it was inferred from thence that the parliament ought in reaſon to be ſuppoſed to have the like power. This ſeems to have been the chief argument whereon the reſolution was founded, which, under pretence of applying to God for his bleſſing on their conſultations and actions, was deſigned as a check or encroachment upon the royal prerogative; and to make the faſt entirely puritanical, it was appointed on the twenty-ninth of January, which was upon a Sunday, a day which hath in all ages and in all parts of the Chriſtian church been conſtantly obſerved as a feſtival.

The queen was ſo highly incenſed at this preſumption, that, on the twenty-fourth of January, ſhe ſent a meſſage to the houſe by her vice-chamberlain, Hatton, "declaring her admiration at the raſhneſs of the houſe in committing ſo evident a contempt againſt her expreſs command, very lately delivered to them, in her name, by the chancellor, as to attempt and exerciſe ſuch an innovation as the appointment of a faſt, without her majeſty's privity and pleaſure firſt known; but was pleaſed to conſtrue it as a raſh, unadviſed, and inconſiderate error of the houſe, proceeding of zeal and not of the wilful or malicious intent of the houſe, or of any member thereof, but imputing it to her own lenity towards a brother of the man that now made this motion, who in the laſt ſeſſion had been for juſt cauſes reprehended and committed by the houſe, but graciouſly pardoned, and reſtored again by her majeſty." The houſe hereupon made their humble ſubmiſſion, and kiſſed the rod of power Elizabeth now ſhook over their heads; and when Mr. Carlton roſe up to ſpeak for the privileges of the houſe, his mouth was ſtopped from the chair, for fear of giving offence to her majeſty *.

The parliament then proceeded to enact ſome ſtatutes for the ſecurity of the government, chiefly againſt the attempts of the catholics: whoever in any way reconciled any one to the church of Rome, or was himſelf reconciled, was declared to be guilty of treaſon: to ſay maſs was puniſhed with one year's impriſonment, and a fine of two hundred marks; the hearing it was puniſhable by a year's impriſonment, and a fine of one hundred marks: a fine of twenty pounds per month was impoſed on every one who continued during that time abſent from the ſervice of the church of England: to utter ſlanderous or ſeditious words againſt the queen, was puniſhable, for the firſt offence, with the pillory and loſs of ears; the ſecond offence was declared felony. The ſeſſion ended, by a prorogation, on the eighteenth of March, the commons having firſt granted the queen a ſubſidy, as did the clergy likewiſe.

The power of Spain was ſo much aggrandized by the acquiſition of Portugal, that Elizabeth found ſtronger reaſons than ever for keeping well with the French: accordingly ſhe, this year, diſpatched Walſingham as her ambaſſador to France, to contract a cloſer connection with Henry, and to conclude a league offenſive and defenſive againſt the formidable power and dangerous uſurpations of the Spaniards.

The great ſucceſs of the duke of Parma laſt year, had obliged the ſtates of the United Provinces to ſend deputies to offer the ſovereignty thereof to the duke of Anjou, which was to deſcend to his legitimate male heirs; but if he had ſeveral ſons, they were to chuſe one in whom it was to be veſted. The treaty was made at Pleſſis le Tours; and the duke undertook the defence of thoſe provinces the more willingly, becauſe, having by his mediation procured a peace between his brother, Henry III. king of France, and the king of Navarre, the former was ſo well pleaſed with this ſervice, that, forgetting his former enmity, he had promiſed to aſſiſt him in procuring a ſettlement to his mind, and particularly in his marriage with the queen of England.

The duke of Anjou had himſelf wrote to Elizabeth for a ſupply of money, in order to enable him to begin his operations in Flanders, and the queen, notwithſtanding her great frugality, was at length perſuaded to grant his requeſt: ſhe ſent him a preſent of one hundred thouſand crowns, by which, added to his own revenues, and the aſſiſtance of the queen-mother, he aſſembled an army, and took the field againſt the prince of Parma. He obliged that general to raiſe the ſiege of Cambray, and, after being formally elected governor of the Netherlands, he diſperſed his troops into winter-quarters, and came over to England, in order to renew his addreſſes to the queen, in the month of November.

He met with ſuch a gracious and favourable reception, that he began to entertain the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs, and fondly concluded that Elizabeth had now overcome all her ſcruples, and was finally reſolved to chuſe him for her huſband. He was not a little confirmed in theſe hopes by a very extraordinary mark of affection which ſhe gave him, at a magnificent entertainment ſhe made on the anniverſary day of her coronation; for, in ſight of all her court, while the duke and ſhe were entertaining each other apart, ſhe pulled a ring from her own finger, and put it upon his. All the ſpectators imagined that in this ceremony ſhe had given him a promiſe of marriage, and was even deſirous of publiſhing her intention to all the world. Expreſſes immediately flew all over the kingdom, and all over Europe, with information that the match between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou was actually concluded.

But it is more than probable that Elizabeth never had any intention to conſummate what was agreed on by the articles of marriage already mentioned: ſuch a treaty was, if ever, moſt neceſſary at the time it was ſet on foot, when ſhe was ſo powerfully beſet with inveterate and powerful enemies, daily plotting againſt her; and was certain if ſhe rejected the offer, or ſeemed otherwiſe than in earneſt, that the duke would have immediately accepted the daughter of the king of Spain, by which the number and power of her enemies would be increaſed: therefore Elizabeth ventured to play this bold ſtroke, and to make the brother and the ſon of a king the dupe of her politics, not doubting but time would furniſh her with ſufficient pretences to delay the conſummation of her marriage

* Sir Simon d'Ewes's Journal.

till a more favourable juncture ſhould warrant her final retractation.

This juncture ſeemed now to offer, and ſhe ſaw herſelf furniſhed very ſubſtantial reaſons for acting in this manner by the openneſs of the papiſts, who made no ſcruple every where to boaſt of the duke of Anjou's protection; and ſome of their prieſts were even ſo impudent as publicly to own that they were empowered to abſolve every man in particular from his oath of allegiance, from which Pius V. had, by his bull, abſolved the whole nation in general.

Armed with theſe objections, the diſſembling queen knew ſhe could break off her engagement at will; but as ſhe was deſirous to caſt the blame entirely on the duke, ſhe next care was, by acts of ſeverity, and the rigorous execution of juſtice againſt thoſe that hoped to be protected by him, to wean his affections, and to make him diſcover ſufficient tokens of diſguſt, upon which ſhe might more eaſily clear herſelf of any blame in the eye of the world: but finding that the duke never attempted to interpoſe in favour of the popiſh delinquents, but ſtill continued to preſs with unremitting ardour the conſummation of his marriage, ſhe was obliged to throw off the mask, and declare herſelf openly. Beſides, all her chief confidents and counſellors, Leiceſter, Hatton, and Walſingham, exerted their utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade her from the projected alliance: they repreſented to her, that ſhe was ready to divide her power, by which all England was obedient to her nod, and all Europe in terror of her frown, with a young man of an untried temper, of a foreign education, and of a different religion; ſhe was to bear the diſcontents, the reproaches, nay the curſes of her ſubjects, who, by this match, dreaded to ſee a total alteration in the religion, the laws, and the conſtitution of their country. Elizabeth was deeply affected with theſe various conſiderations, and ſhe was obſerved to paſs ſeveral nights without any ſleep or repoſe: at length her prudence and ambition got the better of her temporal inclination (for I am apt to believe that Elizabeth, by diſſembling ſo long and ſo deeply, had fooled her heart into a certain degree of tenderneſs for her young lover), and having ſent for the duke of Anjou, ſhe had a long converſation with him in private, wherein ſhe informed him of the diſlike her ſubjects had to a French prince, and which was unſurmountable: ſhe next repreſented the little advantage he would reap from her alliance (ſhe being in the forty-ninth year of her age, and not likely to have any children); the great events ſhe apprehended it might produce, and the inconveniences that would ariſe from their different ſentiments in point of religion; and concluded with declaring her final reſolution was, "never to marry."

The duke was thunder-ſtruck to find all his hopes daſhed in the moment he expected to ſee the completion of them, and one of the fineſt crowns in Europe on his head: he flung from the queen's preſence with the moſt viſible marks of diſcontent and rage; he threw from his finger the deceitful ring with which ſhe had ſo lately preſented him; and he taxed the whole ſex with levity, not without ſome particular imputations upon Elizabeth, and her country.

The earl of Suſſex and the lord Burleigh, ſworn enemies to Leiceſter, had been very aſſiduous in bringing about this match, and had been completely duped by Elizabeth's diſſimulation, or variableneſs, by which ever name it may be called. They were ſtruck with ſurprize at this ſudden reverſe, and omitted no efforts to give her mind another turn, more favourable to their deſigns: they repreſented to her the neceſſity of the match, for ſupporting her againſt the power of Spain, which ſingly ſhe was not able to encounter; the danger there was, leſt the young king of Scotland might be brought over entirely to the intereſt of France, and thereby put himſelf at the head of all the papiſts in Britain; and laſtly, the probability that France would reſent ſo much ill treatment, and that the duke of Anjou might ſacrifice Elizabeth's intereſts to the Spaniſh court. Elizabeth heard all this with great temper, but yielded to the ſtronger reaſons urged by Hatton, Walſingham, and Leiceſter, againſt the match. However, to provide againſt all accidents, ſhe found means to prevent the duke from going back to the Low Countries, though the ſtates preſſed his immediate return thither, to oppoſe the progreſs of the prince of Parma, and continued to treat him with extraordinary diſtinctions during the three months ſtay he made in England.

On his departure, in February following, ſhe accompanied him as far as Canterbury, and, after taking his promiſe that he would return in a ſhort time, ſhe ordered the earl of Leiceſter, and ſome of her chief courtiers, to wait upon him to Antwerp. By this gallant treatment the queen took off the edge of that reſentment which otherwiſe might have been expected to follow from the court of France; or rather, the preſent diſtraction of the French monarchy ſecured her againſt the effects of that indignation, which ſhe had reaſon to dread from ſo wanton an affront put upon that royal family.

The duke made a pompous entry into Antwerp, where he was inaugurated duke of Brabant, and afterwards inveſted, at Ghent, as count of Flanders. He gave free leave for the exerciſe of the Romiſh religion to as many as would ſwear fealty to him, and abjure the king of Spain's authority. But, after ſpending great ſums of money, with which he was ſupplied from England, and finding that the titles conferred on him were at beſt but vain and idle, while the ſtates and the prince of Orange held all the dominion in their own hands, he entertained the mad deſign of ſurprizing Antwerp and the chief towns in the Low Countries, in which he was unſucceſsful, and thereby loſt all confidence with the ſtates, and the prince of Orange, and was ſhortly after baniſhed that country, and withdrew to France.

Elizabeth, ſeeing no likelihood of concluding an offenſive league with France, thought fit to cultivate a friendſhip with other potentates, who might be of uſe to her, in caſe of a rupture with Spain; and as Frederic II. king of Denmark, was a prince of great wiſdom and reputation, and had always ſhewed himſelf very affectionate to her, ſhe cauſed him to be choſen knight of the Garter, and ſent Peregrine Bertie, lord Willoughby of Ereſby, to inveſt him with the enſigns of the order. He politely accepted this compliment, but declined the ceremony of inveſtiture, or to take the accuſtomed oath, alleging that he had already taken one, when admitted by the king of France into the order of St. Michael. The ambaſſador was likewiſe charged

to remonſtrate in behalf of the Engliſh merchants, againſt the exacting the toll or impoſt laid on ſhips that paſſed the Sound, and to procure that the laſt gelt might be remitted. This laſt duty owed its original to the wars between Denmark and Sweden, when the Dane began to exact, by way of loan, the thirtieth part of all kinds of merchandize, on promiſe of repaying the value thereof when the war was ended. No regard, however, was had to this engagement, and it was become a cuſtomary exaction. But princes ſeldom caring to abate any thing of their revenue, however acquired, the lord Willoughby procured no redreſs of theſe grievances: it was not adviſeable to take rougher meaſures with a prince, whoſe friendſhip might be very ſerviceable to Elizabeth in forming a league with the proteſtant princes of the empire to oppoſe the ambitious deſigns of the king of Spain.

Though Henry III. had very little reaſon to be pleaſed with Elizabeth, yet being jealous of the increaſing power of Philip, and hating the duke of Guiſe; he ſent early in the year 1582, to inform Elizabeth, that the duke, under pretext of raiſing men for the ſervice of the duke of Anjou in the Low Countries, was preparing, with the king of Spain's aſſiſtance, to embark a body of men in Normandy to be landed in England. This intelligence obliged Elizabeth to turn her thoughts ſeriouſly upon the affairs of Scotland.

There the duke of Lenox and James Stuart of Ochiltree, lately created earl of Arran, had acquired an unlimited influence over their ſovereign. Lenox was not deſtitue of good qualities, but he was giddy and unexperienced, a profeſſed Roman catholic, and a ſuppoſed adherent to the duke of Guiſe, ſo that he ſoon became odious to the nation. His colleague, Arran, was a young man, void of principle and religion, who, under the mask of friendſhip, encouraged Lenox to follow unpopular courſes, that he might incur the hatred of the people, and ſo contribute to his own deſtruction. As for James, though he had ſome capacity and inclination for ſchool-learning, he was a weak, ſilly, irreſolute prince, and of a very deſpicable character, and conſequently a fit ſubject for an ambitious and cunning favourite to work upon: in ſhort, his two counſellors, by their arbitrary and illegal proceedings, expoſed not only themſelves but their maſter to the odium of the public. It was not the temper of the Scots to ſubmit patiently to any kind of oppreſſion; they no ſooner felt the goad of power, than they inſtantly began to ſeek redreſs; and if they could not obtain it by fair and gentle means, they immediately had recourſe to the moſt violent and deſperate expedients.

Elizabeth, whom a long knowlege of that people had made perfectly acquainted with their diſpoſitions, and who feared every thing from the duke of Guiſe's faction prevailing in Scotland, turned the reſentment of the great men to her own advantage, and ſo artfully managed, that, without appearing to have any concern in the plot, king James was ſeized by the earls of Marr, Lindſey, and Gowry, partiſans of England; the duke of Lenox, his boſom-friend, was obliged to flee into France, and the earl of Arran, his other favourite, was alſo taken and detained priſoner by the conſpirators; by which it was thought the intereſts of Elizabeth's enemies were entirely deſtroyed.

In the mean time a new treaty was pretended to be begun by the Engliſh council, for the enlargement both of queen Mary and her ſon; but the articles tendered to the captive queen on this occaſion, were couched in ſuch ambiguous terms as, it muſt be confeſſed, there does not appear in them any more ſincerity or intention to bring that affair to an iſſue, than in the preceding negociations. However, this propoſal from Elizabeth ſerved her purpoſe to free herſelf from the perpetual ſolicitations in Mary's favour, and to check the continual plots hatched for her deliverance. It was not without reaſon that this unhappy princeſs had filled all the courts of Europe with complaints of the hardſhips ſhe underwent: ſhe had been confined thirteen years, under different keepers, and often treated in the moſt rigorous manner; ſhe ſaw herſelf deprived of her crown and liberty, her youth had pined away in dreary confinement, her reputation had been blaſted by the venomous breath of malice and defamation, her life was in the power of a jealous rival, who could brook no competition, her health was impaired by confinement and vexation, yet ſhe was denied almoſt every comfort that could help to alleviate ſuch diſtreſs, nay ſhe was even denied the decent conveniency of having female ſervants to attend her *.

But James being permitted to meet an aſſembly of his nobles at St. Andrew's, in the following year, 1583, and by ſeeming to be contented under the government of his new miniſtry, having obtained his full liberty, Elizabeth ſaw all her politics on the point of being overthrown by the reſtoration of the earl of Arran about the royal perſon; who regained ſuch an aſcendant over his ſovereign, that he prevailed with him to declare the noblemen who had ſurprized him, traitors, unleſs they would own themſelves guilty by making ſubmiſſions and taking out pardons: this they did not think it ſafe to do, but retired into foreign countries, all but Gowry who was pardoned, and the earl of Angus, who was confined.

In this ſtate were matters at the Scottiſh court, when Walſingham, though now ſickly and aged, was ſent thither by Elizabeth as the moſt proper perſon to deal with James, and thoſe in power about him; and this miniſter executed his commiſſion ſo well, that he found means to win over Arran, and to ſecure his intereſt in his royal maſter, which proved of no ſmall ſervice to Elizabeth, as that enterprizing nobleman would certainly have cut her out more work in that part of the iſland than ſhe could have been well able to manage, as appeared by ſeveral letters which were, about this time, diſcovered, containing, amongſt other treaſonable matters, earneſt exhortations to ſeveral of the ladies immediately about her perſon, to ſerve her in the ſame manner as Judith did Holofernes; and giving certain advice of Philip II's intention to aſſiſt the duke of Guiſe in a deſcent upon England, in order to revenge the loſſes the crown of Spain had ſuſtained by the late expedition of ſir Francis Drake.

Theſe letters appeared to have been written by one Francis Throgmorton, a young man of a good family and pregnant parts, who, being apprehended and brought before the council, at firſt abſolutely denied the accuſation; but being ſhewn a liſt of all the ports in England that were convenient to land

* See Mary's letter to Elizabeth, in Camden, p. 489, 490.

forces

forces at, and another liſt of all the gentlemen that profeſſed the Romiſh religion in England, and were inclinable to countenance the propoſed invaſion, all which papers had been found in his ſcrutore, or desk, he then made the following confeſſion, "That going ſome few years ſince to the Spa, he conferred ſeveral times with Jeney and ſir Francis Inglefield, two Engliſh fugitives, how England might be invaded; and that they had for that purpoſe drawn up the two liſts juſt ſpoken of: that after his return, Morgan, another fugitive in France, told him, the catholic princes had formed a deſign to free the queen of Scots, and to employ the duke of Guiſe for that purpoſe: that nothing was wanting, but to know what ſuccours might be depended upon from the Engliſh catholics: that in order to take their meaſures the better, Charles Paget, under the counterfeit name of Mope, was ſent into Suſſex, where the duke of Guiſe intended to land: that he (Throgmorton) imparted the project to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who had been already informed of it, and ſhewed him the ports where it would be moſt proper to land: that he moreover acquainted the ſame ambaſſador with the names of the great men to whom he might freely open his mind, becauſe, as he was a public perſon, he would not be ſo narrowly watched: finally, that he conferred with him how to raiſe ſoldiers privately in England, to have them ready when the foreign troops ſhould arrive."

Throgmorton, after this confeſſion, lay ſome months in priſon, but being at length brought to his trial, he was found guilty by his jury, of holding treaſonable correſpondence with the queen's enemies, and received ſentence of death. We learn however from Camden, that when he was brought to Tyburn, he retracted what he had confeſſed.

Before we take our leave of this year, we are to mention, that Elizabeth's fame was ſo great as to induce John, king of Sweden, to ſend a noble embaſſy to her, intreating her mediation between him and John Baſilowitz, emperor of Muſcovy, which ſhe willingly undertook, and ſir Jerome Bowes was ſent her ambaſſador to Muſcovy, who procured a peace for the king of Sweden upon very reaſonable conditions. But the emperor of Muſcovy dying ſoon after, and being ſucceeded by his ſon Theodore Iwanowitz, this latter granted liberty of free traffic to merchants of all nations, without diſtinction. Hereupon Elizabeth preſſed him to adhere to the treaty between his late father and the crown of England, by which the Engliſh ſubjects were indulged with the excluſive right of trading to his country; but the new emperor returned for anſwer, that he would never ſuffer a ſmall company of men to exerciſe a monopoly in his dominions, to the reſtraining of every other free trading nation; however, he promiſed to exact but one half of the uſual cuſtoms of the Engliſh, on account of their having been the firſt who opened a way to trade with Ruſſia.

This year proved fatal to divers great men, for there died, firſt, Thomas Radcliffe, the third earl of Suſſex of this family, lord-chamberlain to the queen, on the twenty-ninth of June, and was buried at Newhall, in Eſſex. Alſo, on the ſixth of July, died Edmund Grindal, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and was ſucceeded by Dr. John Whitgift: and, in the month of Auguſt, died Henry Wriotheſly, earl of Southampton, one exceedingly devoted to the Romiſh religion, which coſt him Elizabeth's diſpleaſure and a long impriſonment. This year was alſo diſtinguiſhed by the fate of that brave, but unfortunate ſeaman, ſir Humphrey Gilbert, who was caſt away at ſea on the ninth of September, in his return from the coaſt of North America, where he had taken poſſeſſion, in Elizabeth's name, of the harbour of St. John's, in the iſland of Newfoundland.

In Ireland the famous rebel Gerald Fitz Gerald, the eleventh earl of Deſmond of his family, after having a long time, in lurking places, eſcaped the Engliſh, was now, by a common ſoldier, found in a poor cottage, and ſlain: his head was ſent into England, and ſet upon London bridge. Such was the end of this nobleman, who had for many years carried on a rebellion againſt all the forces that the ſeveral Engliſh lord-deputies could raiſe againſt him: he was deſcended from Maurice, the ſon of Gerald de Windleſhore, or Windſor, an Engliſhman, famous amongſt thoſe who firſt accompanied Henry III. in the expedition into Ireland, in the year 1170.

Sir John Perot being ſent over lord-deputy of Ireland, held a parliament, in which the eſtates of theſe and other rebels were forfeited; and the queen granting the earl of Ormond, (who, being the eldeſt ſon of Deſmond's ſiſter, was his next heir, and had been the principal means of reducing him) ſome part of his lands, ſold the reſt at very eaſy rates to adventurers, that undertook to plant and improve the country. Sales were made of entire baronies, into which the Iriſh counties are divided, as the Engliſh are into hundreds, and the purchaſers, under colour of their general grants, ſweeping all within their diſtricts, turned the innocent Iriſh as well as the guilty out of their poſſeſſions. The queen endeavoured to repreſs this rapaciouſneſs, by a proclamation, of which the injured proprietors, by an inſtance of good fortune rare in that country, reaped the benefit; the deputy, a man of rigid juſtice and inflexible integrity, taking care to ſee it duly executed. No governor in that realm was ever more diligent, vigorous, and impartial in doing right equally to the Iriſh and the Engliſh, which raiſed him abundance of enemies among the latter, who could not bear being reſtrained from oppreſſing the former; but by this means he ſoon brought Munſter into a ſtate of tranquility; nor was he leſs ſucceſsful in rendering the native Iriſh and Highland Scots in Ulſter to obedience, forcing them to ſwear allegiance, and to hold their lands of her in vaſſalage, paying yearly a certain number of beeves and hawks, in lieu of rent, and engaging to ſupply her, in caſe of an expedition, with their ſeveral proportions of horſe and foot ſoldiers, according to the cuſtom of ancient tenures*.

In France, Henry III. behaved in ſuch a manner, that he daily incurred the contempt of his ſubjects. In public he affected an over-ſtrained devotion, whilſt in private he plunged himſelf into the moſt criminal pleaſures. Philip, taking advantage of Henry's indolence with regard to his moſt important affairs, ſtrove by all ſorts of ways to raiſe him troubles, which would hinder him from taking

* Cox's Hiſtory of Ireland.

upon

upon him the defence of the Netherlands, who ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to put themſelves under the dominion of France. He tried firſt to perſuade the king of Navarre to take up arms, promiſing to aid and protect the Huguenots. This way failing, the applied to he duke of Guiſe, who accepted the ſuccours offered by Philip, to revenge the mortification he daily received from the king's minions.

Mendoza, the Spaniſh miniſter, was ſo deeply involved in by the diſcoveries made by Throgmorton, that Elizabeth conſidered him as the moſt dangerous enemy ſhe had in England; nor was there any thing bloody or deſperate undertaken againſt her, which ſhe did not lay at his door, and in particular a conſpiracy which had been contrived, and was on the point of taking effect, againſt the queen's life, by the papiſts, who were now worked up to ſuch a degree of enthuſiaſm againſt Elizabeth, that John Somerville, a gentleman of Warwickſhire, undertook a journey to London, on purpoſe to put the queen to death with his own hand, and actually attacked with his ſword ſome of her attendants. Being ſecured, he confeſſed his intention, and named his accomplices, who were all tried and found guilty of high-treaſon, at Guildhall in London. Theſe, and other the like alarming practices of the popiſh faction, made Elizabeth think it was high time to order Mendoza to leave England, for which ſhe had a very plauſible reaſon in the conviction of Throgmorton.

Accordingly, towards the latter end of January, 1584, the ambaſſador was ſummoned to appear before the Engliſh council, who charged him very home with Throgmorton's confeſſion, and the great hand he had in the conſpiracy againſt England. Mendoza boldly ſtood upon his juſtification, and even accuſed Elizabeth of being the aggreſſor, by committing hoſtilities againſt his maſter by ſea, and her miniſters of labouring inceſſantly to ſow diſcord between England and Spain. This behaviour of Mendoza exaſperated Elizabeth ſo much, that he ordered him inſtantly to leave her dominions, which he did, and retired to France. Upon his departure the government thought proper, for the ſatisfaction of foreign courts, that a manifeſto ſhould be drawn up, containing Mendoza's caſe, and an anſwer to the recriminations he had brought *. At the ſame time ſir William Wade, clerk of the council, was diſpatched to the court of Spain, to inform Philip of what had paſſed, and of his miſtreſs's willingneſs to receive another ambaſſador from him; but the haughty Spaniard refuſed Wade an audience, who thereupon returned back, without imparting the contents of his embaſſy to any one at that court.

New overtures were, in the ſummer of this year, made by Mary concerning her liberty, and were ſuch as ſeemingly very well ſatisfied Elizabeth: poor Mary promiſed, if ſhe was ſet at liberty, not only to depend entirely upon Elizabeth, but to deal with her ſon for reſtoring the exiled lords of the Engliſh faction; to order her miniſters abroad to forbear all practices againſt Elizabeth's perſon and dignity; and farther, that Elizabeth ſhould have the honour to publiſh the aſſociation of her ſon with herſelf in the government. Theſe preliminaries ſerved as the foundation of many conferences, but Mary ſtill declined to diſcover any particulars of the duke of Guiſe's purpoſed invaſion before ſhe was reſtored to liberty: and a freſh diſcovery of the intrigues of the Jeſuits once more defeated theſe promiſing appearances.

One Creighton, a Scotchman, of that order, had been employed by Mary to ſolicit twelve thouſand ducats, which had been promiſed her by the court of Rome. Creighton, on his return, happened to fall into the hands of a Dutch privateer, and attempted to tear his papers and throw them overboard; but the wind driving them back into the ſhip, they were ſent with Creighton to England, and being pinned together, Walſingham diſcovered ſome part of his commiſſion, by which it appeared that he had in charge to inform the male-contents of both kingdom, that the pope, Philip of Spain, and the Guiſes, had confederated to exert their utmoſt power to dethrone Elizabeth, and utterly to diſinherit the king of Scotland from the ſucceſſion to the crown of England, as an open favourer of the reformed religion: to marry the captive queen to ſome catholic nobleman of England, and to engage the catholics to chuſe him, ſo married, king of England, to be confirmed by the pope; and to cauſe the children to be born of that marriage to be declared the rightful ſucceſſors to the crown and kingdom of England.

Theſe and other diſcoveries, together with the officiouſneſs of the Engliſh papiſts and the malice of the Scottiſh puritans, rendered Mary extremely obnoxious to Elizabeth, who could not but think her life in danger ſo long as Mary lived, or at leaſt lived with any tolerable degree of freedom; and ſhe took a ſecret umbrage at the earl of Shrewſbury, or his counteſs, or both, for allowing the captive princeſs ſo large a correſpondence as they did, and reſolved to remove her out of their cuſtody; therefore Mary ſent her ſecretary, Nau, with freſh propoſals to Elizabeth, in order to regain her liberty, which, however advantageous, were ſlighted, and ſerved only to heighten the ſuſpicions entertained againſt her; and ſhe was taken from under the cuſtody of the earl of Shrewſbury, and committed to the care of ſir Amias Pawlet and ſir Drue Drury, the firſt her profeſſed enemy, and the latter a cloſe, watchful, cunning puritan.

At the ſame time an aſſociation was formed by the earl of Leiceſter, and other courtiers; and as Elizabeth was extremely popular with all her ſubjects, except the moſt zealous catholics, men of every rank and condition willingly flocked to the ſubſcription of it.

The aſſociators bound themſelves "to defend the queen againſt all her enemies; to revenge her death, or any injury offered to her majeſty; and to exclude from the throne any perſon, whatever title they poſſeſſed, at whoſe inſtigation, or for whoſe behoof, any attempt ſhould be made againſt the life and authority of Elizabeth." The queen of Scots was ſenſible, that the aſſociation was levelled againſt her; and, in order to free herſelf from all ſuſpicion, ſhe likewiſe begged leave to be one of the ſubſcribers.

On the twenty-third of November Elizabeth ſummoned a new parliament; and the members diſcovered the moſt zealous attachment to her perſon and government. They ratified and confirmed

* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. Append. p. 43.

the aſſociation; and they ſubjoined a clauſe, empowering the queen to appoint commiſſioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown, who ſhould attempt or imagine any invaſion, inſurrection, or aſſaſſination againſt the queen: upon ſentence, given by theſe commiſſioners, the delinquent was deprived of all right to the ſucceſſion, and was farther liable to ſuch puniſhment as her majeſty ſhould think proper to inflict. And for the greater ſecurity, in caſe of the queen's violent death, a council of regency was named to puniſh the authors of that barbarous deed, to conduct the adminiſtration of public affairs, and to ſettle the ſucceſſion of the crown.

At the ſame time, in order to ſtrengthen the hands of her majeſty, the parliament granted her a ſupply of one ſubſidy and two fifteenths. They likewiſe paſſed a ſevere law againſt Jeſuits and popiſh prieſts, importing, "that they ſhould leave the kingdom within forty days; that thoſe who ſhould tarry behind that time, or ſhould afterwards return, ſhould be puniſhed as traitors; that thoſe who harboured or aſſiſted them, ſhould be guilty of felony; that thoſe who were educated in foreign ſeminaries, if they returned not in ſix months after notice given, and ſubmitted not themſelves to the queen, before a biſhop or two juſtices, ſhould be guilty of high-treaſon: and if any one, ſo ſubmitting themſelves, ſhould, within ten years, approach the queen's perſon, or come within ten miles of the court, their ſubmiſſion ſhould be void and of no effect.

This law, however rigorous in appearance, was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of the queen's perſon, which, even with all theſe precautions, was conſtantly expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, from the ſecret plots or open attempts of the bigotted Romaniſts.

The ſtate of affairs in Scotland this year continued to be very diſagreeable to Elizabeth: ſhe had learned that the earl of Arran, who now had an entire aſcendancy over James, had brought him to conſent to a marriage with a daughter of France; in order, therefore, to prevent the miſchiefs which might happen from that quarter, ſhe ſent ſecretary Daviſon into Scotland, under colour of excuſing her protection of certain Scottiſh fugitives, though the king had demanded them by virtue of the treaty of alliance concluded between the two kingdoms; but Daviſon's buſineſs was to complete the work which Walſingham had begun, namely, to win the earl of Arran over to the queen's intereſt. This miniſter ſucceeded perfectly well in his commiſſion, and, by means that are eaſy to be gueſſed, prevailed with him to act nothing but in concert with Elizabeth.

Before his return to England, it was agreed between the two courts, that the lord Hunſdon for England, and the earl of Arran for Scotland, ſhould meet upon the borders, and make a regulation proper to preſerve a good underſtanding between the two kingdoms. Under this pretence theſe two lords conferred together, and, before they parted, made a private treaty, whereby the earl of Arran engaged to keep the king unmarried for three years: Elizabeth pretended ſhe deſigned to give him a princeſs of the blood royal of England, who was not yet marriageable: this was at leaſt the pretence with which the treaty was coloured.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the maſter of Gray, a young Scottiſh lord, inſinuated himſelf ſo far into king James's favour, that the earl of Arran, growing jealous, found means to remove him by cauſing him to be ſent ambaſſador to Elizabeth. Gray was no ſooner in England, but the queen won him by careſſes and bounties: from that time the ambaſſador feigned to be ſtrongly attached to queen Mary's intereſt, and by that means drew ſecrets from her, which Elizabeth knew how to improve. The earl of Arran having ſome intelligence of the intrigue, informed the king of it, in order to ruin his rival; but as in all likelihood he could bring no proof of what he advanced, Gray being returned to Scotland, was very well received by the king, and ſpared no pains in his turn to ruin the favourite.

As for the unfortunate Mary, ſhe ſtill continued under the moſt rigorous confinement, and every method was uſed that was thought moſt likely to drive her to deſpair, or, perhaps, provoke her to take ſome raſh meaſures, which would furniſh her enemies with a ſufficient handle for her deſtruction. The earl of Leiceſter, being baffled in his expectation by her temper and reſignation, is ſaid to have hired ruffians to murder this forlorn princeſs; but Drury was a man of too much honour to admit them into her preſence: nevertheleſs, ſhe endured the moſt barbarous treatment; ſhe was now deprived of the conveniences ſhe hitherto enjoyed; ſhe was prohibited giving alms to the poor; ſhe was confined to two wretched chambers, in ſuch decay that they could not ſcreen her from the inclemencies of the weather, ſo that ſhe was ſeized with rheumatic diſorders, by which her life was endangered; and though ſhe appealed to queen Elizabeth for redreſs, the winter was far advanced before ſhe was removed to Chartley caſtle.

This year died, in exile and miſery, on account of his rebellion in the North in the year 1569, Charles Neville, the laſt earl of Weſtmoreland of this family; a houſe from whence were deſcended many noble perſonages, viz. ſix earls of Weſtmoreland, two earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, an earl of Kent, a marquis of Mountacute, a duke of Bedford, baron Ferrers of Oſley, the lord Latimer, the lord Abergavenny, one queen, five ducheſſes, an archbiſhop of York, and many others.

It was in this year alſo that the valiant and learned ſir Walter Raleigh diſcovered that part of North America which he afterwards called Virginia, in honour of his virgin miſtreſs, queen Elizabeth*.

The

* The ſituation of this colony is remarkably happy and convenient, having the river Potowmack on the north-eaſt, which ſeparates it from Maryland; the Atlantic Ocean on the eaſt; Carolina on the ſouth; and the Apalachian mountains on the weſt, which divides it from a vaſt tract of land called Louiſiana. Its extent is from latitude 36° 30′, to 39° 30′ north, on the weſt ſide of the bay; but on the eaſt ſide it extends only from cape Charles in latitude 37°, 13′, to latitude 38°. Its breadth, ſo far as it is planted, is about one hundred miles; but it hath no bounds to the weſtward. The air of this country depends very much upon the winds: the north and north-weſt are either very ſharp and piercing, or boiſterous and ſtormy; and the ſouth-eaſt and ſouth, hazy and ſultry. The winter is dry and clear; ſnow falls in great quantities, but ſeldom lies above a day or two: and the froſts, though quick and ſharp, ſeldom laſt as long. The ſpring is ſomewhat earlier than ours: May and June are very pleaſant months; July and Auguſt, ſultry hot; September is noted for prodigious ſhowers of rain. The ſoil is low towards the ſea-coaſts; and for an hundred miles up into the country hardly a hill or a ſtone are to be met

The prince of Parma continued to gain ground upon the confederate provinces of the Low Countries, which ſuſtained an irreparable loſs by the death of the prince of Orange, who was treacherouſly ſhot by one Balthazar Gerard, a Burgundian. His eldeſt ſon, Philip, being in the hands of the king of Spain, and bred in the Roman catholic religion, the ſtates conferred the government of Holland and Zealand upon his ſecond ſon, Maurice, though he was but eighteen years of age; and the prince of Parma, taking notice of their conſternation, inveſted Antwerp. In this diſtreſſed condition they offered to acknowlege the ſovereignty of the French; but Henry being too much embarraſſed in his own affairs to accept an offer that would engage him in farther trouble and expence, they had recourſe to the queen of England, who likewiſe declined their offer, though ſhe promiſed to aſſiſt them in maintaining the war againſt their oppreſſors.

In the mean time the duke of Anjou dying, and the king of France having no children, the duke of Guiſe, taking advantage of the bigotry of the people, and their averſion to the king of Navarre, then apparent heir to the crown, on account of his being a proteſtant, was contriving and caballing with all his power, under the name of religion, to ſecure the ſucceſſion to himſelf in caſe of a demiſe. With this view he entered into a league with Philip II. of Spain, who, covering his real deſign under the ſame religious mask, kindled a flame in France which conſumed that kingdom, and hindered the French from thinking of the acquiſition of the Netherlands. Henry III. having the laſt year been choſen into the order of the Garter, queen Elizabeth ſent this year the earl of Derby to France, to inveſt him with the robes and enſigns of the order.

In the beginning of the year 1585, Elizabeth diſcovered a conſpiracy to take away her life, of which one Parry was the author. He was a gentleman of Wales, and a member of the houſe of commons, and one greatly indebted to the queen for giving him his life, after condemnation for breaking into the chamber of Hugh Hare and wounding him: he had alſo been her ſworn ſervant for ſeveral years before that time; but was now ſo ſpirited up by the ſolicitations and traitorous arguments of cardinal Allen, Benedict Palaſius Campegius, the pope's nuncio at Venice, and others, confirmed with the encouragement of Ragazonius, the pope's nuncio in France, and letters from the cardinal Coſmo, wherein the attempt was commended, and Parry was abſolved in the pope's name, that he was wrought upon, and agreed with one Edward Neville, a diſcontented relation to the earl of Weſtmoreland, to kill the queen as ſhe rode abroad to take the air as uſual.

Neville diſcovered this plot and bloody attempt, in hopes, as ſuppoſed, to ſecure an intereſt in the title of lord Latimer, as next male heir to the earl of Weſtmoreland, the news of whoſe death arrived about the beginning of this year: and Parry confeſſed it fully upon his examination before three privy counſellors, the lord Hunſdon, ſir Chriſtopher Hatton, and ſir Francis Walſingham; and by letters to the queen herſelf, the lord-treaſurer, and to the earl of Leiceſter, he acknowleged his crime, and interceded for pardon. A few days after he was brought to judgment in Weſtminſter-hall, where he pleaded guilty, and declared that his confeſſion was free and not extorted; yet denied his having been reſolved at any time to kill the queen: and, after ſome pauſe, being urged to ſpeak if he had any thing to ſay why judgment ſhould not paſs upon him, he, with great perturbation, as one agitated with a bad conſcience, added, "I ſee I muſt die, becauſe I was not reſolved." At the gallows he boaſted much of his having been a faithful keeper of the queen, becauſe he had not killed her; and he was hanged in Palace-yard, Weſtminſter, while both houſes of parliament were ſitting in the hall, which met by prorogation in March this year, and was their fourth ſeſſion.

Theſe deſperate proceedings againſt the queen's perſon were productive of ſeveral very ſevere reſolutions of the parliament, for her ſafety, againſt popiſh prieſts and Jeſuits; but not all the vigour or watchfulneſs of the government was able to reſtrain the plottings of thoſe zealots, as we ſhall have occaſion to remark hereafter.

On the nineteenth of April this year, the province of Utrecht, and, on the fifteenth of May thereafter, the province of Guelderland, by their deputies, preſented formal petitions to Elizabeth, to take them under her protection; and by the ſixteenth of June, their example was followed by all the other provinces. Elizabeth's counſellors were greatly divided with regard to the conduct which ſhe ought to obſerve in this delicate and critical juncture: ſome of them adviſed her to accept the propoſal of the ſtates; others perſuaded her, not only to reject it, but refuſe them all aſſiſtance; and each party endeavoured to ſupport their opinion by many plauſible arguments. Elizabeth foreſaw the dangerous conquences attending either extreme, and ſhe therefore reſolved to ſteer a middle courſe. She was determined not to behold patiently the

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met with. Here are trees of various kinds, and of an incredible magnitude, with plenty of paſture-grounds. The land in general is as good as in England, producing rice, hemp, and Indian corn; alſo flax, ſilk-cotton, ſilk-graſs, and wild grapes: but in Virginia they are ſo extremely addicted to their ſtaple commodity, tobacco, that they hardly mind any thing elſe, ſo they can bring that plant to a tolerable market. This trade is brought to ſuch perfection, that the Virginia tobacco, eſpecially the ſweet-ſcented, which grows on York-river, is reckoned to be the beſt in the world, and generally vended in England for home conſumption. The other ſort, called Oranoac, turns to as good an account, being ſent to Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany. In this province are fifty-four pariſhes, of which thirty or forty are ſupplied with miniſters. In each pariſh is a church, and in thoſe of large extent are chapels of eaſe. The miniſters maintenance is ſettled at ſixteen hundred pounds of tobacco yearly, beſides perquiſites. There are only two preſbyterian and three quakers meetings in this colony. At Middle Plantation Row, called Williamſburg, is a college. Though the common way of traffic here is by barter of one commodity for another, or of any for tobacco, yet they have ſome ſilver coin, both Engliſh and Spaniſh. In Virginia, when any perſon is diſabled from working, either by age or ſickneſs, he is placed in ſome planter's houſe, and ſupported at the public expence. Such is the hoſpitality of the Virginian planters, that a ſtranger will be entertained at any of their houſes, ſo that inns on the road are unneceſſary. It is but very lately that they have begun to build forts, their main dependence being on a well regulated militia by land, and the cruizers ſent from England by ſea. Though they have plenty of excellent timber and naval ſtores, and the whole country one grand harbour, after entering Cheſapeak bay, between cape Charles and cape Henry, yet they build no ſhips. In Virginia are few towns; the chief are James Town and Williamſburgh above mentioned, the planters reſiding on their eſtates or farms, moſt of which lie contiguous to ſome great river, ſo that ſhips can come up almoſt to their doors, and take in their tobacco. Syſtem of Geogr.

total ruin of the revolted provinces, whoſe intereſt ſhe conſidered as intimately connected with her own; but, ſenſible that the acceptance of their ſovereignty would oblige her to exert her whole force in their defence, and excite the jealouſy of her neighbours, and perhaps expoſe her to the reproach of ambition and uſurpation, ſhe prudently declined this offer.

She engaged, however, in a league with the ſtates, on the following terms; that ſhe ſhould aſſiſt them with an army of five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, at her own expence, during the war; that the general, and two others whom ſhe ſhould name, ſhould have ſeats in the council of the ſtates; that no peace or treaty ſhould be made but by common conſent; that immediately after the concluſion of the war, ſhe ſhould be reimburſed for her charges; and that in the mean time the towns of Fluſhing and the Brill, with the caſtle of Rammekins, ſhould be put into her hands, by way of ſecurity.

The prince of Condé alſo, in behalf of the French Huguenots, was favoured with a ſupply of fifty thouſand crowns and ten ſhips of war, with which he was enabled to raiſe the blockade of Rochelle, and to take the field with his land forces, which the duke of Guiſe had ſhut up in this port.

On the twenty-third of October the earl of Leiceſter was ſent over to Holland at the head of the Engliſh auxiliaries. He was attended by a ſplendid retinue, compoſed of the young earl of Eſſex, his ſon-in-law, the lords Audley and North, ſir William Ruſſel, ſir Thomas Shirley, ſir Arthur Baſſet, ſir Walter Waller, ſir Gervaſe Clifton, and a ſelect troop of five hundred gentlemen. He was met at his arrival at Fluſhing by his nephew, ſir Philip Sidney, the governor: and every town through which he paſſed, diſcovered their joy by acclamations and triumphal arches, as if his preſence and the queen's aſſiſtance had ſaved them from impending ruin.

The ſtates, deſirous of ſecuring the friendſhip of Elizabeth, and knowing the influence which Leiceſter had with her, honoured him with the title of Governor and Captain-general of the United Provinces, aſſigned him a guard to attend his perſon, and treated him in ſome meaſure as their ſovereign. But this ſtep produced a contrary effect to what they intended: the queen was equally diſpleaſed at the artifice of the ſtates and the vanity of Leiceſter; ſhe reprimanded both of them very ſharply by letters, and it was not without great difficulty that, after many humble ſubmiſſions, they were able to regain her favour.

As Elizabeth could expect no otherwiſe than that Philip of Spain would look upon the aid ſent to his rebellious ſubjects in the Low Countries, to be a breach of the alliance between the two crowns, and a declaration of war againſt him, ſhe very politicly determined to ſtrike a blow, that might at once procure her reſpect and advantage. Accordingly ſhe diſpatched a fleet of twenty-one ſail, under the command of ſir Francis Drake, with two thouſand three hundred land forces, under the conduct of Chriſtopher Carliſle, to attack the Spaniſh ſettlements in America, which were conſidered as the chief ſource of Philip's power, as well as the moſt defenceleſs part of his dominions. The appearance of the Engliſh being altogether unexpected there, they, without any reſiſtance, made themſelves maſters of St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd iſlands; made a deſcent upon St. Domingo, or Hiſpaniola, and took its capital; then ran down along the continent and reduced Carthagena, and burnt the towns of St. Antonio and St. Helena, in Florida; and were meditating other expeditions, had they not been ſeparated by violent ſtorms, which prevented the fleet from joining till they met in England. In this expedition the Engliſh loſt ſeven hundred men, but brought home ſuch an immenſe booty, as ſufficiently rewarded the others for their ſufferings, and with ſuch accounts of the Spaniſh weakneſs in thoſe quarters as greatly contributed to animate the nation to future enterprizes of the like nature. It is commonly ſuppoſed that the uſe of tobacco was firſt introduced into England by Drake's fleet.

In the courſe of this year alſo John Davis finiſhed his third voyage in queſt of a north-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt Indies. He diſcovered the ſtreight which bears his name, and ſailed beyond the eighty-third degree of northern latitude, but was obliged to return without ſucceſs.

The very rigorous laws which the late parliament had enacted againſt the papiſts, made Philip, earl of Arundel, ſon of the late duke of Norfolk, who was zealouſly attached to that religion, reſolve to retire to another country, where he could enjoy his faith in quiet. This nobleman had been twice examined before the council, and confined to his own houſe, on ſuſpicion of practiſing againſt the government; and his intended departure being now betrayed by a ſervant, he was ſent priſoner to the Tower, which was at this time the ſcene of a remarkable tranſaction.

Henry Piercy, earl of Northumberland, brother of him who had been beheaded, being accuſed of having ſome ſhare in Throgmorton's conſpiracy, and of having correſponded with lord Paget and the duke of Guiſe, was committed to the Tower, where, either conſcious of his guilt, or foreſeeing that evidence would be ſuborned for his deſtruction, he, in order to diſappoint Elizabeth of his forfeiture, and to retain his fortune in the family, ſhot himſelf in the breaſt with a piſtol.

Pope Gregory dying in April this year, was ſucceeded by the cardinal de Montalto, who took the name of Sixtus V. He immediately fulminated the cenſures of the church againſt the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, not only as relapſed heretics, but as perſons of ſpurious birth: hence it was eaſy to ſee how much the court of Rome countenanced the deſigns of the duke of Guiſe, and what reaſons Elizabeth had to dread that duke's becoming one day king of France, and being ſupported by the pope and Spain.

Such being the ſtate of affairs in France, and Elizabeth knowing that the party of the Guiſes were continually ſtirring up the embers of ſedition both in Scotland and England, ſhe thought it highly neceſſary to ſtrengthen herſelf by ſome powerful alliances. With this view ſhe ſent ſir Thomas Bodley, the great patron of learning, to negociate with the king of Denmark, and other northern ſtates; and Edward Wootton, a fine gentleman, and one who had equally a turn for buſineſs, for pleaſure, and politeneſs, was diſpatched to the court of Scotland, to aſſure James how ſincerely ſhe was in his intereſt, and to endeavour by any means to draw him into a league of mutual offence and defence, and withal to recommend to that monarch a match with the

the daughter of the king of Denmark: but Wootton, under the pretence of entertaining and diverting the young king, endeavoured to remove from his royal preſence all who were ſuſpected of being averſe to Elizabeth's intentions; to ſow factions in his court; and, when opportunity ſerved, to ſeize his perſon, and carry him by force into England. But the conſpiracy was diſcovered before it could be carried into execution, and Wootton fled haſtily from Scotland, without taking leave of the court. However, James ſoon after was obliged to ſubmit to Elizabeth's creatures: the Scottiſh fugitive lords, returning well ſupported from England, made themſelves maſters of his perſon by ſurprize, in the caſtle of Stirling, and obliged him to paſs an act of indemnity for all offences committed againſt him by any perſons whatever ſince his being declared king; and ſoon after to enter into a league offenſive and defenſive with the queen of England. The earl of Arran, James's favourite and firſt miniſter, finding his affairs for the preſent entirely ruined, and his life itſelf in jeopardy, fled over to France.

In Ireland, this year, the Burghs raiſed two ſucceſſive inſurrections, but were reduced by ſir John Perot, the lord-deputy, reinforced by the earl of Clanrickard, who not only compelled them to give freſh hoſtages, but deſtroyed their allies the Hebridian Scots, three thouſand of whom were cut in pieces at Arvadar; ſo that their countrymen were deterred from proſecuting ſuch adventures, and Ireland for ſome time remained in tranquility.

The earl of Leiceſter, notwithſtanding the pretended diſpleaſure of Elizabeth at his having accepted the title of Governor and Captain-general of the United Provinces, which veſted him with an almoſt univerſal power, proceeded in the exerciſe of his new authority. His firſt military ſervice in the Low Countries was an attempt to raiſe the ſiege of Grave, in Brabant, which had been formed by count Mansfeldt, a general in the prince of Parma's ſervice, in the ſpring of 1586, in which Leiceſter miſcarried, the town being yielded up by its governor, Peter Van Hement, who, for this act of cowardice, was, by Leiceſter's orders, puniſhed with death.

After the reduction of Grave, the prince of Parma bent all his force, which conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, to take Venlo; which he likewiſe reduced, after a moſt gallant defence on the part of the beſieged, under the command of colonel Skenke, the governor, who, with ſir Robert Williams, a Welſh officer, ſignalized themſelves greatly on this occaſion. On the other hand, the lord Willoughby of Ereſby, governor of Bergen op Zoom, cut off a large convoy of proviſions belonging to the enemy; and ſir Philip Sidney, with count Maurice, ſurprized the town of Axel, in Flanders. The next expedition of the prince of Parma was againſt Rheinberg: this place was garriſoned by twelve hundred Engliſh, under colonel Morgan. Leiceſter thought this a place of too much importance to be neglected, and therefore, by way of diverſion, made diſpoſitions for attacking Zutphen, a town of the greateſt conſequence to the enemy: this had the propoſed effect; the prince of Parma immediately abandoned the ſiege of Rheinberg, and advanced to give the earl of Leiceſter battle before Zutphen, when, after a bloody diſpute, the Engliſh were obliged to retreat. In this action our country ſuffered irreparable loſs by the death of ſir Philip Sidney, who was mortally wounded in the thigh. This gentleman, though not quite thirty-five years of age when he died, was at once the delight and ornament of the Engliſh court; and as all his influence with the queen and the earl of Leiceſter was wholly employed in the encouragement of genius and literature, his name has been immortalized by the writings as well of cotemporaries as of ſucceeding authors. Nor was his fame confined to England alone; the king of Scotland, charmed with the virtues of this young hero, celebrated his memory in a copy of Latin verſes which he compoſed on occaſion of his death.

Notwithſtanding the extraordinary joy the ſtates had diſcovered on the arrival of Leiceſter, they ſoon found that his abilities were by no means equal to the task with which he was entruſted; and his exceſſive pride and ambition ſoon bred an univerſal diſcontent againſt him, inſomuch that, after an inſignificant campaign, he ſent his forces into winter-quarters, and coming himſelf to the Hague, found a very different reception from the ſtates to what they had given him before: the members did not heſitate to charge him with abuſing the public money, with the neglect of diſcipline, and with many other oppreſſive exerciſes of his power, inconſiſtent with the liberties of that country. Upon this the earl thought proper to leave the Low Countries and return to England, where he arrived in the month of December. And thus ſtood the ſtate of affairs in the Low Countries this year: we are now to attend thoſe of England, where all was in confuſion.

Every day brought Elizabeth freſh intelligence of the king of Spain's ſchemes againſt her perſon and crown; one amongſt many others was a new-pretended claim to the ſucceſſion of the kingdom of England, which Camden ſays the Jeſuits about this time forged for the Spaniard in his own right, and to that end ſent into England one Chamier, a prieſt of their own ſociety, to engage the popiſh noblemen and gentry in their party. If Elizabeth was alarmed at theſe intelligences, ſhe was ſtill more ſo by the diſcovery of a plot which was laid againſt her life.

The ſpirit of depoſing and murdering princes upon papal bulls and excommunications had arrived to an incredible height in the Engliſh ſeminaries abroad. The brain of one John Savage had been fired to ſuch a degree by that doctrine, that he ſolemnly devoted himſelf to murder Elizabeth; and one Ballard, a prieſt, being ſent over from the ſeminary at Rheims to England, in order to propagate the king-killing principles lately ſet on foot, and being encouraged by Mendoza, the late Spaniſh ambaſſador in England, but now reſiding in France, he found means to corrupt one Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of good fortune in Derbyſhire, with ſeveral more, to join Savage in the execution of his vow. In the mean time the papiſts, in order to carry on their plot with leſs ſuſpicion, and to lull the watchful council of the Engliſh cabinet into fatal ſecurity, publiſhed ſeveral hypocritical writings, in which they profeſſed the higheſt regard for Elizabeth's perſon and government, admoniſhing the people of their perſuaſion not to engage in any practices againſt the ſtate, but to confine themſelves to ſuch weapons as are alone lawful for Chriſtians to uſe, ſuch as tears,

ſpiritual

ſpiritual armour, daily prayers, faſtings, and the like.

Nevertheleſs the watchful Walſingham had his ſpies on all their actions; and one Maud, a man of impenetrable diſſimulation, who mingled in all their counſels, by Walſingham's orders, had ſo inſinuated himſelf into the good opinion of Ballard, that this latter took him in company with him back to France, and made him privy to all his proceedings; and by him and Gilbert Gifford, a prieſt of the Rheimiſh ſeminary, who was intruſted with the conveyance of all the literary correſpondence, Walſingham had every part of the conſpiracy regularly communicated to him.

Ballard having, as he thought, ſettled all matters upon a ſure footing, for the perpetration of his villainous purpoſe, returned to England, about Whitſuntide, in a military dreſs, and with the aſſumed name of captain Foſcue, to aſſiſt in the final execution of it, and with him brought his new-made convert, Anthony Babington above-mentioned. This young gentleman was a zealous papiſt, of a violent ſpirit, and of parts and knowlege above his years: he had, in his travels through France, ſome years before, contracted an intimacy with Thomas Morgan, a fugitive rebel and a penſioner of the queen of Scots, who had introduced him to the biſhop of Glaſgow, Mary's ambaſſador at that court, upon whoſe recommendation young Babington gained a confidence with the captive princeſs, inſomuch that, during her being in the cuſtody of the earl of Shrewſbury, he had managed her correſpodence at certain times with her foreign friends. Upon her being removed to the cuſtody of ſir Amias Pawlet, the connection dropped, and Babington had therewith dropped all farther thoughts of Mary or her concerns; but the wicked workings of Ballard had quickly rekindled all Babington's zeal for her ſervice, and he not only readily joined as one in the execution of the intended aſſaſſination, but alſo planned out a new ſcheme of an invaſion, and was himſelf to be one of an hundred gentlemen who were to deliver the queen of Scots from her impriſonment. He then wrote to Mary, giving an account of all that had paſſed between Ballard and him, and inſiſting with that queen, that the gentlemen who were engaged in her ſervice, ſhould be aſſured of a reward ſuitable to their merits, with other ſtipulations of no great moment to be inſerted here. This letter of Babington's, which was written in the uſual cypher which had paſſed between him and Mary, was ſo agreeable to the latter, that ſhe failed not to anſwer it in the ſame cypher, on the twenty-ſeventh of July, deſiring that the conſpirators would be extremely cautious, leſt they ſhould precipitate matters before the return of their Engliſh friends from abroad, before they were aſſured of foreign ſuccour, and before ſome diſturbances were raiſed in Ireland: at the ſame time ſhe pointed out the moſt ready methods for her own deliverance, viz. either by overturning a cart in the gate-way of the houſe where ſhe was kept, ſetting the ſtables on fire, or carrying her away as ſhe rode abroad to take an airing in the fields between Chartley and Stafford. Theſe leters were afterwards produced in evidence againſt Mary upon her trial, and made the very foundation of the judgment paſſed upon this princeſs, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

In the mean time Walſingham made uſe of a new artifice, in order to diſcover the bottom of the plot; he added to a letter of Mary's, delivered to him by his truſty agent Maud, a poſtſcript in the ſame cypher, in which he made her deſire Babington to ſend her the names of the conſpirators. This ſcheme ſucceeded according to the ſtateſman's wiſh, and he quickly learned that Savage, already mentioned; Charles Tilney, a man of family, one of Elizabeth's band of penſioners; John Charnock, a Lancaſhireman; Edward Abingdon, whoſe father had been cofferer to Elizabeth; Chidcock Tichburn, a gentleman of Southampton; and one Barnwell, a perſon of quality in Ireland, were the ſix engaged by oath to aſſaſſinate the queen. At the ſame time the ridiculous vanity of Babington furniſhed Walſingham with ſtill another means of diſcovery, as well as of defence: that gentleman had cauſed a picture to be drawn, where he himſelf was repreſented ſtanding amidſt the ſix aſſaſſins, and a motto added, implying that they were jointly embarked in ſome hazardous enterprize. A copy of this picture was carried to Walſingham by one Polly, another of his ſpies, who had wormed himſelf into Babington's confidence, and by Walſingham ſhewn to the queen, that ſhe might know the aſſaſſins, and be upon her guard if any of them ſhould attempt to approach her perſon.

Thus the conſpirators were, unknown to themſelves, within inextricable toils; and indeed it required all Walſingham's ſagacity to counter-work Babington's cunning; for, perceiving that the deſign was likely to ſtick at the want of foreign force, he betook himſelf to the common arts of the prieſts and papiſts of thoſe days, of tempting Walſingham to place him as a ſpy abroad upon Mary's friends. Walſingham received him as a gentleman, and promiſed him the queen's paſſport for going to France; but, as it were in great confidence, bid him beware of the informers and meſſengers, who were every where abroad, and were in the king's pay; though it ſhould be abſolutely unſafe for them to lay hold on Babington, becauſe releaſing him without trial would render him ſuſpected by his own party. This correſpendence with Walſingham was by Babington intruſted with Ballard, who was to be embarked in the ſame deſign, and go abroad with Babington, who by this time had provided all his agents.

But Walſingham thought his buſineſs would be but half done unleſs he could find means to involve the queen of Scots in the fate of her friends. With this view he laid a deep ſcheme for entrapping her, through the heedleſſneſs of her ſecretaries Nau and Curle. The former was a Frenchman, the latter a Scot, both of them, the firſt through want of honeſty, the latter through want of courage, very ill qualified for their employments. Mary continued ſtill at the houſe of ſir Amias Pawlet, and Walſingham wrote to that gentleman for leave for Gifford, the prieſt, to corrupt one of his ſervants; Pawlet declined this, becauſe he thought it inconſiſtent with his own character, as a gentleman, to harbour a known traitor in his houſe, but he winked at Gifford's corrupting a fellow in the neighbourhood, who, through a hole in the wall, ſtopped up by a looſe ſtone, brought all the letters from Mary, or her ſecretaries, to Gifford, by whom they were tranſmitted to Walſingham, who thus became poſ-

ſeſſed of all that paſſed between Mary, or rather her ſecretaries, and her friends, either at home or abroad.

While Walſingham was thus taking every precaution neceſſary to detect and prevent all the deſigns of the conſpirators, Elizabeth began to be afraid leſt he ſhould ſpin his thread of politics too fine, and ſhe herſelf at length fall a victim to the determined revenge of her enemies; ſhe therefore inſiſted that the whole affair ſhould be laid before her council, and ſuch meaſures taken as to ſecure the conſpirators. According Ballard, as the moſt dangerous of all, was ſeized at Babington's houſe. This would have alarmed the conſpirators the more, if both Ballard and Babington had not been at firſt perſuaded from the cautions given them by Walſingham, that it was unknown to him, and that their arreſt was only in conſequence of the officiouſneſs of ſpies and informers. Walſingham himſelf confirmed them in this notion, and thereby prevented Babington's deſign of immediately murdering Elizabeth, and risking all conſequences: but inſtead of that he remained in London, and had one Scudamore placed over him as a ſpy by Walſingham. One evening, while they were both at ſupper, Scudamore received a note from Walſingham, ordering him to watch Babington more narrowly than ever; and Babington, by Scudamore's inadvertency, reading the note over his ſhoulder, haſtily roſe from table, and, leaving his cloak and ſword behind him, went out of the room as if upon a ſudden occaſion, made the beſt of his way to Weſtminſter, and, after conferring with Charnock, withdrew, with him and ſome others, into St. John's Wood, where they lurked ten days, but were at laſt diſcovered near Harrow on the Hill, hid in barns and dreſſed like countrymen, and brought priſoners to London.

During their impriſonment, they were examined upon the particulars of the conſpiracy, and confeſſed all they knew, but, indeed, nothing that could affect the queen of Scots as being privy to the deſign of aſſaſſinating Elizabeth, farther than that Babington had received letters from her in cypher, which they believed to have been written by her, or by her order; nor has it been pretended, that even Babington ever ſaw her, much leſs ever ſee her write. On the thirteenth of September, Babington and Ballard, with five of their accomplices, were arraigned, and pleaded guilty; and next day ſeven others concerned in the ſame conſpiracy were convicted upon their own confeſſions, or thoſe of their aſſociates. The firſt ſeven were executed with all the rigour of the ſentence pronounced againſt traitors; but Elizabeth ordered that the other ſeven ſhould hang till they were dead. At the place of execution they behaved in general with decency and reſignation, and repented that part of the conſpiracy, in which they were to murder Elizabeth.

The leſſer conſpirators being thus puniſhed, meaſures were taken for the trial and conviction of her, for whoſe ſake, and by whoſe ſuppoſed concurrence this deep and dangerous plot had been formed againſt the life of the queen and the peace of the kingdom: but the more determined Elizabeth was to cut off the queen of Scots, the more earneſtly ſhe applied herſelf to bring the ſon to wink at the death of his mother. It was natural to think, that James would have reſented the late traitorous attempt made upon his perſon, at the inſtigation and with the countenance of Elizabeth; but the preſent ſituation of his affairs obliged him to conceal his indignation, and his mild and peaceable temper ſoon induced him to forget the injury. Randolph had been ſent by the court of England to ſucceed Wootton as ambaſſador in Scotland; and, by the temptation of a penſion of five thouſand pounds ſterling per annum, offered to king James to enable him to ſupport the regal dignity with more luſtre, he ſo won on that weak prince, that he perſuaded him to put the final hand to the league with Elizabeth, which had been ſet on foot laſt year; and James this ſummer ſent commiſſioners to Berwick, where, on the fifth of July, the treaty was ſigned by the plenipotentiaries of both kingdoms, the heads of which were as follow:

"It was agreed, "that if Elizabeth was attacked, James ſhould aſſiſt her with a body of fifteen thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe; that if James was invaded, Elizabeth ſhould aid him with ſix thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe; that theſe auxiliaries ſhould be maintained by the prince who demanded aſſiſtance; that if the deſcent ſhould be made upon England, within ſixty miles of the frontiers of Scotland, James ſhould march to the relief of Elizabeth with the whole forces of his kingdom: and that this league ſhould be binding and valid, ſo far as religion was concerned, notwithſtanding any former aliances which either ſtate might have contracted with foreign princes*."

We now approach towards the laſt act of the queen of Scots tragedy. Her death was by this time irrevocably determined by Elizabeth and her council. Sir Edward Wootton was diſpatched with Mary's original intercepted letters to the king of France, to prevent any applications in her favour from that court; and the government having now received all the information they expected or wiſhed, concerning Babington's conſpiracy, came to a reſolution that Mary ſhould be removed by ſir Amias Pawlet to Fotheringay caſtle in Northamptonſhire.

The queen of Scots had been ſo ſtrictly guarded, that ſhe was ſtill ignorant of the detection of Babington's conſpiracy; and it was with equal ſurprize and concern, that ſhe received intelligence of this event from ſir Thomas Gorges, who had been ordered by Elizabeth to execute that office.

He choſe the time for giving her this intimation, when ſhe was mounted on horſeback to take an airing; and ſhe was not allowed to return to her former place of abode, but led through the country from one gentleman's houſe to another, until ſhe arrived in Fotheringay-caſtle, which it was reſolved to make the laſt ſtage of her mortal pilgrimage.

Her two ſecretaries, Nau and Curle, were immediately apprehended; all her papers were ſeized, and tranſmitted to the council: about ſixty different keys to cyphers were diſcovered: there were likewiſe found many letters from perſons abroad; and ſeveral too from Engliſh noblemen, expreſſing their attachment to her perſon and title.

This laſt diſcovery the queen thought proper to overlook; but the perſons themſelves, conſcious of their guilt, and dreading the puniſhment which their crime deſerved, endeavoured to atone for

* Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xv. p. 803.

their

their error, by changing their principles, and declaring themſelves thenceforth the moſt inveterate enemies of the queen of Scots.

It was determined to try Mary, not by the common ſtatutes of treaſon, but by the law which had been enacted the former year, with a view to this very event; and the queen, in conſequence of that act, appointed a commiſſion, compoſed of forty two noblemen and privy-counſellors, and five judges * of the realm, who were empowered to examine and pronounce ſentence againſt Mary, whom ſhe ſtiled daughter and heir to James V. late king of Scotland †.

But, in order to procure every poſſible proof of Mary's abetting the late conſpiracy, Gifford having revealed, that he had delivered to the French ambaſſador ſeveral papers of moment concerning the queen of Scots, was baniſhed the realm upon a falſe action, which no ways related to the conſpiracy. He informed the French ambaſſador of this proceeding againſt him, and, at the ſame time, gave him a piece of paper cut after a certain manner, with directions not to deliver the queen of Scots papers to any one, but to him who ſhould produce the counter-part: and, leaving the counter-part with Walſingham, this crafty ſtateſman got every thing this ambaſſador had, relating to the affair, into his hands.

On the eleventh of October, the commiſſioners repairing to Fotheringay caſtle, ſir Walter Mildmay, and Edward Barker, notary public, were ſent the next day to deliver to the devoted Mary the queen's letters for her trial; which having read with a countenance more becoming her dignity than her ſituation, ſhe expreſſed herſelf in the following manner: "It grieves me much that the queen, my dear ſiſter, is miſinformed of me; and that, after ſo many years cloſe confinement in priſon, and being grown lame in my limbs, I have lain wholly neglected, though I have offered ſo many reaſonable conditions for my liberty: though I have given her full and faithful notice of ſeveral dangers that threatened her, yet no credit hath been given me, and I have been ſtill ſlighted, though ſo nearly allied to her in blood. When the aſſociation was entered into, and the act of parliament made thereupon, I foreſaw, that whatever danger ſhould happen, either from foreign princes abroad, or from ill diſpoſed people at home, or for the ſake of religion, I muſt bear the blame, having ſo many mortal enemies in the court. Certainly I might take it ill, and not without juſt reaſon, that a league hath been lately made with my ſon, without my knowlege; but ſuch matters I omit. As for this letter, it ſeems ſtrange to me, that the queen ſhould command me, as a ſubject, to ſubmit myſelf to a trial. I am an abſolute queen, and will do nothing which may be prejudicial either to royal majeſty, to other princes of my place and rank, or to my ſon. My mind is not yet ſo far dejected, neither will I faint or ſink under this my calamity. I refer myſelf to what I have formerly proteſted to Bromley, now chancellor, and the late lord Delawar. The laws of England are to me altogether unknown: I am deſtitute of council; and who ſhall be my peers I cannot tell. My papers and notes are taken from me, and no man dares appear to be my advocate. I am clear from being guilty of any thing againſt the queen; I have ſtirred no man againſt her; and am not to be charged, but upon my own words or writings, which I am ſure cannot be produced againſt me: yet I cannot deny but I have recommended myſelf and condition to foreign princes." When this ſpeech being put in writing, was ſent her the next morning, to ſee if ſhe allowed it to be right, ſhe owned it, and deſired that the following words might be added, "Whereas the queen writes, that I am ſubject to the laws of England, and to be tried and judged by them, becauſe I have lived under their protection; I anſwer, that I came into England to crave her aſſiſtance, and have been ever ſince in priſon; ſo that I could not enjoy the protection or benefit of the laws of England; nay, I could never yet underſtand, from any man, what laws they were."

In fine, this and the following day were taken up with her diſputing the authority of her judges; nor could ſhe have been perſuaded to plead, had ſhe not been convinced, that an obſtinate refuſal would injure her innocence; and ſhe was allowed firſt of all to enter her proteſt; when ſhe found they were determined to proceed to judgment againſt her for non-appearance, this wrought upon her ſo much, that on the fourteenth of October ſhe agreed to appear.

The trial had an appearance of great order and ſolemnity. At the upper end of the room (according to Camden) was placed a chair of ſtate for the queen of England (had ſhe been preſent), under a royal canopy: overagainſt it, below, at ſome diſtance near the beam that ran acroſs the room, ſtood a chair for the queen of Scots: by the walls, on both ſides were placed benches, on which ſat the commiſſioners. The particulars of this trial, together with the ſeveral articles of the charge

* They were ſir Henry Bromley, knight, chancellor of England, the lord Burleigh, the marquis of Wincheſter, the earl of Oxford, great-chamberlain, the earl of Sherwſbury, the marſhal of England, the earl of Kent, the earl Derby, the earl of Worceſter, the earl of Rutland, the earl of Warwick, maſter of the ordnance, the earls of Pembroke, Leiceſter, and Lincoln, the viſcount Montagu, the lord Howard, high-admiral of England, Hunſdon, lord-chamberlain, Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Cobham, lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, Stafford, Grey of Wilton, Lumley, Sturton, Sandes, Wentworth, Mordaunt, St. John of Bletſho, Buckhurſt, Compton, Cheney, ſir Francis Knolles, treaſurer of the houſhold, ſir James Croſts, comptroller, ſir Chriſtopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain, ſir Francis Walſingham and William Daviſon, ſecretaries of ſtate, ſir Ralph Sadler, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, ſir Walter Mildmay, chancellor of the Exchequer, ſir Amias Pawlet, captain of Jerſey, John Wolley, eſq. ſecretary for the Latin tongue, ſir Chriſtopher Wray, ſir Edmund Anderſon, ſir Roger Marwood, ſir Thomas Gawdy, William Periam, judges. Camden, p. 519.

† Very great care was taken in drawing up this commiſſion, as the reader will perceive by the following anſwer of Popham, the queen's attorney-general, and the other crown lawyers, to a letter ſent them by lord Burleigh on this ſubject: the anſwer ran to this tenor.

"That that morning they had conference with ſuch judges as were at preſent there, viz. the lord chief-baron ſir Thomas Gawdy, juſtice Windham, juſtice Periam, and juſtice Rodes, and to Mr. ſerjeant Gawdy, touching the courſe of the proceeding in the commiſſion.

"That they thought good, among other things, to underſtand their opinions, by what name the Scottiſh queen was to be called in the commiſſion and record: and that therein they found them all of opinion, that to give her directly and preciſely the name of "regina Scotorum," either in the beginning, or by a copulative, as was ſet down in his lordſhip's laſt letters, could not well be warranted by law; and therefore they held it the ſureſt way to name her "Maria, filia & hæres Jacobi quinti, nuper regis Scotorum, communiter vocat regina Scotorum, & datariæ Franciæ." Strype, vol. iii. p. 364.

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againſt Mary, and her defence, and to be met with at large in almoſt all our hiſtorians, and in the Collection of State Trials; but being, on account of their great length, too tedious to be inſerted in this hiſtory, we hope our readers will be content with a conciſe account of the moſt remarkable matters, as they occured in the courſe of the proceedings.

The court being opened, the chancellor, turning to Mary, told her, "that ſhe was accuſed of conſpiring the deſtruction of the queen, the realm of England, and the proteſtant religion; and they were commiſſioned to examine the truth of the accuſation, and to hear her anſwer." The chancellor having done ſpeaking, the queen roſe up, and ſaid, "that ſhe came into England to crave the aid which had been promiſed her: that ſhe was a queen, and no ſubject to Elizabeth; and if ſhe appeared before them, it was only to ſecure her honour and reputation." The chancellor would not own that any aid had been promiſed her: as to the proteſtation, he anſwered her, "it was in vain, ſince the law upon which the accuſation was grounded, allowed of no diſtinction in the perſon of the tranſgreſſors; therefore it was not to be admitted." The court ordered, however, that the proteſtation ſhould be recorded, with the chancellor's anſwer.

Through the whole of her trial, Mary conſtantly denied being any way concerned in that part of Babington's plot which tended to the taking away the life of Elizabeth: ſhe even denied having had any correſpondence with him by letters. She alleged that it was eaſy to counterfeit the hand-writing and cypher of another; and as to the confeſſions of her ſecretaries, ſhe declared they were entirely falſe, and complained of being denied the right of ſeeing her accuſers face to face. She did not, indeed, attempt to deny that ſhe had tried all means, both in England and abroad, to procure her own liberty; in which ſhe ſaid ſhe thought herſelf warranted by the laws of God and man. The lord Burleigh then put her in mind, that Morgan, her ſervant, had, with her knowlege, put Parry upon his deſign of taking queen Elizabeth's life: upon which Mary exclaimed, with ſome warmth, "Ah! are you my adverſary!" "Yes (replied Burleigh) I am adverſary to all Elizabeth's enemies:" and then, as if ſhe had been a common criminal; aſked her, whether ſhe had any more to ſay? Mary, upon this, roſe with great conſciouſneſs of majeſty, and demanded to be heard before a full parliament, or the queen and her council. No anſwer was made to this; but the court was adjourned from Fotheringay, to ſit in the Star-chamber, at Weſtminſter, on the twenty-fifth of October.

On that day all the commiſſioners, except the earls of Shrewſbury and Warwick, attended; and though ſeveral of them (according to Thuanus) were popiſh lords, they found her, queen of Scots, guilty of the impeachment; and a formal ſentence was pronounced againſt Mary, under the hands and ſeals of all the commiſſioners preſent.

At the ſame time the court iſſued a declaration, importing "that the ſaid ſentence in no way derogated from the title and honour of James king of Scotland, but he was in the ſame place, degree, and right, as if the ſentence had never been pronounced." The unprejudiced and diſcerning reader will naturally form ſuitable reflections upon this proceeding againſt Mary, without my troubling him with any comments of my own: I ſhall only obſerve, that Elizabeth did not think herſelf ſafe in what had been done by her orders, until ſhe was once more aſſured, that her parliament, which met on the twenty-ninth of October, not only confirmed the ſentence pronounced againſt Mary, but alſo preſented an addreſs to her, humbly beſeeching her to conſent to its publication and execution. To this petition Elizabeth returned an anſwer, every word of which breathed the moſt unparaleled diſſimulation: ſhe pretended a mighty averſion to extreme meaſures; deſired the two houſes to find out ſome expedient to ſave her from the neceſſity of taking them; though at the ſame time ſhe took eſpecial care to throw into her ſpeech every circumſtance that ſhe knew would make them earneſt in preſſing her to proceed with the utmoſt ſeverity: among other things ſhe told them, that, not long ſince, "ſhe had ſeen with her own eyes, and read, an oath, wherein ſome were bound to kill her within a month. Hereby (ſays ſhe) I ſee your danger in my perſon, which I will be very careful to prevent."

This public declaration of the jeopardy their ſovereign's life was in, increaſed the apprehenſions and terrors of the parliament ſo much, that when the commons returned to their houſe, they were determined more than ever to inſiſt upon the execution of Mary; which they accordingly did in a ſecond addreſs, preſented to Elizabeth on the twenty-third of November. This ſecond application revived the pretended doubts and ſcruples of Elizabeth: ſhe lamented her own unhappy ſituation, expreſſed her uneaſineſs at their earneſt importunities, profeſſed the warmeſt affection for her people, and diſmiſſed the committee who waited on her with the addreſs, in an uncertainty what, after all this irreſolution, would be the final reſult of her deliberation.

Her reſolution, however, was not long kept ſecret; the ſentence againſt the queen of Scots was, by Elizabeth's orders, openly proclaimed throughout England; and on the ſixth of December, the lord Buckhurſt, with Beal, clerk of the council, were ſent to notify it to Mary, and exhort her to prepare for death. The captive queen received the meſſage with great firmneſs of mind, thanking God that an end was ſoon to be put to her troubleſome pilgrimage: and then, with ſome emotion, ſaid, "It is no wonder if the Engliſh, who have ſo often put their own ſovereigns to death, ſhould treat in the ſame manner a princeſs ſprung from the blood of their kings." When ſir Amias Pawlett took down her canopy of ſtate, and diveſted her of all the badges of royalty, ſhe bore it with extraordinary patience: ſhe complained, indeed, of this treatment, and of the unfair uſe made of the letters and papers taken from her, in a letter to queen Elizabeth, wherein, after declaring herſelf void of all malevolence towards her, ſhe deſired "that her corpſe might be interred in France; that ſhe might not be put to death in private, but in the ſight of the world; and that her ſervants might enjoy the legacies left them by her will, and be ſuffered to depart freely and peaceably whither they pleaſed." This letter was wrote on the nineteenth of December, but whether it was delivered is uncertain. On the ſecond of that month the parliament was adjourned to the fif-

teenth of February; a reſolution being fixed, within that time to take off Mary's head.

While the queen of Scots was preparing herſelf for her approaching fate, great intereſt was made by all the princes of Europe, in order to prevent the execution of the ſentence pronounced againſt her. Even Henry III. notwithſtanding his known averſion to the houſe of Guiſe, was obliged to interpoſe in her behalf, and to appear in defence of the common rights of royalty. L'Aubeſpine, the French reſident at London, and Bellievre, who was ſent over with an extraordinary commiſſion to the ſame purpoſe, interceded for Mary with great appearance of warmth. They employed every argument, which could either move the pity, or alarm the fears, of Elizabeth: they pleaded from juſtice, generoſity, and humanity: they intermingled reproaches and threats. But, to all theſe Elizabeth continued deaf and inexorable; and having received ſome private intimation of Henry's real indifference about the fate of the Scottiſh queen, and knowing the implacable hatred to all the family of the Guiſe, ſhe hoped that theſe loud remonſtrances would be productive of no violent effects.

James of Scotland was no ſooner informed of his mother's diſtreſs, than he diſpatched ſir William Keith, gentleman of his bed-chamber, with a letter to Elizabeth, conjuring her to ſpare the life of his parent, otherwiſe he ſhould think himſelf bound, by the laws of God and man, to revenge her death; and beſeeching her at any rate to reſpite the execution of the ſentence, until he could ſend an ambaſſador with farther propoſitions, which ſhe might find ſatisfactory. She was ſeized with a tranſport of indignation when ſhe peruſed this letter, in which James preſumed to threaten her with vengeance; but her paſſion ſubſiding, ſhe granted the deſired reſpite. At length the maſter of Gray and ſir Robert Melvill arriving in London, propoſed that their king ſhould give the chief of his nobility as hoſtages, to ſecure Elizabeth from any future practices of his mother, who ſhould reſign the right of her ſucceſſion to her ſon; and the reſignation ſhould be guarantied by foreign princes. Theſe propoſals the queen rejected with diſdain: and when ſir Robert Melvill begged earneſtly that execution might be deferred for a week, the queen anſwered, with great emotion, "No, not for an hour." We have already obſerved that Elizabeth's diſſimulation failed her whenever Mary was the ſubject of converſation. James recalled his ambaſſadors in a paſſion, which, however, was ſoon cooled by the maſter of Gray, who was a penſioner of the queen of England.

Elizabeth proceeded now to act the laſt part of the tragedy relating to the unhappy queen of Scots; and in the mean time her miniſtry, in order to pave the way for the bloody deed, took care to alarm the nation with falſe ſurmiſes of new plots and projected invaſions; and the French reſident, l'Aubeſpine, was accuſed of being concerned in hiring two ruffians to make away with Elizabeth; but the heinouſneſs of this charge does not appear to have been ſupported with any authentic evidence, and ſo dropped of itſelf. It had however all the effects that were expected from it, by raiſing the impatience of the public for Mary's blood; and Elizabeth thinking that as many entreaties had been uſed, and as much delay interpoſed as decency required, ſhe was at laſt reſolved to execute the ſentence againſt her ſiſter-queen: but even in this laſt reſolution ſhe could not proceed without exhibiting a new ſcene of artifice and deceit; for, after much affected perturbation of mind, ſhe ſent for Daviſon, a man of great parts, but eaſy to be deceived, and who, for that very reaſon, had been lately made ſecretary, and commanded him to draw out a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots, which ſhe afterwards ſaid ſhe deſigned to have kept by her in caſe any attempt ſhould be made for the delivery of that princeſs: ſhe ſigned the warrant, and then deſired Daviſon to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have the ſeal affixed to it.

Next day ſhe ſent Killigrew to Daviſon, requiring him to delay, for ſome time, the execution of her former orders; and when Daviſon came, and told her that the warrant had already paſſed the ſeals, ſhe ſeemed to be ſomewhat ſurprized, and blamed him for his precipitation. Daviſon, not knowing what courſe to purſue, communicated the whole tranſaction to the council; and they adviſed him to diſpatch the warrant by the hands of Beale, clerk to the council: if the queen ſhould be offended, they promiſed to juſtify his conduct, and to take on themſelves the whole blame of this meaſure. The ſecretary, not ſuſpecting their intention, followed the advice; and the warrant was tranſmitted to the earls of Shrewſbury, Kent, Derby and Cumberland, commanding them to ſee the ſentence carried into immediate execution.

Common reaſon will not permit us to imagine that the matter could proceed thus far without Elizabeth's knowlege, nor was there even the leaſt proof that ſhe ordered Daviſon to with hold the warrant: the preſumption is very ſtrong to the contrary; becauſe had Elizabeth pleaſed, even after Beale and the four earls were ſet out, there was time enough for countermanding the execution. But, indeed, Elizabeth, whoſe ſcheme ſeems to have been to deceive the world into an opinion that the odium of the queen of Scots death was not to be laid to her account, though, if we are to credit the apology of Daviſon himſelf, after his trial, and the following abſtracts from two letters, inſerted in the Life of the unfortunate Queen Mary, by M^c^ Kenzie, it will remain paſt a doubt, that ſhe was determined upon her death, and did not ſtick at the moſt unjuſtifiable methods to compaſs it.

In the firſt, dated at London, February 1, 1586-7, to ſir Amias Pawlet and ſir Drue Drury, they thus expreſs themſelves: "Her majeſty doth note in you both a lack of that care and zeal for her ſervice, which ſhe looketh for at your hands, in that you have not, in all this time (of yourſelves, without any other provocation) found out ſome way to ſhorten the life of the Scottiſh queen, conſidering the great peril ſhe is hourly ſubject to, ſo long as the ſaid queen ſhall live. She taketh it moſt unkindly, that men profeſſing that love towards her as you do, ſhould, in a kind of ſort, for the lack of the diſcharge of your duties, caſt the burden upon her, knowing, as you do, her indiſpoſition to ſhedding blood." To which ſir Amias Pawlet replied next day, "My anſwer I ſhall give unto you with great grief and bitterneſs of mind, in that I am ſo unhappy, as living to ſee this unhappy day, in which I am required by direction from my moſt gracious ſovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth. God forbid I ſhould make ſo foul a ſhipwreck of my conſcience,

or leave ſo great a blot upon my poor poſterity, and ſhed blood without law or warrant."

However, her artifices anſwered the main end for which they were deſigned, to give the young king of Scotland, who is ſaid to have been too conſenting to his mother's proſecution and death, a plauſible excuſe for continuing his correſpondence with Elizabeth; and to furniſh Elizabeth with an anſwer to the repreſentations of foreign princes, expected on that occaſion.

An awful, but humiliating, ſcene is now to be diſcloſed; a daughter, a wife, and a mother of kings, and herſelf a ſovereign queen, after being ſhut up for eighteen years in dreary priſons by a ſiſter-queen, is, by her orders, to be dragged to the block, and her head ſtruck off by a common executioner.

On the evening of the ſixth of February (though our hiſtorians ſay the ſeventh), 1587, the four lords, with Beale, arrived at Fotheringay; and the earls of Shrewſbury and Kent, together with Mary's two keepers, intimated to her that ſhe muſt die on the eighth following. The calmneſs and reſignation with which ſhe received this dreadful news were of a piece with all her other conduct: ſhe confeſſed, indeed, ſhe did not think ſhe was to die ſo ſoon; but all her geſtures, looks, and words, were full of chearful reſignation. She deſired of the earls, that ſhe might have a conference with her almoner, confeſſor, and Andrew Melvill, the maſter of her houſhold: but they would not allow her confeſſor to come near her, but recommended to her the biſhop or dean of Peterborough; whom ſhe refuſing, the earl of Kent, out of his zeal to the reformed religion, inſiſted that ſhe ſhould have no other. After they were gone, ſhe ordered ſupper to be haſtened, that ſhe might have the more time to diſpoſe of her concerns. She ſupped temperately, as ſhe uſed to do: towards the end of ſupper, ſhe drank to her ſervants, who pledged her upon their knees, begging pardon for their neglect of duty, as ſhe alſo did of them. After ſupper ſhe peruſed her will, and wrote down the names of thoſe to whom ſhe bequeathed her goods and jewels. At her wonted time ſhe went to bed; ſlept ſome hours; and then, awaking, ſpent the reſt of the night in prayer. The fatal day being come, ſhe dreſſed herſelf as ſhe was wont to do upon feſtival days, and, calling her ſervants together, commanded her will to be read, and then retired into her oratory, where ſhe ſtaid till ſir Thomas Andrews, the ſheriff, acquainted her that ſhe muſt now come forth. She appeared with a compoſed countenance and chearful look; her head was covered with a veil, hanging down to the ground; her beads hanging at her girdle, with a crucifix in her hand. In the porch ſhe was received by the earls and other noblemen, where, ſpeaking a ſhort ſpeech to Melvill, who bewailed his hard hap, that he was to carry into Scotland the woful tidings of the unhappy fate of his lady and miſtreſs, ſhe bade him farewel; and turning to the earls, deſired that her ſervants might ſtand by her at her death. Then the earls of Kent and Shrewſbury, ſir Thomas Andrews, ſheriff of Northamptonſhire going before her, ſhe came to the ſcaffold, at the upper end of the hall, on which were placed a chair, a cuſhion, and a block, covered with black cloth. As ſoon as ſhe was ſat down, Beale read the warrant, to which the queen liſtened with a careleſs or rather merry countenance: which done, Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, began a long ſpeech to her, concerning her life, paſt, preſent, and to come. She interrupted him, praying him not to trouble himſelf, for ſhe was reſolved to die in the catholic religion. Then they appointed the dean to pray; after which, the executioner having asked her forgiveneſs, her women took off her upper garments, and covering her face with a handkerchief, ſhe laid her head upon the block, which was ſevered from her body at two ſtrokes. She was buried in a royal manner, in the cathedral of Peterborough, on the firſt of Auguſt, where ſhe lay till her ſon king James's acceſſion to the crown of England; but he ordered her remains to be removed, in 1612, into the ſouth iſle of king Henry VII's chapel, at Weſtminſter, where ſhe now lies under a ſtately monument erected to her memory.

Thus, in the forty-ſixth year of her age, and the eighteenth of her captivity, died Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland by birth, and of France by marriage, whoſe character has been equally injured by the virulence of her enemies, and the intemperate zeal of her friends. The panegyric of the latter has ever been ſuſpected, becauſe unſupported, and has thereby given countenance to the defamation of the former. Upon a ſtrict and impartial review of her life and actions, I think it may be juſtly ſaid, that ſhe was an amiable woman rather than an illuſtrious queen; and that ſhe was partly the cauſe of her own ruin, by certain levities and errors in her conduct, which furniſhed her reſtleſs ſubjects with a pretext to oppoſe her authority, and drove her to ſeek for ſhelter with that perſon, who, of all the world, was by nature, inclination, and the ſituation of her own affairs, her moſt inveterate enemy.

If we are to believe contemporary authors, her perſon was ſo finiſhed a pattern of beauty, that it exceeded all the luxuriancy of deſcription; in ſhort, Mary is, with her countrymen, to this day, but another name for Beauty itſelf; nor is it eaſy to contradict them, ſince they have the French writers on their ſide; and, notwithſtanding their pretences, few if any original pictures of her, in the bloom of life, are remaining to contradict them. Brantome ſays of her, "that no man ever beheld her perſon without admiration and love, or will read her ſtory without ſorrow."

Elizabeth had hitherto acted a moſt egregious farce in her conduct to the queen of Scots, and ſhe was now determined to perform the laſt ſcene with the ſame dexterity and addreſs which ſhe had diſplayed in the former. No ſooner was ſhe informed of Mary's death, than ſhe affected a violent tranſport of grief, and openly declared the execution had been done againſt her intention, and without her orders. Her firſt care was to make her apology to James: her kinſman, Cary, ſon to the lord Hundon, was charged with this commiſſion, and had orders to deliver to James a letter, written all in her own hand, to this effect: "that her mind was infinitely diſquieted on account of this lamentable event, done againſt her meaning and intent; intreating him to believe, that if ſhe had commanded it, ſhe would never have denied it; and withal profeſſing her true affection towards him, and

and her aſſiduous watchfulneſs for the preſervation of him and his ſtates*."

While Cary was on his journey, Elizabeth, the better to ſupport her diſſimulation, cauſed Daviſon to be tried at the Star-chamber, "for contempt of the queen's majeſty, violating of his truſt, and neglect of his duty;" which charge was aggravated againſt him with all the chicanery of the bar, by Egerton, the queen's ſolicitor, and Gawdy and Pickering, crown-lawyers. Daviſon behaved with great modeſty on his examination; he readily acknowleged his error, and ſuffered himſelf to be railed at by thoſe very counſellors, who had promiſed him their countenance and protection, and had encouraged him to the fact for which he now ſtood arraigned. The pleadings ended, the commiſſioners proceeded to paſs ſentence on this eaſy dupe of his ſovereign's treachery and diſſimulation; and it was decreed, that, for his haſty and inconſiderate conduct, he ſhould be fined ten thouſand pounds, and ſuffer impriſonment during the queen's pleaſure. In this ſentence all the court concurred; only the lord Grey excuſed Daviſon ſo far, as to ſay that he thought him worthy of reward rather than puniſhment. He continued a long time in cuſtody, and was obliged to pay every ſhilling of the fine, though it reduced him to abſolute beggary: all the favour he could procure from the queen, was a temporary ſupport, juſt ſufficient to keep him from ſtarving, who had ſerved her at the hazard of his own head. We cannot refuſe the reader a ſight of the apology which Daviſon afterwards drew up for himſelf and ſent to Walſingham, and which the reader will find in the note† tranſcribed from Camden, and is at liberty to make his own reflections on it.

Elizabeth's hypocriſy was ſo groſs, that it could impoſe on nobody who was not previouſly reſolved to be deceived; but as James's concern for his mother was heart-felt and ſincere, he expreſſed the higheſt rage and indignation, and refuſed to admit Cary into his preſence. He recalled his ambaſſadors from England, and ſeemed to breathe nothing but war and vengeance: however, the friends of Elizabeth, taking advantage of the caution and timidity of James, gave him ſuch frightful ideas of the power of England, and the treachery of the Roman catholics, of his danger in marrying into a popiſh family, and of his own inability to avenge his mother's death, that in a few months he turned his thoughts towards peace; in which he was more eaſily confirmed by Cary's producing the ſentence paſſed upon Daviſon; and another inſtrument, ſigned by all the judges of England, in which they declared that the ſentence againſt the queen of Scotland could in no wiſe prejudice James in his right of ſucceſſion to the crown of England.

Elizabeth having thus diſſipated the clouds which threatened to burſt with fury upon her head from this quarter, and being informed that Philip of Spain was meditating a formidable deſcent upon England, for which purpoſe a great navy was equipping in his ports, ſhe ſent ſir Francis Drake, with a fleet, to intercept the ſupplies of naval and military ſtores going to Cadiz, to plunder the Spaniſh coaſt, and to deſtroy the enemy's ſhipping in their own ports; all which this brave and active commander effected with equal courage and ſucceſs, burning and deſtroying above an hundred ſhips, moſt of them laden with proviſions and military ſtores; and, after taking the town of St. Vincent, and bombarding Liſbon, he ſet ſail for the Weſtern Iſlands, in order to intercept a rich carrack, or galleon, called the St. Philip, then on her return from the Eaſt Indies, which falling into his hands, he returned to England in July, covered with glory, and maſter of an immenſe booty. But the moſt valuable acquiſition accruing to the nation from this expedition, was the finding of certain papers on board the galleon, which ſerved to inſtruct the Engliſh in the nature of the Eaſt Indian commerce, and put them on the firſt thoughts of eſtabliſhing an Eaſt India Company.

The Engliſh, during this year, were not equally ſucceſsful in their land enterprizes in the Low Countries, where two of Leiceſter's favourites, Stanley and York, to whom he had, on his return to England, aſſigned the command of Zutphen and Deventer, two important poſts, treacherouſly delivered the ſame up to the duke of Parma; and the ſtates of the United Provinces, who thought they had already ſufficient reaſons to be offended with the conduct of Leiceſter, now ſent an embaſſy to the Engliſh court with their complaints, and a requeſt that the government might be taken from the earl, and given to ſome other more able and prudent general. Elizabeth, who was greatly chagrined at the diſlike the ſtates expreſſed to her favourite, ſent over Thomas Sackville, lord Buckhurſt, to uſe his beſt endeavours to compromiſe matters, but

* Spottiſwood, p. 357.

† The queen, after the departure of the French and Scottiſh ambaſſadors, of her own accord commanded me to deliver her the warrant for the executing the ſentence againſt the queen of Scots. When I had delivered it, ſhe readily ſigned it with her own hand: when ſhe had ſo done, ſhe commanded it to be ſealed with the great ſeal of England; and, in a jeſting manner, ſaid, "Go, tell this to Walſingham, who is now ſick, though I fear he will die for ſorrow when he hears it." She added alſo her reaſons for deferring it ſo long, namely, leſt ſhe might ſeem to have been violently or maliciouſly drawn thereto; whereas, in the mean time, ſhe was not ignorant how neceſſary it was. Moreover, ſhe blamed Pawlet and Drury, that they had not eaſed her of this care; and wiſhed Walſingham would feel their pulſes touching this matter.

The next day after the warrant was under the great-ſeal, ſhe commanded me, by Killigrew, that it ſhould be done; and when I had informed her that it was done already, ſhe found fault with ſuch great haſte, telling me, that, in the judgment of ſome wiſe men, another courſe might be taken. I anſwered, that the courſe which was juſt, was always beſt and ſafeſt. But, fearing leſt ſhe ſhould lay the fault on me (as ſhe had laid the putting the duke of Norfolk to death upon the lord Burleigh), I acquainted Hatton with the whole matter, proteſting that I would not plunge myſelf any deeper in ſo great a buſineſs. He preſently imparted it to the lord Burleigh, and the lord Burleigh to the reſt of the council, who all conſented to have the execution haſtened; and every one of them vowed to bear an equal part of the blame, and ſent Beale away with the warrant and letters. The third day after, when, by a dream which ſhe told of the queen of Scots death, I perceived that ſhe wavered in her reſolution, I asked her whether ſhe had changed her mind? She anſwered, "No; but another courſe (ſaid ſhe) might have been deviſed;" and withal ſhe asked me, whether I had received any anſwer from Pawlet, whoſe letters when I had ſhewed her, wherein he flatly refuſed to undertake that which ſtood not with her honour and juſtice; ſhe waxing angry, accuſed him, and others (who had bound themſelves by the aſſociation), of perjury and breach of vows, as thoſe that had promiſed great matters for their prince's ſafety, but would perform nothing: "yet there are (ſaid ſhe), who will do it for my ſake." But I ſhewed her how diſhonourable and unjuſt a thing this would be; and withal into how great danger ſhe would bring Pawlet and Drury by it: for if ſhe approved the fact, ſhe would draw upon herſelf both danger and diſhonour, not without cenſure of injuſtice; and if ſhe diſavowed it, ſhe would undo men of great deſcent, and their whole poſterity. And afterwards ſhe gave me a light check, the ſame day that the queen of Scots was executed, becauſe ſhe was not put to death.

without effect; for the Dutch, thinking it no longer ſafe to truſt Leiceſter, would hearken to no terms of accommodation, but gave the command of their army to count Maurice of Naſſau, the late prince of Orange's ſecond ſon. Elizabeth, who conſidered the independence of the ſtates as immediately connected with her own ſafety, ſhewed no reſentment at their excluding Leiceſter, but, on the contrary, to give them entire ſatisfaction, ſhe commanded that nobleman to reſign his government. But though her good ſenſe ſo far prevailed, on the preſent occaſion, over her attachment to Leiceſter, he, by his artful ſubmiſſion, ſoon regained his former influence; and the lord Buckhurſt, who, on his return to England, accuſed him before the parliament of his conduct in Holland, loſt for ſome time the confidence of his ſovereign, and was even committed to cuſtody, while all proceedings againſt Leiceſter were quaſhed by the royal authority, to the ſecret indignation of all honeſt men. The lord Willoughby was made general of the Engliſh forces in the Low Countries, who had orders to oblige the partizans of England there, to ſubmit to the authority of prince Maurice. During theſe tranſactions, the Dutch loſt Sluys, which was taken by the prince of Parma, and Gueldres ſubmitted to him through the treachery of its governor.

In regard to domeſtic affairs in England, we have to obſerve, that the parliament meeting on the fifteenth of February, a motion was made in the houſe of commons, to preſent an addreſs of thanks to her majeſty, for having put the queen of Scots to death; but this did not paſs, becauſe it would have fixed upon Elizabeth an imputation which ſhe ſought eagerly to avoid. A petition, with a Directory or Book of Devotion, from the puritans being preſented to the houſe, ſeconded by four gentlemen, the queen ſent for the book, and committed the four members to the Tower, for having preſumed to meddle in church-matters, in contempt of her repeated inhibition: a motion was made to addreſs her for the releaſe of the impriſoned members, but was over-ruled, and they continued in confinement till the parliament was diſſolved. This ſeverity did not hinder the commons from granting a ſubſidy, and afterwards a benevolence for the ſupport of the war in the Netherlands: ſhe met with the like indulgence from the lords, and the clergy aſſembled in convocation.

This year ſir John Perot was called home from Ireland, where he left every thing in great tranquility, to the government of Fitz Williams, his ſucceſſor. Hitherto the Engliſh had found the Iriſh an eaſy conqueſt, on account of the unskilfulneſs of theſe latter in military exerciſe; eight hundred foot and three hundred horſe was held an invincible army, but, after Perot's command, they were trained to arms, and taught to diſcharge muſquets at a mark, and being inſtructed in the art of fortification, they held the Engliſh tighter to it, and were not ſo eaſily overcome. But we are now to ſee the attention of Elizabeth and her people engroſſed by objects of the moſt important and alarming nature.

Philip II. king of Spain, upon the ſlender title of being deſcended from John of Ghent, duke of Lancaſter, the fourth ſon of Edward III. and upon the conveyance and will of the queen of Scots, deceaſed, who had been perſuaded to give up her right and title to England in favour of him, as the only means to reſtore popery in this nation, and being alſo prepoſſeſſed with that maxim of the church of Rome, that a heretic is unworthy and incapable of enjoying a crown, thought he might juſtly claim that of England; and, ſupported with the bulls of pope Pius V. and Gregory XIII. abſolving Elizabeth's ſubjects from their oath of allegiance, he had for ſome time been projecting the conqueſt of England and its dependencies.

It is true that Philip poſitively denied his intention to moleſt Elizabeth, or aſſiſt her enemies, with theſe great naval preparations he was carrying on throughout all his dominions; but that watchful miniſter Walſingham, having intelligence, from his ſpies in the Spaniſh court, that Philip had declared in council that he had diſpatched an expreſs to Rome with a letter, wrote with his own hand, to the pope, acquainting him with the true deſign of his preparations, and asking his bleſſing upon it, but that, for ſome reaſons, he would not diſcloſe the particulars of the matter to them till the return of the courier; the ſecretary loſt no time to make himſelf maſter of this important ſecret; and, by the help of a Venetian prieſt, his ſpy at Rome, he found means to bribe a gentleman of the pope's bed-chamber, who took out of his holineſs's pocket, when aſleep, the keys of his cabinet, which he opened, and taking a copy of the king of Spain's letter, ſent it to Walſingham; who thereupon adviſed the ſending ſir Francis Drake upon the coaſt of Spain in the manner already related: which, with Walſingham's farther contrivance to get the Spaniſh bills, which were to ſupply the king of Spain with money to carry on his preparations, proteſted at Genoa, obliged Philip to defer the execution of his grand project to another year.

In the mean while Elizabeth, who was thoroughly informed of the ſtorm which was raiſing againſt her, took all poſſible care to be in a poſture of defence at home, as well as to diſtreſs her enemies abroad: but ſtill ſhe could not help being much perplexed to ſee her crown at ſtake, and herſelf alone without any ally to defend it, and therefore ſought as much as poſſible to gain time; Philip himſelf was in no condition as yet to precipitate matters; and each diſſembled ſo far, that, in December this year, it was agreed that commiſſioners ſhould meet to draw up preliminaries for a pacification. It was propoſed at firſt that the commiſſioners ſhould meet at Munſter, but at laſt, after many altercations, Oſtend was fixed upon for the place of holding the conferences, which were not opened, however, till the twelfth of April, 1588 (a year that will be ever memorable in the Engliſh annals); and then ſuch artful obſtacles were thrown in the way of a mutual agreement, that the time was dallied on till the thundering of the Spaniſh artillery on the coaſt of England demonſtrated how fruitleſs all farther treating would prove.

Nowithſtanding the very great damage that ſir Francis Drake had done the Spaniſh armament laſt year, yet ſo univerſal and prodigious a preparation as had been making for three years could not be eaſily rendered wholly uſeleſs; and, by the month of May this year, Philip had equipped a fleet, which, on account of its ſtrength, he called the Invincible Armada. He procured from the pope (Sixtus V.) a conſecrated banner, with freſh bulls for excommunicating Elizabeth as an heretic, publiſhing

liſhing a cruzade againſt her, and abſolving her ſubjects from their oath of allegiance.

The gold of Peru was laviſhed for the purpoſes of this expedition. This tremendous armament rendezvouſed at the Groyne, and conſiſted of the following particulars: nineteen thouſand two hundred and ninety ſoldiers; eight thouſand three hundred and fifty ſailors; two thouſand and eighty galley-ſlaves; and two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty pieces of ordnance: in a word, there never was any fleet equal to it in modern times, whether we conſider the goodneſs of the troops, the appointments of the ſhips, the proviſion of ammunition, victuals, and arms, or its confidence of ſucceſs.

The duke of Medina Sidonia was appointed admiral of the whole; and don Juan Martinez de Ricaldo, an experienced ſea-officer, ſerved under him; nor was there a noble family in Spain but had a ſon, brother, or nephew, in this expedition, in hopes of acquiring riches and revenues in England, which they looked upon as an eaſy conqueſt. And ſtill more to inſure ſucceſs, Philip ordered the duke of Parma to provide tranſports, and an army of twenty-five thouſand men, to be convoyed into this kingdom as ſoon as the Spaniſh fleet ſhould appear on the coaſt of Flanders. The duke, in purſuance of theſe orders, cauſed a great number of flat-bottomed veſſels to be built, for the tranſportation of the cavalry; provided other ſhips for the foot ſoldiers; and quartered his troops in the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Dunkirk, and Nieuport. To the diſgrace of human nature, ſeven hundred Engliſh fugitives enliſted under his banner, to aſſiſt in the conqueſt of their own country!

In the mean while Elizabeth had many ſerious conſultations concerning the manner of repelling this danger. Having equipped a conſiderable fleet, ſhe created Charles lord Howard of Effingham, lord high-admiral of England; and he was ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron to the Weſt, where he was joined by ſir Francis Drake, now appointed vice-admiral. She ordered lord Henry Seymour, ſecond ſon to the duke of Somerſet, to cruize along the coaſt of Flanders, with forty Engliſh and Flemiſh ſhips, to prevent the prince of Parma from putting to ſea with his forces. Twenty thouſand men were cantoned along the ſouthern coaſts of England; another body of well-diſciplined troops encamped at Tilbury, near the mouth of the Thames, under the conduct of the earl of Leiceſter, whom the queen created general in chief of all her forces; and the lord Hunſdon commanded a third army, amounting to thirty-thouſand horſe and foot, for the defence of her majeſty's perſon. Arthur, lord Grey, ſir Francis Knolles, ſir John Norreys, ſir Richard Bingham, and ſir Roger Williams, men renowned for their valour and experience, were conſulted about the management of the war by land: in purſuance of their advice, all the landing-places on the coaſt were fortified and garriſoned, from Hull to the Land's End and Milford Haven; the militia of the country was armed, and regulated under proper officers, who received inſtructions for interrupting the diſembarkation of the enemy, waſting the country before them with ſlight skirmiſhes and continual alarms, until the army could be aſſembled at the place, in order to give them battle. The queen impriſoned ſome ſuſpected papiſts; ſent new inſtructions to ſir William Fitz Williams, lord-deputy of Ireland; and, by her friends in Scotland, inſtigated James againſt the Roman catholics and the Spaniſh faction. That prince was more afraid than ſhe of the ſucceſs of ſuch an invaſion, which would have deprived him of his fair ſucceſſion, and expoſed his native kingdom to the arms of a foreign conqueror. The lord Maxwell, returning from Spain, landed at Kirkudbright, and began to aſſembled troops as if he expected the Spaniards would have made a deſcent in Galloway: James, being informed of theſe practices, marched againſt him with ſuch expedition, that it was with difficulty he eſcaped in a bark; but being purſued, was taken and impriſoned.

As I ſhall, in the future part of this hiſtory (which has already inſenſibly grown upon me, and, much againſt my will, is likely to exceed the limits I at firſt propoſed), be cautious of enlarging upon matters ſufficiently known, I muſt therefore refer the reader to the journals of this expedition, which are in the hands of almoſt every one, for the minute particulars of each day's action, after the meeting of the two fleets to the final deſtruction of the Spaniards, and confine myſelf to a more ſuccinct narrative.

The Invincible Armada, then, ſet ſail from the port of Liſbon on the third of June, 1588; but being met at ſea by a violent tempeſt, was forced back to the Groyne, where it lay till the twelfth of July, and then ſet ſail for England, and, after a troubleſome voyage, the whole fleet was, on the nineteenth, within ſight of our weſtern ſhores. It was impoſſible for the Engliſh ſhips, which, for the moſt part, were no more than ſmall barks in compariſon with thoſe of the Spaniards, to ſtand againſt the force of thoſe floating citadels, whoſe upper works were above three feet thick, and almoſt cannon-proof. Nevertheleſs, this well-concerted ſcheme failed in almoſt every part: the Engliſh appeared before the enemy with one hundred ſail, and, notwithſtanding their inferiority in bulk, numbers, and ſtrength, ſtopped the progreſs of this formidable fleet. They took ſeveral of the Spaniſh ſhips, and diſperſed the reſt by means of fire-ſhips, on this occaſion firſt uſed: a ſtorm ſeconded the efforts of the Engliſh; the Spaniſh admiral's ſhip, called the Invincible, was very near being loſt on the coaſt of Zealand. The duke of Parma's army, which could not put to ſea without the aſſiſtance of the Spaniſh fleet, remained inactive. Philip's navy, unable to reſiſt the courage of the Engliſh and adverſe winds, retreated round the north part of our iſland; ſome were wrecked upon the coaſt of Zealand; others upon the Orkney iſlands and the coaſt of Scotland; and another was caſt away upon the Iriſh ſhore, where the country-people maſſacred moſt of the ſoldiers and ſailors who eſcaped the fury of the tempeſt; and the lord-lieutenant, Fitz Williams, cauſed the reſt to be hanged. In ſhort, of the whole Invincible Armada, only fifty ſhips returned to Spain; and of thirty thouſand men who had ſailed on this expedition, no more than ſix thouſand eſcaped ſhipwreck and the ſword and

fire of the enemy. I have in the note * inſerted ſome curious particulars, as they were tranſmitted to the court of Spain, concerning its whole loſs in this expedition. That of the Engliſh was almoſt too inconſiderable to be mentioned; only one commander (Cox), with his bark, periſhing in the midſt of the enemy.

The lord high-admiral Effingham having entirely cleared the Engliſh coaſt of the Spaniards, returned in ſafety back to the Downs, to join in the acclamations and thankſgiving of the whole nation for ſo great a deliverance. Two medals were ſtruck by the government's order, in memory of this ſignal victory: one in honour of the queen, which repreſented fire-ſhips, and a fleet in a hurry and confuſion, with this motto, DVX FÆMINA FACTI; another in honour of the Engliſh navy, with the device of a fleet flying under full ſail, and the inſcription VENIT, VIDIT, FVGIT. The Zealanders, whoſe very exiſtence depended upon the ſucceſs of the Engliſh arms, ſtruck one, repreſenting the Spaniſh fleet in great confuſion, with this motto, IMPIVS FVGIT NEMINE SEQVENTE.

As for Elizabeth, ſhe ordered a public thankſgiving for the deliverance to be made in all the churches throughout the kingdom; and went herſelf to St. Paul's, in great ſolemnity, to perform the ſacred duty: at the ſame time eleven ſtandards and colours, taken from the enemy, were hung up in the body of the church, as trophies of their defeat. The queen's next act was to beſtow on the lord high-admiral Howard a yearly penſion, or rather gratuity, in recompence of his great ſervice to his country, and likewiſe beſtowed penſions on ſeveral of the maimed and wounded officers. For the reſt, their rewards conſiſted more in words than in deeds. To add to the general joy, ſir Robert Sidney, who had been ſent into Scotland, before the arrival of the Spaniſh fleet, at the time the queen was afraid king James would think the troubles of her realm afforded him a proper opportunity, by joining with the Spaniards, to revenge the murder of his mother, returned to England, with a letter, under James's own hand, to Elizabeth, wherein that monarch teſtified his ſincere attachment to the intereſt of England and the proteſtant religion, and declared that he was ſo far from wiſhing well to the cauſe of Philip, that he looked for no other favour from the Spaniard than what Polyphemus promiſed Ulyſſes, namely, that he ſhould be devoured the laſt.

On the fourth of September, ſoon after the diſperſion of the Armada, died Robert Dudley, earl of Leiceſter, the queen's great but unworthy favourite. He had diſcovered no conduct in any of his military enterprizes, and was even ſuſpected of cowardice; yet ſhe entruſted him with the command of her armies during the danger of the Spaniſh invaſion, a partiality which might have proved fatal to her, had the duke of Parma been able to land his troops in England: ſhe had even given orders for drawing a commiſſion, appointing him her lieutenant in the kingdoms of England and Ireland; but Burleigh and Hatton repreſented the danger of inveſting any ſubject with ſuch unlimited authority, and prevented the execution of that deſign. No wonder, that a conduct ſo unlike the uſual jealouſy of Elizabeth, ſhould give ground to ſurmiſe that her partiality was founded on ſome other paſſion than friendſhip. But the queen's affection for Leiceſter ſeemed to be terminated with his death: ſhe cauſed his goods to be expoſed to public ſale, in order to reimburſe herſelf for the money ſhe had lent him, and her uſual œconomy was obſerved to prevail over her regard to the memory of the deceaſed. Leiceſter's character may be ſummed up in a

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* Ships and men, ſunk, drowned, killed, and taken upon the coaſt of Ireland, in the month of September, 1588.

Counties.	Places.	Ships.	Men.	
Tyrconnel.	Lochfoile	1	1000	of that ſhip,
	Sligo haven	3 great ſhips	1500	and others
	Tyrcawley	1	400	that eſcaped.
Connaught.	Clere Iſland	1	300	
	Finglaſſe	1	400	
	Ophaly	1	200	
	Irriſe	2		the men fled
	Galway bay	1	70	into other veſſels.
	Carried up	11	3870	

Counties.	Places.	Ships.	Men.	
	Brought up	11	3870	
	The Shannon	2	600	
	Trayle	1	24	
	Dingle	1	500	
	Deſmond	1	300	
	The Shannon	1 burnt		the men embarked in another ſhip.
	Total ſhips	17	Total men 5394	

Before the loſs of the aforeſaid ſeventeen ſhips in Ireland, there periſhed, in July and Auguſt, fifteen other great ſhips, in the fight betwixt the Engliſh and Spaniſh navies in the narrow ſeas of England.

	Ships.	Men.	
Firſt, gallies	4	1622	
Near Eddyſtone, by Plymouth, at the firſt conflict,	1	unknown.	
The ſame time was diſtreſſed and taken don Pedro de Valdez's ſhip	1	422	Theſe two remain in England. Don Pedro de Valdez taken.
At the ſame time a great Biſcayan ſhip	1	289	
Before Calais, ſpoiled the principal galleaſs of Naples	1	686	In this veſſel of Naples don Hugo de Moncada was ſlain.
In the conflict was ſunk a great Biſcayan	1	unknown.	
The galleon of St. Philip	1	532	theſe two forced into
The galleon of S. Matthew	1	397	being ſore beaten by the Eng. great ſhot. Don Diego Piemental taken in the St. Mat.
A Biſcayan wrecked before Oſtend	1	unknown.	
The day after the fight there ſunk two Venetians	2	843	
A great Biſcayan forced by two of the queen's ſhips to periſh at Newhaven	1	unknown.	
Total of theſe ſhips	15	4791	
Total loſt on the Iriſh coaſt	17	5394	
Total of both theſe loſſes	32	10185	Whereof there are priſoners in England and Zealand at leaſt one thouſand; beſides a great multitude of men, not accounted, that were ſlain in the fight, and that have died of famine, as by the examination appeareth.

Beſides many ſhips not heard of, thought to be loſt.

This account was taken and tranſmitted to the king of Spain and his miniſtry, on the ninth of October, 1588.

few words: he was a great hypocrite, a pretender to the ſtricteſt religion, an encourager of the puritans, and a founder of hoſpitals.

The duke of Parma, with his fine army of thirty thouſand men, had no better ſucceſs in the Netherlands than the Invincible Armada had in its attempt upon England. The Hollanders, who found a ready defence in their canals and ſluices, and who were fond of liberty to a degree of enthuſiaſm, and who were all become generals under their princes of Orange, were in a condition to have reſiſted a much ſtronger force; and the duke, after laying ſiege to Bergen op Zoom, was, by the bravery of the Engliſh governor, ſir William Drury, and his garriſon of the ſame nation, obliged to abandon his enterprize with diſgrace.

In France, the duke of Guiſe was become ſo powerful and popular, that he inſtigated the Pariſians to make barricadoes in the ſtreets, and prepare for attacking the king in his palace of the Louvre. Henry was obliged to quit his capital, and make a diſhonourable peace with the chiefs of the league; but before the end of this year he revenged this outrage upon the duke and his uncle, the cardinal, whom he cauſed to be aſſaſſinated at Blois; an act of barbarity which he conſidered as abſolutely neceſſary to ſecure his own ſafety.

About this time Philip, earl of Arundel, who had been three years a priſoner in the Tower, was tried in Weſtminſter-hall, on an accuſation of holding private and treaſonable correſpondence with cardinal Allen and other popiſh prieſts, and of having cauſed maſs to be ſaid in his own apartment for the happy ſucceſs of the Spaniſh Armada; as alſo with being privy to the bull of pope Sixtus V. depriving the queen of her dominions, and making them over to the Spaniard. Upon theſe accuſations, unſupported by any legal proofs, this nobleman was by his peers found guilty; but Elizabeth ſpared his life. This Philip, earl of Arundel, was the fourth immediate heir from father to ſon, who ſtood condemned to die, through the jealouſy of the crown rather than the juſtice of the laws, as if the ſafety of the houſe of Tudor and the exiſtence of the family of Howard were held incompatible.

In the beginning of the enſuing year, 1589, Elizabeth convoked a new parliament, and ſhe obtained from them a ſupply of two ſubſidies and four fifteenths, payable in four years. This is the firſt time that ſubſidies were doubled in one ſupply; and this uncommon conceſſion was probably owing to the joy of the late ſucceſs and the general ſenſe of the queen's neceſſities.

Some of the commons made a motion for reſtraining the tyranny of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and rectifying the abuſes of purveyance*. But Elizabeth, who conſidered both theſe as eſſential parts of her prerogative, of which ſhe was extremely tenacious, ſtrictly prohibited them from touching upon things which did not belong to their cognizance.

The defeat of the Armada had inſpired the nation with a kind of enthuſiaſtic paſſion for enterprizes againſt Spain; and nothing ſeemed now impoſſible to be accompliſhed by the heroic valour and good fortune of the Engliſh.

Don Antonio, prior of Crato, was a natural ſon of the royal family of Portugal, who, truſting to the irreconcileable hatred which his countrymen bore to the Caſtilians, had trumped up a claim to the crown, and flying firſt to France, and then to England, had been encouraged, both by Henry and Elizabeth, to aſſert his pretenſions; and now a reſolution was taken by the people, not the court, of England, to conquer the kingdom for don Antonio; ſir Francis Drake, and ſir John Norris, were the leaders in this romantic enterprize; about twenty thouſand volunteers engaged in the ſervice: and ſhips were hired, as well as arms provided, at the ſole charge of the adventurers. The queen's frugality hindered her from contributing more than ſixty thouſand pounds to the expence; and ſhe only permitted ſix of her ſhips to attend the expedition.

This fleet ſailed from Plymouth on the fifth of April; and after a ſhort paſſage arrived at Corunna (commonly called the Groyne), in Galicia; where, after making themſelves maſters of the harbour, they ſoon reduced the lower town, which was followed by the giving up of the higher. And from thence ſailing to the coaſt of Portugal, they met the young earl of Eſſex, whom we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to mention in a diſtinguiſhed light during the latter part of this reign. This young nobleman had equipped ſome ſhips at his own expence, unknown to Elizabeth, and ſailed upon a roving cruize. This junction gave great ſpirits to the Engliſh; and their firſt exploit was to ſeize upon Panicha, a town in Portugal, which, with the caſtle, they ſurrendered to don Antonio, as lawful ſovereign of the country; and from thence bent their march by land to Liſbon, at the diſtance of ſixty miles. The foot companies led by Norris, whom Drake promiſed to follow with the fleet, being come to St. Catherine's, which is now the weſtern ſuburb of Liſbon, they found nobody there but a few diſarmed Portugueſe, who cried out, "God ſave king Antonio!"

The day following, the Spaniards, in a large body, ſallied from the citadel, and cut off ſeveral of the Engliſh, with ſome of their beſt officers; but the earl of Eſſex behaved ſo gallantly on this occaſion, that he inſpired freſh courage into his followers, who turned upon their aſſailants ſo warmly, that they beat them back to the very gates of the city. And having now remained at Liſbon two days, and ſeeing no ſigns of a revolt in their favour among the natives, which don Antonio had made them believe would be the immediate conſequence of his appearance; finding freſh ſupplies daily thrown into the town, their own army ſickly, and proviſions and ammunitions growing ſhort; and, what was more diſcouraging than all, no appearance of Drake's joining them, they left the ſuburbs of Liſbon, and marched to Caſcais, a little town at the mouth of the river Tagus, which town Drake had in the mean time taken; and from him they now learned the reaſon of his not having joined them, namely, that of two paſſages for proceeding to

* The right of purveyance was an ancient prerogative, by which the officers of the crown were empowered to take, at pleaſure, proviſions for the houſhold, from all the neighbouring counties, and the uſe of carts and carriages; and the price of theſe were always fixed and ſtated. The payment of the money was often diſtant and uncertain; and the rates were always greatly below the market price: ſo that purveyance, beſides the ſlavery of it, was always conſidered as an intolerable grievance, and, being arbitrary and caſual, was ſubject to great abuſes. Hume's Hiſt. of the Tudors, vol. ii.

Liſbon,

Liſbon, he found, upon a ſtrict examination, both impracticable: the firſt by the channel of Alcacæva, not having depth enough of water for his veſſels, he muſt have ſtruck upon the ſhelves and ſhoals; and the port of St. Julian's, at the mouth of the harbour, was defended by all the Spaniſh gallies, and a battery of fifty pieces of cannon on ſhore.

The Engliſh land forces, on their arrival at Caſcais, ſeized about ſixty hulks belonging to the Hanſe Towns, which had ſailed round the Orkney iſlands, contrary to Elizabeth's expreſs prohibition, with naval ſtores and proviſions for the enemy. They next burned Vigo, a ſea-port town; and, after blowing up a part of the caſtle of Caſcais, they returned to England in the month of June. In this expedition more than one half of theſe gallant adventurers periſhed by ſickneſs, famine, fatigue, and the ſword; and England derived much more glory than advantage from this extraordinary enterprize. It is computed, that of eleven hundred gentlemen who embarked on board this fleet, no more than three hundred and fifty returned to their native country.

When theſe ſhips were on their voyage homewards, they met with the earl of Cumberland, who was outward-bound, with a fleet of ſeven ſail, all fitted out at his own expence, except one ſhip of war, which he had obtained from the queen. That nobleman ſupplied ſir Francis Drake with ſome proviſions; an act of generoſity which preſerved the lives of Drake's men, but which proved fatal to his own troops in the ſequel.

Cumberland ſailed towards the Terceras, and took ſeveral of the enemy's ſhips; but the richeſt, valued at an hundred thouſand pounds, was loſt in her return, with all her cargo, near St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall. Many of theſe adventurers periſhed in a raſh attempt at the Terceras: the reſt were ſeized with a violent diſtemper; and it was not without extreme difficulty, that the few hands which remained were able to bring back their ſhips into harbour.

While the queen was thus diſtreſſing the Spaniards, Henry III. of France received a mortal wound, of which he died, by the dagger of an aſſaſſin, namely, James Clement, a Jacobine friar, when he was on the point of compelling his rebellious citizens of Paris to return to their duty. This act of regicide was openly avowed by the popiſh party, who extolled it as a meritorious deed, undertaken to deliver the church from an enemy, and to revenge the deaths of the Guiſes, thoſe darlings of that bigotted party. The king lived two days after he received the wound, during which time he nominated Henry, king of Navarre, head of the houſe of Bourbon, his ſucceſſor, who aſſumed the name of Henry IV. But he could never have maintained his advancement, had not Elizabeth ſupported him with both men and money; for the league refuſed to acknowlege him for their ſovereign: and the duke of Mayenne, brother to the duke of Guiſe, having a more powerful army, drove him out of Paris, proclaimed the old cardinal of Bourbon ſucceſſor to Henry III. by the name of Charles X. and, being aſſiſted by the duke of Parma, obliged him to raiſe the blockade of that city. In this ſtate were the affairs of France during the year 1589.

In Scotland, the Spaniſh party had been ſo ſucceſsful as to raiſe ſeveral commotions. In the beginning of this year 1589, the Scottiſh miniſtry intercepted letters, by which it appeared that the earls of Huntley, Errol, Craufurd, and Bothwell, ſon to a baſtard of James V. maintained a correſpondence with the duke of Parma, who had ſupplied them with a ſum of money to raiſe diſturbances in Scotland. They had diſpatched colonel Sempil to ſolicit Philip for another invaſion. Bothwell undertook to ſeize the king's perſon; but was diſappointed: the other three advanced with a body of forces towards Aberdeen; but the king aſſembling a greater number of troops, they were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and remained in cuſtody till the new queen arrived in Scotland. The king of Denmark had a ſecond daughter unmarried; and James, laying aſide his deſign upon Catherine of Bourbon, ſent the earl Mareſchal as his ambaſſador to Copenhagen, to demand this princeſs, Anne, in marriage. Though her father was by this time dead, the treaty of marriage was concluded with the ſtates of the kingdom, and the princeſs embarking about Michaelmas for Scotland, was driven by a ſtorm into Norway. James, impatient to ſee his bride, ſailed thither in October, attended by his chancellor, ſeveral noblemen, and a numerous retinue; the nuptials were celebrated at Upſal; they paſſed the winter in Denmark, ſet ſail for Scotland in the ſpring, and, landing at Leith in the beginning of May, the new queen was crowned in the church of Holyrood abbey.

Towards the cloſe of this year died the famous ſir Francis Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate, one of the moſt able and accompliſhed miniſters that ever appeared in this or any other country, and not more diſtinguiſhed by the abilities of his head, than the virtues of his heart. Though he had paſſed through many great employments, and had been very frugal in his expences, he yet died ſo poor, that his family was obliged to give him a private burial. He left only one daughter, who was firſt married to ſir Philip Sidney, then to the earl of Eſſex, favourite of queen Elizabeth, and laſtly to the earl of Clanrickard in Ireland.

This year alſo died ſir Thomas Randolph, who had been employed by the queen in ſeveral embaſſies to Scotland; and alſo Ambroſe Dudley, earl of Warwick, eldeſt brother to Leiceſter.

The affairs of England, in the year 1590, were ſo proſperous, that Elizabeth ſaw her enemies in no manner of condition to give her freſh diſturbances from abroad, and the interior peace of her dominions was ſo well confirmed, and the hearts of her loyal ſubjects ſo well tried and attached to her intereſts by the late attempts of the king of Spain, that ſhe had nothing to fear: however, ſhe very prudently kept her marine on a reſpectable footing, and ready for ſervice on the ſhorteſt notice; the fortifications of her towns and ſea-ports were alſo properly attended to; and ſuch was her frugality and good management, that, without loading her ſubjects with new taxes, ſhe gave penſions to ſeveral perſons in the court of Scotland and other parts, for ſecret ſervices; and aſſiſted both the Hollanders and the king of France with men and money, to withſtand the arms and intrigues of Philip II. who aimed at univerſal monarchy, and who would have infallibly reduced thoſe two nations, had not England came ſeaſonably to their aſſiſtance, by ſending troops to Normandy and Brittany, under

der the earl of Eſſex and ſir John Norris. But Henry IV. notwithſtanding all his obligations to Elizabeth, dealt very deceitfully with her; for he made uſe of the Engliſh auxiliaries only to prevent the progreſs of the Spaniards, while he himſelf carried his arms elſewhere, inſtead of employing them to drive the Spaniards out of Brittany, agreeable to the treaty made between him and Elizabeth in the ſpring of this year, and in conſequence of which theſe troops were ſent over: but Henry's ſole intent ſeems to have been to temporize till he could make peace upon his own terms.

In the courſe of this year ſome diſturbances happened in Ireland, partly owing to the ferocity of the natives, and partly occaſioned by the oppreſſive conduct of Fitz Williams, lord-deputy. The earl of Tyr Oen having cauſed Hugh Gavilloch, the natural ſon of Shan O'Neil, to be ſtrangled, was ſummoned to England, where he obtained the queen's pardon, upon his ſolemnly engaging that he would live in peace with Tirlogh Leinigh and all his neighbours, that he would not aſſume the title of O' Neil, impoſe taxes, exerciſe any juriſdiction, intercept any ammunition or proviſions intended for the uſe of the Engliſh garriſons, nor admit into his territories monks, friars, or malecontents. This nobleman was very punctual in performing his engagements, and poſſeſſed many excellent qualifications, both of mind and body. Hugh Roc M'Mahon, a powerful lord in Monaghan, having exacted the tax called Bonaghty from the people according to the cuſtom of Ireland, was apprehended by the order of the lord-deputy, tried by a jury of common ſoldiers, condemned, executed, and his eſtate divided between his own ſept and the Engliſh ſettlers. Brian O' Rourk, the chieftain of another powerful ſept in the county of Antrim, apprehending the ſame fate, broke out into open rebellion; but being routed by ſir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, he fled into Scotland, and, being claimed by Elizabeth, was delivered into the hands of that princeſs, who cauſed him to be tried and executed at London.

Elizabeth this year ſuſtained a great loſs in the perſon of ſir Chriſtopher Hatton, who, upon the death of ſir Thomas Bromley, in 1587, had been made lord-chancellor of England. He was a perſon of great abilities, unſhaken probity, firmly attached to the conſtitutions of his country, and a munificent patron of learning. He is ſaid to have died of grief and vexation at the ſeverity of the queen, who inſulted him with abuſive language, and exacted with great rigour a debt which he had contracted in managing the tenths and firſt-fruits. Immediately before his death, Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington, three puritanical fanatics, uttered many blaſphemous and treaſonable expreſſions againſt God and the queen: the firſt was tried, condemned, and executed; Coppinger ſtarved himſelf to death in priſon; but Arthington was pardoned upon his recantation. That her Iriſh ſubjects might no longer be tempted to ſend their children to foreign ſeminaries for education, the queen founded Trinity college, in Dublin, endowing it with a power of conferring degrees, and other privileges of an univerſity.

Elizabeth and her miniſtry reflecting that the Indian treaſure was the true ſource of that greatneſs which rendered Philip ſo formidable to all his neighbours, reſolved to enfeeble him in that part, and the lord Thomas Howard, ſecond ſon to the late duke of Norfolk, was diſpatched, in the ſpring of the year 1591, to the Azores, or Weſtern Iſlands, with a ſquadron of ſeven ſhips, to intercept the plate-fleet in its return to Europe; but the king of Spain, apprized of the deſigns of the Engliſh court, equipped a fleet of fifty-five ſail, and ſent them to convoy the India ſhips. They came upon the Engliſh ſquadron ſo unexpectedly, that it was with great difficulty admiral Howard, who was then lying at anchor in the iſland of Flores, could put out to ſea, more than half of his men being ſick and unfit for ſervice; and captain Grenville, in the Revenge, was ſo unfortunate to be pent up between the iſland and the Spaniſh fleet: in this deſperate ſituation he attempted to break through the enemy, and, after maintaining a moſt gallant fight with the whole Spaniſh fleet for fifteen hours together, having received, upon a moderate computation, eight hundred cannon-ſhot in his ſhip, and withſtood the fire of near ten thouſand ſoldiers and ſeamen, and that with one hundred men only, he was compelled by his men to ſurrender himſelf priſoner, and, being carried on board the Spaniſh admiral, died a few days after of the wounds he had received during the engagement. The reſt of the ſquadron returned ſafely to England, diſappointed in their expectations, but pleaſing themſelves with the reflection, that their attempt to annoy the enemy had not been altogether ineffectual; for the Indian fleet had been ſo long detained in the Havannah, from the fear of the Engliſh, that they were at laſt obliged to put to ſea in an improper ſeaſon, and moſt of them were ſhipwrecked before they could reach the Spaniſh harbours. I ſhall omit to recount ſome other naval adventures of leſs importance, which happened at this time, after obſerving that Elizabeth loſt no opportunity of encouraging every attempt by ſea, which carried with it the ſmalleſt proſpect either of a new diſcovery or of profit.

Elizabeth was extremely offended with Henry IV. for having broken his word to her, in neglecting to drive the Spaniards out of Brittany; and not a little diſpleaſed with the earl of Eſſex for his too eaſy compliance with the meaſures of the French king, and therefore recalled him from the command of her forces in Normandy, at the ſame time threatening Henry, that if he continued his prevaricating method of proceeding, ſhe would totally withdraw her aſſiſtance from him. Henry, alarmed at this menace, ſent moſt ſubmiſſive letters to the queen, excuſing himſelf in the beſt manner he was able; and, by the mediation of Eſſex and Mornay du Pleſſis, whom he had ſent his ambaſſador to England, obtained freſh ſupplies, and then laid ſiege to Roan: but the duke of Parma having entered France, and being joined by the duke of Mayenne, and the young duke of Guiſe, obliged him to abandon his enterprize.

On the twenty-eighth of December this year died pope Sixtus V. This event conduced not a little to the tranquility of Elizabeth and her kingdoms; for had this pontiff lived a little longer, it is very probable that her expence and great endeavours to maintain the proteſtant intereſt in France, and to ſupport the houſe of Bourbon againſt the Spaniards, had proved ruinous to herſelf and people; king Henry IV. having a ſecret underſtanding with this pope, and, though he pretended

to be a ſerious proteſtant outwardly, was entirely at his devotion in his heart. This was the ſpring of thoſe prevarications on the part of that king, from his firſt acceſſion to the throne, in all the negotiations and treaties with her majeſty, and of thoſe miſapplications of her generous and powerful aids, ſent to him from time to time, to drive the Spaniards out of Brittany. Pope Sixtus was ſucceeded in the pontifical dignity by Sfondrati, an Italian, who aſſumed the name of Gregory XIV.

In the beginning of the year 1592, the report continued very hot, that the duke of Parma was again to march into France. This report was not without foundation; and Elizabeth took care moſt punctually to fulfil all her engagements for the ſupport of Henry. The ſcene of war lay chiefly in Normandy and Brittany, where the prince de Dombes joined the prince of Condé, with the Engliſh troops under Norris, while Elizabeth prevailed with the prince of Anhalt to enter France with a conſiderable body of German auxiliaries, to aſſiſt Henry. The prince of Condé, however, having formed the ſiege of Craon, was defeated by the duke of Mercœur, and all Brittany was upon the point of falling into the hands of the Spaniards, when the dukes of Mayenne and Mercœur, with other heads of the league, diſguſted with the Spaniſh inſolence, and jealous of their power, formed ſecret reſolutions of making their peace with Henry. This ſlackened the operations of the war on the ſide of the league, and the duke of Mayenne was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Quillebœuf, with ſome loſs. Epernal was afterwards taken by the marſhal Biron, but with the loſs of that brave general's life. The farther operations of the French army fall not within my deſign; it is ſufficient to ſay, that by the ſecret intrigues of the duke of Mayenne, the leaguers ſplit among themſelves, which gave great advantages to Henry's party. But at laſt the cardinal legate publiſhed his maſter's bull, for aſſembling the catholics of France, and for proceeding to the election of a popiſh king. The violent leaguers intended at this aſſembly to have given their crown to the king of Spain; and the duke of Parma's true intention of marching into France, was that he might over-awe the aſſembly, which the Spaniſh party propoſed ſhould be held at Rheims, or Soiſſons. But the duke of Mayenne, ſenſible of the conſequence, ordered the aſſembly to be held at Paris. This ſomewhat diſconcerted the prince of Parma; and Henry drew all his troops, to Elizabeth's moriſication, out of Normandy, Picardy, and Brittany, to fight him before he ſhould advance into the heart of the country. What the conſequence would have been, is hard to ſay; but all Philip's vaſt deſigns were at this time defeated by the death of the duke of Parma, in the forty-ſixth year of his age. Elizabeth is ſaid to have dropped ſome generous expreſſions in favour of this great man's memory; and perhaps, few princes ever excelled him in virtue, in civil, and in military accompliſhments. His great merits were quickly ſeen after his death: no other general had authority enough to keep the Spaniſh troops together; and the great ſums which Philip had raiſed, being applied towards the corrupting the deputies of France, his ſoldiers mutinied, and many of them diſbanded themſelves.

In the month of April this year, ſir John Perot, the late lord-deputy of Ireland, was brought to his trial, upon a charge of high-treaſon during his adminiſtration there. He was a man of courage and abilities, but proud, poſitive, covetous, and overbearing. Hatton had been ſo much his enemy, that notwithſtanding all Burleigh could urge in his favour, Elizabeth was reſolved he ſhould be tried before commiſſioners, who were the lords Hunſdon and Buckhurſt, ſir Robert Cecil, ſir John Forteſcue, ſir John Wooby, and other judges. Great pains had been taken to rip up all the private behaviour of Perot in Ireland, where he had many enemies; yet nothing was judicially proved againſt him, but ſome paſſionate diſreſpectful words againſt Elizabeth's perſon, for which ſhe reſolved to humble him. The grounds of his impeachment were "for having treated the perſon and character of the queen contumaciouſly: for relieving popiſh prieſts; for holding a ſecret correſpondence with the duke of Parma, and Elizabeth's enemies; and for foſtering the civil commotions in Ireland." He made a noble defence, but acknowleged his indiſcretion in ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of his queen. Popham, the attorney-general, who knew that Elizabeth made it a point that he ſhould be convicted, produced a ſet of ſcandalous, and ſome of them infamous, witneſſes, to prove the charge, and ſupported it with all his venal eloquence. At laſt, after a long time, the jury found him guilty; and Burleigh by his tears teſtified his opinion of his innocence. It was thought that Elizabeth intended to have pardoned him, but he died in September following, a priſoner in the Tower.

Elizabeth this year continued to purſue her favourite ſcheme of humbling the Spaniard, by cutting the very nerves of his ſtrength in the Weſt Indies. Sir Walter Raleigh was ſent with a ſquadron of fifteen men of war, either to attack Panama, or to intercept the plate-fleet in its return to Europe. Never man had a head better fitted for this enterprize than ſir Walter Raleigh had: his ſchemes were great, but difficult, if not impracticable, to any capacity but his own; his learning was inferior to his knowlege; his conſtancy to his courage; and his virtue to his genius, which was equal to the greateſt and meaneſt things. Having at a great expence been detained too long in port by contrary winds, he ſet ſail three months later than he ought to have done; and having paſſed the Land's End, he learned, that orders had gone from Spain to ſtop the return of the plate-fleet to Europe that year; this news, with a violent ſtorm which diſperſed his ſquadron, obliged him to alter his plan. He therefore ſent one part of his ſquadron, under ſir Martin Forbiſher, to cruize off the coaſt of Spain, and he ſent another part of it, under Boroughs, a brave officer, and ſecond ſon to ſir John Boroughs, to the Azores. The earl of Cumberland at the ſame time was at ſea with three of Elizabeth's ſhips, and had chaſed a galleon into Flores juſt at the time when Boroughs had arrived there; while the Spaniſh fleet, which was then at ſea, went after Forbiſher. Boroughs would have taken this galleon, had it not been for a dead calm, and then a ſtorm, which gave the Spaniards an opportunity of unloading, and ſetting it on fire: he had, however, the good fortune to make prize of another ſhip, called the Mother of God, after a deſperate engagement, in which moſt of

of the Spaniſh crew, which conſiſted of ſix hundred men, were killed. This victory was equally for the profit and honour of the Engliſh; the money that was known to come to the queen and captors amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, and the embezzlements were thought to amount to the ſame ſum; but, though Elizabeth did all ſhe could to recover them, no diſcovery was made.

This year the earl of Bothwell made a new attempt in Scotland to ſeize on the perſon of king James; but the deſign being timely diſcovered, the rebel fled into England. Elizabeth at firſt promiſed James to puniſh ſuch of her ſubjects as ſhould harbour him; but ſhe having always made it a point in her politics to oblige that prince to regard her, more by keeping him in a ſtate of uneaſineſs than by real tokens of love and friendſhip, refuſed to deliver the traitor up, though the king of Scotland demanded him according to treaty.

The year 1593 began with a new parliament, which met in February, when two of the members of the houſe of commons, Peter Wentworth, eſq. and ſir Henry Bromley, were committed, the firſt to the Tower, and the latter to the Fleet, for preparing a petition to entail the crown.

In this parliament there paſſed ſeveral remarkable acts, one of which obliged all perſons to conform, and repair at leaſt once a month, to the eſtabliſhed church, under pain of impriſonment, and baniſhment ſhould they refuſe to ſubmit; and ſuffering as felons, without benefit of the clergy, ſhould they return without her majeſty's licence. Another confined popiſh recuſants within five miles of their reſpective dwellings, on forfeiture of all their goods and chattels, together with their lands during life. Another confirmed all the abbey-lands to the crown and grantees.

By the firſt of theſe acts the queen, who hated the puritans as much as the papiſts, thought to have driven the obſtinate quite away, and to have compelled the more moderate to conform to the eſtabliſhed church. How far her policy in this particular failed her, I ſhall leave my readers to judge, only obſerving, that the ſeverity which at this time began to be exerciſed in England upon the non-conformiſts (ſome of whom were executed on the ſixth of April this year), produced terrible effects in the following reigns, and gave riſe to troubles and factions which remain to this day, without any proſpect of their ſubſiding. Before this parliament broke up, which was on the tenth of April, they granted the queen an extraordinary aid of money, but at the ſame time it was inſerted in the act, "that ſo large and unuſual a ſupply, granted to a moſt excellent queen, who made ſo good a uſe of the public money, ſhould not be drawn into precedent."

The papiſts about this time began again to ſhew their inclination to rebellion, both in England and Scotland. One Richard Hacket was ſent by the Engliſh fugitives beyond ſea, to perſuade Ferdinand, earl of Derby, ſon to Henry newly deceaſed, to aſſume the regal title, by claim of deſcent from Mary, daughter to Henry VII. and to threaten him, that, unleſs he undertook this enterprize, and withal concealed the adviſer, he ſhould ſhortly die in a moſt wretched manner; as an encouragement, he was told that he might aſſuredly rely on the aſſiſtance of the king of Spain. But the earl, fearing this was a trap laid for him, diſcovered the whole matter to the council, and Hacket was taken and hanged: but the threats of that villain were unhappily fulfilled upon the poor earl, who, in leſs than four months after, died in the moſt excruciating torments, ſuppoſed to be the effects of an arſenical poiſon. The ſuſpicion lighted upon his gentleman of the horſe, who diſappeared the morrow after his lord's death. There was found in the earl's chamber an image of wax, with hairs thruſt through the belly of it, of the ſame colour with his own; which was thought to have been placed there on purpoſe to take off the ſuſpicion of his having been poiſoned, and to throw it upon the effects of necromancy, which was much believed in thoſe days.

In Scotland the Spaniſh governor of the Netherlands endeavoured to excite freſh troubles, by aſſuring the popiſh ſubjects of a powerful aſſiſtance from the king of Spain. Their project, however, was principally levelled againſt England; for though they reſolved and promiſed to ſend a Spaniſh army into Scotland, it was in order to cover their enterprize againſt Elizabeth, whom they intended to aſſaſſinate or poiſon, and then to invade England with that army from Scotland, ſuppoſing that the general conſternation at her death would render this invaſion leſs difficult. And to execute this murdering deſign upon Elizabeth, they had caſt an eye on Roderigo Lopez, a Jew phyſician, retained about the queen's perſon, and two Portugueſe: Lopez agreed to the propoſal for fifty thouſand crowns; but the plot was diſcovered, the three conſpirators ſeized, who, upon their trials, confeſſed the fact, and that they were engaged in it by the king of Spain's governors in the Low Countries, and were executed.

The day following one Patrick Cullen, an Iriſh fencing-maſter, ſent from the Low Countries to kill the queen, underwent the ſame fate at the gallows: and about the ſame time Edward York and Richard Williams, who had been ſuborned by Diego de Ibarra, the collegue of count Fuentes in the government of the Low Countries, were arreſted, and others were diſcovered, who had engaged to burn the navy. Of theſe ſecret and unnatural proceedings againſt a crowned head, the queen complained loudly at foreign courts; and ſhe lived in continual dread, that at ſome opportunity this Spaniſh policy might take effect. But her uneaſineſs increaſed upon information that her enemies had prevailed too much with the king of Scotland, and that the Spaniſh gold had inclined him to favour popery: and ſhe was the rather convinced of the truth of this report by that monarch's reply to her ambaſſador, ſent on that occaſion; for when he demanded, as an inſtance of his ſincerity to the proteſtant faith, to repreſs the popiſh party by more ſevere laws than the preſent, James replied, with ſome heat, "that he was not at the queen's command, and that it did not belong to her to preſcribe in what manner he ſhould govern his kingdom:" and, by way of recrimination, complained of her breach of treaty, in giving protection to his rebellious ſubject Bothwell, whom he demanded afreſh.

Elizabeth plainly perceived that James was much inclined to break with her, upon the firſt advantageous circumſtance; and therefore ordered it ſo as to ſend Bothwell, at the head of a reſolute body of men, into Scotland, to ſurprize Leith, and then publiſhed a manifeſto, importing, "that perſons dangerous

dangerous to the church and ſtate, having by ſome artifice procured admiſſion into the council, gave occaſion, by their conduct, to believe they were forming deſigns againſt the evangelical religion; that, for ſome time, the Romiſh prieſts had been ſeen running from village to village, and celebrating maſs, in the moſt public manner; that they endeavoured to animate the people againſt the Engliſh, in order to kindle a war between the two nations, which could not but prove fatal to Scotland; that, to give a check to theſe dangerous conſpiracies, he had, with the concurrence of divers lords and gentlemen, taken arms, to drive theſe pernicious counſellors out of the kingdom, or to bring them to an account for their actions; that the affair was the more important, as the Spaniards were preparing to invade the kingdom; and therefore he exhorted the Scots to join with him to prevent greater miſchiefs, and to induce the king to favour ſo juſt a deſign." All which bears ſuch a connection with the repreſentation made by Elizabeth's ambaſſador, that ſhe muſt be ſuſpected of being concerned in this undertaking.

In Ireland this year, ſeveral of the great men in Connaught broke out into rebellion, and Tirlogh Leinigh being dead, Tyr Oen aſſumed the title of O'Neil (which in Ireland was held in higher eſteem than that of Emperor); but, upon a ſudden diſſembling his diſcontent, he ſubmitted himſelf to the lord-deputy, and promiſed all obedience.

The ſupplies given by parliament, and the prizes taken from the Spaniards, enabled Elizabeth to act up to her ſpirit, and her notions of the ballance of power which England ought to preſerve on the continent. Notwithſtanding all the cauſes of complaint which ſhe had againſt the French king, ſhe would not ſee his affairs ruined for want of her aſſiſtance; and it ſoon appeared that all her menaces to withdraw it, were only with a view to quicken him to do all he could, if he could not do all that ſhe deſired. Elizabeth kept Norris and his army during the winter in Brittany, at the great charge of three thouſand two hundred pounds a week for their ſubſiſtence: but Henry's affairs in that province were ſo miſerably ruined, that he could aſſign them no fortified place for their winter-quarters; nor could he ſend, according to his promiſe, the marſhal d'Aumont, with four thouſand men, to join them. The bad quarters which the Engliſh were forced to take up with, and the inclemency of the weather, carried off great numbers of them; but Elizabeth's ſhips were perpetually employed in carrying over recruits to keep the number complete. In the mean while the aſſembly of the ſtates of France was held at Paris, when the Spaniſh party propoſed that the members ſhould, by a ſolemn oath, bind themſelves never to acknowlege the king of Navarre as king of France, even though he ſhould declare himſelf a catholic. This propoſition would have been infallibly complied with, had not Elizabeth's ſeaſonable aſſiſtance, and the auxiliaries which her credit with the princes of Germany had brought to Henry, daunted the more moderate catholics, and even the duke of Mayenne rejected it. That duke was now obliged to meet the duke of Feria, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who was in Picardy; while count Mansfelt, the Spaniſh general in the Low Countries, had laid ſiege to Noyon, which he took. In the conferences held between the dukes of Mayenne and Feria, the latter propoſed that the Salic law ſhould be aboliſhed by the aſſembly of the ſtates, that the crown of France might fall more eaſily upon the infanta's head: this propoſal was warmly rejected by the duke of Mayenne, who threatened to drive all the Spaniards out of France; but not daring yet abſolutely to truſt Henry, who was guided by Elizabeth, he was mollified; while Henry, on the other hand, ſhewed great inclination to be converted to popery, and conferences for that purpoſe were actually held.

But this did not retard the operations of the war in Brittany, where, in April, the Engliſh were joined by St. Luc, with ſome French troops, and beat the army of the league at Laval, but with the loſs of ſome of their beſt men and officers. They then beſieged la Guerche, in which were four thouſand men, whom the duke of Mercœur had ſent to fortify that place, and obliged them to ſurrender it by capitulation, leaving behind them their arms and baggage. In the mean while Elizabeth received certain intelligence that Henry had changed his religion.

Du Pleſſis Mornay, who was then Henry's reſident at the Engliſh court, laid before Elizabeth his maſter's motives for his converſion; but they were ſo far from giving her ſatisfaction, that ſhe wrote that king a letter with her own hand, to this effect:

"Alas! what grief, what anxiety of mind, hath befallen me, ſince I heard this news! Was it poſſible, that worldly reſpects ſhould make you lay aſide God's fear? Could you think that he, that had hitherto upheld and kept you, would leave you at the laſt? It is a dangerous thing to do evil that good may come thereof: but I hope your mind may alter. In the mean time I will pray for you, and beg of God that the hands of Eſau may not hinder the bleſſing of Jacob." She concludes, "Your ſiſter, after the old-faſhioned way; as for the new, I have nothing to do with it.

ELIZABETH."

But, however ſincere and zealous Elizabeth appears to be by this letter, ſhe never loſt ſight of her intereſts. She at firſt ordered Wilks to lay before Henry her firm reſolution to recal her troops out of Brittany, where Henry had been ſo negligent of them: but being convinced by him, that his converſion was not only prudent, but neceſſary, and he making great offers, and greater promiſes, ſhe ordered Norris to remain there till her farther pleaſure ſhould be known. She then ſignified to Henry, that, upon proper terms, ſhe was willing to continue her aſſiſtance, and to enter into a league offenſive and defenſive againſt Spain, as long as either of them ſhould be at war with that crown. One of the conditions required by Elizabeth, who ſent ſir Robert Sidney upon this negociation, was, that Breſt ſhould be put into her hands, as a place of retreat for her troops, and ſecurity of her money: but Henry neither would nor durſt agree to this demand; and Elizabeth, after commending the proteſtants to his protection, and laying before him the danger of his ſea-coaſts, ſigned the treaty with him in Auguſt, and at the ſame time fortified the iſles of Scilly, Guernſey, and Jerſey.

Some of the above tranſactions, eſpecially thoſe in Scotland, exceeded the bounds of the year 1593, but as the ſucceeding one, 1594, affords very few

events of an intereſting nature, I thought proper to throw the two years together, and ſhall only obſerve, that though Bothwell's undertaking in Scotland miſcarried, it however produced a very good effect, by inducing James to alter his conduct, leſt his vain projects ſhould loſe him the Engliſh crown. He therefore aſſembled the ſtates, and prevailed to have the catholic lords, who had appeared too zealous for the Spaniards, to be baniſhed the kingdom. They made ſome efforts to reſiſt, but James marched in perſon to ſubdue them, and drove them to ſuch extremity, that Bothwell fled to France, and the other lords were obliged to give ſecurity for departing the kingdom. This vigorous proceeding gave Elizabeth great ſatisfaction, as it took from the Spaniards all hopes of attacking her on the ſide of Scotland; and commiſſioners for both nations were named, about the latter end of this year, 1594, for putting an end to all diſputes upon the Borders: and the queen, to give James a farther proof of her good-will, ſent the earl of Suſſex, in her name, to aſſiſt at the baptiſm of the new-born ſon of the king of Scotland.

The ſweets of the Spaniſh plunder lately made in America, encouraged ſir Richard Hawkins, ſon to the famous admiral of that name, to take out a commiſſion under the broad-ſeal, for annoying the Spaniards there. He accordingly put to ſea with three ſhips, and about two hundred men; but in a few days one of his ſhips was burnt, and another forced back to England: however he purſued his voyage with the ſhip that was left, ſo undauntedly that, in January this year, he entered the ſtreights of Magellan, and from thence proceed to the South Sea, all along the coaſt of Chili, where he made ſeveral valuable prizes: but being attacked by two Spaniſh ſhips, under Bertrand de Caſtro, he fought them ſeveral days, till all his men being killed or wounded, he was obliged to ſurrender upon promiſe of life and liberty. But ſome doubts ariſing about de Caſtro's power to make ſuch a promiſe, and the Spaniards being extremely ſolicitous to deter Engliſhmen from entering thoſe ſeas, Hawkins was ſent priſoner to Spain, where he was honourably diſcharged by the conde de Miranda, preſident of the council.

James Lancaſter was another bold adventurer of thoſe days; and about this time ſome Engliſh merchants, who had been plundered by the Spaniards, gave him the command of three privateers and a long pinnace, for cruizing upon the Spaniards. Being at ſea, he had intelligence of a large Spaniſh Eaſt India ſhip that had been wrecked near Fernambuco, in Brazil, where the Spaniards were then buſied in ſaving her cargo. Thither Lancaſter, with Venner, another Engliſh commander, actually ſailed; and, though they found the enemy prepared to receive them, they landed their men, and made themſelves maſters of the lower town and port, together with the wreck. The Spaniards, however, endeavoured to diſlodge them, and for thirty days employed both force and ſtratagem to retake the place; but all was to no purpoſe, and the Engliſh made ſo much booty as loaded fifteen ſhips, with which they returned home.

The year 1595 was diſtinguiſhed by many other glorious exploits of the Engliſh at ſea, and in particular by ſir Walter Raleigh's expedition to Guiana, the nobleſt that had been meditated yet by any Engliſhman. This was a large rich tract of land, rather poſſeſſed than inhabited by the Spaniards, and ſir Walter had, at his own expence, ſent one captain Whiddon to view that coaſt as much as he could. Upon Whiddon's report, Raleigh was confirmed in his reſolution, and having publicly imparted it, it met with ſo much applauſe that the lord high-treaſurer and the lord high-admiral of England contributed to his expences in fitting out a ſquadron for carrying the war into the very vitals of the Spaniſh empire in America. On the ſixth of February, 1595, he ſailed from Plymouth, and about the twenty-ſecond of March he took the little city of St. Joſeph, in the iſland of Trinidado, and made Boreo, its Spaniſh governor, priſoner. Upon the ſtrength of the information he received from Boreo, he left his ſhip at Trinidado, and, putting about an hundred men in long-boats, he went about four hundred miles up the river Oronoque, but met with ſuch inſurmountable difficulties in the navigation, and from the climate, that he did not reap all the advantages due to ſuch a brave and hazardous undertaking. It is certain, however, that he made great diſcoveries; but, notwithſtanding all the pains he took, neither the public of that or this age, could ever be brought to believe the ſcheme of the Engliſh making themſelves maſters of Guiana to be ſo practicable as ſir Walter Raleigh imagined. In ſhort, at laſt he was obliged to return to the iſland of Trinidado, after firing the town of Cumana, which refuſed to pay him contributions, and threatening to do the ſame to St. Mary's and Rio de la Hacha, till they paid him large ſums. The particulars of ſir Walter's profits in this expedition are not very clearly ſet down; but, from the vaſt eſtate he amaſſed, and the many enterprizes he was enabled to carry on upon his own bottom, we may fairly preſume, that in this and all other expeditions, the riches he acquired were much greater than he choſe to own. Upon his return to England he was received with vaſt applauſe, and printed a pompous account of his voyage; though he could make but few proſelytes to his opinion, he was however himſelf ſo firmly convinced of the facts he advanced, that at his own expence he fitted out two ſhips, and ſent them, under Kemys, to Guiana, to make farther diſcoveries, and to aſſiſt the Indians, whom Raleigh had found very friendly, in throwing off the Spaniſh yoke.

And now, upon the general report throughout Europe, that the Spaniards were fitting out a more formidable fleet than that of 1588, to invade England and Ireland, Elizabeth reinforced her troops in this latter kingdom, to defeat the intentions of the enemy there, where the earl of Tyr Oen (or Tyrone) had already taken up arms in favour of the Spaniards: and at the ſame time ſhe ordered two ſquadrons to be fitted out, on the public account; one to cruiſe in the Britiſh ſeas, to guard the coaſts at all events; the other, conſiſting of twenty-ſix ſhips, under the command of ſir Francis Drake and the famous admiral ſir John Hawkins, to make a diverſion in the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt Indies: on board of this laſt fleet was a body of land forces, commanded by ſir Thomas Baskerville.

Notwithſtanding the vigilance of the earl of Cumberland, who commanded the Channel fleet, don Diego Brocha, with four Spaniſh men of war, made a deſcent in Mount's Bay, in Cornwall, in

the month of June this year, and burnt three ſmall villages, the inhabitants of which, upon the firſt appearance of the enemy, fled up the country, and thus preſerved their lives and effects. Theſe were the only Spaniards that ever landed in England as enemies. This attempt, however alarmed Elizabeth ſo much, that they gained their ends by her detaining the ſhips deſigned for the Weſt Indian expedition too long, for it was the twenty-eighth of Auguſt before they ſet ſail from Plymouth.

Their firſt deſign was to attempt Porto Rico, where they knew a rich carrack was at that time ſtationed; but as they had not preſerved the requiſite ſecrecy, a pinnace, having ſtrayed from the fleet, was taken by the Spaniards, and betrayed the intention of the Engliſh. Preparations were made in that iſland to receive them; and the Engliſh fleet, notwithſtanding the brave aſſault which they made on the enemy, was repulſed with loſs. Hawkins ſoon after died, and Drake purſued his courſe to Nombre di Dios, on the iſthmus of Darien; where having landed his men, he attempted to paſs forward to Panama, with a view of plundering that place: or, if he found ſuch a ſcheme practicable, of keeping and fortifying it. But he met not with the ſame facility which had attended his firſt enterprizes in the ſame parts: the Spaniards, taught by experience, had every where fortified the paſſes, and had ſtationed troops in the woods, which ſo infeſted the Engliſh with continual alarms and skirmiſhes, that they were obliged to return without being able to effectuate any thing. Drake himſelf, from the intemperance of the climates, from the fatigue of his journey, and the vexation of his diſappointment, was ſeized with a diſtemper, of which he ſoon after died: ſir Thomas Baskerville took command of the fleet, which was in a very weak condition; and, after having fought a battle near Cuba with a Spaniſh fleet, of which the event was not deciſive, he returned to England. The Spaniards ſuffered ſome loſs from this enterprize, and the Engliſh reaped very little profit.

Elizabeth, piqued at the behaviour of Henry IV. of France, who, by his ſubmiſſion to terms unbecoming a king, and tending to the ruin of the proteſtant intereſt, only to obtain the pope's abſolution, ſhewed that he no longer conſidered the proteſtants as his friends; and by miſapplying the Engliſh aids of men and money, convinced her that he regarded not her intereſt, recalled her troops from Brittany, and left him to manage his affairs as he pleaſed, without giving herſelf any farther concern. And, upon information that the ſtates of the United Provinces had ſupplied him with a large ſum of money, a conſiderable quantity of corn, and two regiments of ſoldiers, her majeſty ſhewed her reſentment at ſuch an ill-timed proceeding, by ordering ſir Thomas Bodley to demand a reimburſement of the money ſhe had lent them, ſince they were able to make ſuch large preſents to the king of France, and to declare to them in her name, that, unleſs they forthwith diſcharged part of the moneys they were indebted to her, and gave her aſſurance of the remainder, within a certain time, ſhe would take proper meaſures to do herſelf juſtice.

This unexpected demand threw the Hollanders into great perplexity, and in the end they were glad to ſubmit to ſuch conditions as her majeſty thought proper to accept, which was the payment of forty thouſand pounds per annum, towards defraying the expence of the Engliſh forces in their ſervice; twenty thouſand pounds per annum more till a peace ſhould be made, and one hundred thouſand pounds per annum for four years after its concluſion; and, on a farther condition, that they ſhould join the queen's fleet with a certain number of ſhips, in caſe ſhe ſhould be attacked by the Spaniards *.

The late unſucceſsful expedition of Drake and Hawkins againſt the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, had given Philip II. ſo much encouragement, who had alſo this year gained many great advantages in France, and taken Calais and ſeveral other important towns in that kingdom, that he now openly declared his intention of invading England anew, and was actually buſied in making vaſt preparations for that purpoſe. Theſe conſiderations, with the rebellion Philip had fomented in Ireland, determined Elizabeth and her council to carry the war into the very heart of Spain, as the only means left for fruſtrating the ambitious projects of that monarch.

A powerful fleet was equipped at Plymouth, conſiſting of an hundred and ſeventy veſſels, ſeventeen of which were capital ſhips of war, the reſt tenders and ſmall veſſels: twenty ſhips were added by the Hollanders. In this fleet there was computed to be ſix thouſand three hundred and ſixty ſoldiers, a thouſand volunteers, and ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-two ſeamen; beſides the Dutch. The land forces were commanded by the earl of Eſſex; the navy by the lord Effingham, high-admiral: both theſe commanders had expended great ſums of their own in this armament; for ſuch was the ſpirit of Elizabeth's reign. The lord Thomas Howard, ſir Walter Raleigh, ſir Francis Vere, ſir George Carew, and ſir Coniers Clifford, had commands in the expedition, and were named as a council to the general and admiral.

The fleet ſet ſail on the firſt of June, 1596, and, meeting with a fair wind, bent their courſe to Cadiz, at which place, by ſealed orders delivered to all the captains, the general rendezvous was appointed. They ſent before them ſome armed tenders, which intercepted every ſhip that could carry any intelligence to the enemy, and they themſelves were ſo fortunate, when they came near Cadiz, as to take an Iriſh veſſel, by which they learned that that port was full of merchant ſhips of great value, and that the Spaniards lived in perfect ſecurity, without any apprehenſions of an enemy. This intelligence much encouraged the Engliſh fleet, and gave them the proſpect of a fortunate iſſue to the enterprize.

After a fruitleſs attempt to land at St. Sebaſtian's, on the weſtern ſide of the iſland of Cadiz, it was, upon deliberation, reſolved by the council of war to attack the ſhips and gallies in the bay. This was a plan of ſir Walter Raleigh's, and was ſtrongly ſeconded by the young earl of Eſſex, who burnt with an eager deſire to ſignalize his courage on this occaſion, and the point being carried, it was agreed that the attack ſhould be formed the very next day, being the twenty-ſecond of June. Raleigh, in the Warſpite, was to lead the attack, and to be ſe-

* Camden, p. 586.

conded

conded by ſir George Carew, in the Mary Roſe, ſir Robert Southwell, in the Lion, ſir Francis Vere, in the Rainbow, vice-admiral Croſs, in the Swiftſure, ſir Coniers Clifford, in the Dreadnought, and by Dudley, in the Nonpareil, on board of which went the lord Thomas Howard.

The Spaniards were no leſs provident in their diſpoſitions: they ranged their gallies under the walls of the city ſo as to flank the Engliſh ſhips as they paſſed; ſome culverins were planted to ſecure the channel of the harbour; and the artillery of both fort Philip and of the curtain of the fortification were brought to bear upon the Engliſh fleet. Beſides the ſhips here mentioned, the Spaniards had put guns on board all their large galleons; and the whole reached from ſhore to ſhore, being covered by fort Puntal, which lay in the entrance of the harbour. All night there was an inceſſant cannonading on both ſides, and at break of day, the twenty-ſecond of June, the action began.

Sir Walter, as he advanced at the head of the Engliſh van, received the cannon of fort Philip, from the curtain, and from all the ſeventeen gallies, to which he anſwered with only a flouriſh of his trumpets, and intrepidly kept driving forward, to encourage thoſe that followed him, to haſte into play, and to engage thoſe he paſſed by, while he attacked the body of the enemy. He, during the whole action, kept cloſe to the enemy, and ſtood for the moſt part a-head of all; and at laſt, after a long and deſperate fight, in which his ſhip was almoſt ſunk, he, by the conſent of the two commanders, who promiſed to ſecond him, prepared to board the Spaniſh admiral the St. Philip, of fifteen hundred tuns; but his intention being diſcovered, the admiral ran his ſhip a-ſhore, and was followed by the other capital ſhips, two of which, the St. Matthew and St. Andrew, were ſaved by the Engliſh boats, but the St. Philip and St. Thomas were burnt, either by accident, or deſignedly to prevent their being taken.

During the engagement at ſea, the earl of Eſſex, with eight hundred men, landed at the Puntals, and marched directly to Cadiz. Three or four hundred paces from the city he met with five hundred Spaniards, who, when they ſaw him, retired into the town, and were ſo cloſely purſued, that the Engliſh had like to have entered with them. The conſternation was ſo great that before any meaſures could be taken for its defence, the Engliſh had time to force the gate, and throw themſelves into the town; though they found ſome reſiſtance in the ſtreets, yet in half an hour they made themſelves maſters of the market-place. Then the garriſon and inhabitants retired into the caſtle and town-houſe, but the ſame, or the following day, were forced to ſurrender. By the capitulation they were to have their lives, on payment of ſeventy thouſand ducats, for which four principal citizens were given in hoſtage. The town being thus in the power of the Engliſh, the earl of Eſſex turned out the inhabitants, and then ordered to be carried on board a great quantity of ſilver, ammunition, and other valuable things, beſide what the ſoldiers had plundered.

On the other hand, admiral Howard ſent ſir Walter Raleigh to burn the merchant-ſhips at Port Real. The admiral was offered two millions of ducats for their ranſom, but rejected the offer, ſaying, he came to burn, and not to ranſom the ſhips. Mean while the duke of Modena found means to unload ſome of theſe ſhips and fire others, to deprive the Engliſh of their riches. Beſides the merchant-men, the king of Spain loſt two galleons taken by the Engliſh, with above a hundred braſs guns, thirteen men of war, eleven ſhips freighted for the Indies, and thirteen others; without reckoning the ſtores prepared for the intended expedition againſt England. The Engliſh eſtimated his loſs at twenty millions of ducats.

Thus ended this memorable conqueſt, gloriouſly for the Engliſh, fatally for the Spaniard. No Engliſhman of note periſhed in it, excepting ſir John Wingfield, who was killed in the town: in other reſpects the victory coſt them but two hundred men. Beſides the vaſt booty the Spaniards loſt, and the ruin of their trade to the Weſt Indies for this year, that proud and ambitious people were obliged to ſubmit to the indignity of ſeeing one of their chief cities taken, and a noble fleet of men of war and merchant-ſhips, richly laden, deſtroyed in their own harbour, and that by an enemy, for whom they were, in full confidence of victory, at that very time publicly forging chains.

It is hard to account for the reaſons which determined the Engliſh ſea-officers to abandon this conqueſt, where the enemy's known loſs was ſo very great: Eſſex, all on fire for glory, regarded this great ſucceſs only as a ſtep to future atchievements; he inſiſted on keeping poſſeſſion of Cadiz, and even offered to ſtay there and defend it in the name of the queen of England, provided he might have four hundred men and three months proviſions: but neither this, nor his ſcheme for intercepting the carracks at the Azores, aſſaulting the Groyne, for taking St. Andero and St. Sebaſtian, were hearkened to, every one being impatient to return with their plunder to England. Soon after the return of this armament to England, which was on the eighth of Auguſt, the admiral, lord Howard of Effingham, was created earl of Nottingham; and this promotion gave great diſquiet to Eſſex. In the preample of the patent, it was ſaid, "that the new dignity was conferred on him on account of his good ſervices, in taking Cadiz, and deſtroying the Spaniſh ſhips;" a merit which Eſſex pretended to belong ſolely to himſelf (though in fact that ſucceſs was principally owing to the courage and conduct of ſir Walter Raleigh); and the earl offered to maintain his plea by ſingle combat, againſt Nottingham, or his ſon, or any of his kindred.

The earl had alſo the additional mortification to find, on his return to court, ſo great a change in the miniſtry, by the advancement of his enemy, ſir Robert Cecil, to the office of ſecretary of ſtate, inſtead of ſir Thomas Bodley, whom he had recommended at his departure; beſides other ſlights caſt upon his friends, that they convinced him that his credit was declining; and his uneaſineſs at it engaged him in ſuch extravagant projects as coſt him his life.

Notwithſtanding the diſguſt which Elizabeth had conceived againſt the French king, and that prince's reſentment of her refuſing to ſuccour Calais, their mutual intereſt was ſo inſeparably connected in the war with Spain, that they agreed to open conferences for a treaty, which had been propoſed before the Spaniards had reduced the towns in Picardy. The duke of Bouillon was ſent over to aſſiſt Sancy

in the negociation; and Engliſh commiſſioners being appointed to treat with them, the league was ſoon after concluded, on condition that Elizabeth ſhould furniſh four thouſand men for the defence of Picardy and Normandy, that the king of France ſhould ſupply her with the ſame number in caſe her kingdom ſhould be invaded; and that neither party ſhould make peace without the other's conſent. The States General acceded to this treaty, though their admiſſion was retarded by the jealouſy of Elizabeth, who pretended that they had no right to accede as a ſovereign power, but merely as aſſociated towns, under her protection; at length the French king prevailed upon her to wave this diſtinction.

Before we leave this year we muſt juſt mention the deaths of ſome great perſonages, which happened in the courſe of it, namely, Philip, earl of Arundel, who was condemned in the year 1589, but though his ſovereign ſpared his forfeited life, death at laſt claimed his due; he had ſpent the time of his confinement in the utmoſt auſterities of his religion, and left behind him only one ſon, named Thomas: Henry Carey, lord Hunſdon; ſir Francis Knolles; and ſir John Pickering, lord keeper of the great-ſeal (ſo made upon the death of the lord-chancellor Hatton); he was ſucceeded by ſir Thomas Egerton, maſter of the Rolls.

Philip of Spain, exaſperated by the conduct of Elizabeth, and the loſſes he had ſuſtained from the arms of her people, reſolved to make another effort for the conqueſt of England. With this view, early in the ſpring of the year 1597, he aſſembled a formidable fleet, when the queen thought him utterly diſabled from executing any ſcheme of revenge; and this navy having taken land-forces on board, at Ferrol, ſteered its courſe for England, but was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, which rendered it altogether unſerviceable for that ſeaſon. The king of Spain had begun to treat privately of a ſeparate peace with Henry; but the negociation was altogether interrupted by the ſucceſs of Porto Carrero, governor of Dourlens, who found means to ſurpriſe Amiens, though this advantage did not recompence Philip for the defeat of his troops at Turnhaut, by prince Maurice: nevertheleſs, depending upon a ſeparate peace with France, he determined to make a deſcent upon Ireland, where he ſtill fomented the diſcontent of the natives; but his fleet was again diſperſed, and diſabled. Almoſt all the native Iriſh in Ulſter and Connaught being encouraged by his emiſſaries with hopes of aſſiſtance, had riſen in arms, and Thomas lord Bourrough, was ſent over with the commiſſion of lord-deputy. Tyrone endeavoured to amuſe him with excuſes, profeſſions, and propoſals; but, inſtead of ſuffering himſelf to be cajoled by that crafty rebel, he marched againſt him, and took the fort of Blackwater; then he returned to Dublin, where he died; and Thomas, earl of Ormond, was conſtituted lieutenant-general of the army. This nobleman advanced againſt Tyrone, but his troops being in a miſerable condition, he agreed to a truce for a few months, during which he expected to receive a reinforcement from England.

Elizabeth, in return, reſolved to make an attempt upon Tercera, the principal iſland of the Azores, and, if poſſible, intercept the Spaniſh flota, in their paſſage from the Weſt Indies. With this view ſhe cauſed to be fitted out a large armament, conſiſting of one hundred and twenty-two ſhips, with ſix thouſand land forces (of whom one thouſand were veterans) on board. The management of the whole expedition was committed to Eſſex, with a command of one of the diviſions of the fleet; the ſecond diviſion was committed to the lord Thomas Howard; the third and laſt to ſir Walter Raleigh: Charles Blount, lord Montjoy, was appointed lieutenant-general under Eſſex; ſir Francis Vere, marſhal of the camp; ſir George Carew, lieutenant of the ordnance; and ſir Chriſtopher Blunt, firſt colonel, or what we may now call brigadier. The chief volunteers were the earls of Rutland and Southampton, two noblemen who were very dear to Eſſex, the lords Grey, Cromwell, and Rich, beſides many other perſons of diſtinction; and on the ninth of July the whole fleet ſet ſail together, and two days after ſealed inſtructions were ſent on board every ſhip, to be opened in a certain latitude.

The true deſtination of this fleet was firſt to Ferrol and the Groyne, where it was hoped to ſurprize the Spaniſh fleet in theſe harbours, and then to the Azores; but contrary winds, ſtorms, and a fatal quarrel betwixt the earl of Eſſex and ſir Walter Raleigh, broke theſe meaſures, and the fleet returning to England about the end of October, without performing any memorable action, and Eſſex not being able to juſtify his conduct in the expedition, he was highly blamed by the nation for his ill treatment of Raleigh; but Elizabeth, who ſaw in him only the valiant defender of her honour and authority, and not conceiving there was any danger in a mere compliment to conſole him for the public reproach, made him marſhal of England, a poſt vacant by the death of George Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury; by which Eſſex, to his no ſmall ſatisfaction, obtained precedency over his hated rival, the earl of Nottingham, lord high-admiral.

Towards the end of this year Elizabeth received certain inteligence that Henry of France and Philip of Spain, equally tired out with a bloody and expenſive war between them, were deſirous of peace, and that a private negociation was actually on foot for that purpoſe. The queen could not, for ſome time, bring herſelf to believe a crowned head capable of ſo much falſhood and perjury, after a treaty ſo recently made with herſelf, and ſolemnly ſworn to upon the Evangeliſts by Henry, in the preſence the Engliſh ambaſſador; yet, fearing the worſt, ſhe called a parliament to meet on the twenty-fourth of October, this year, which ſhe opened with a ſpeech, acquainting them, "that ſhe had reaſon to ſuſpect that ſhe was on the point of being abandoned by her ally, though he ſtill pretended not to treat without her;" and concluded with giving them to underſtand, that ſhe had expended in the wars of France, Flanders, Spain, and Ireland, above three times the amount of the ſubſidies ſhe had received: whereupon the commons and convocation indulged her with a conſiderable ſupply; and this with ſo much unanimity and alacrity as ſhewed the nation ready to ſacrifice their all in defence of their beloved queen.

In this parliament, which, after enacting ſeveral excellent laws, was diſſolved in February following, the commons ventured to engage in two controverſies, about forms, with the houſe of peers; a prelude to thoſe encroachments, which, as they

assumed more courage, they afterwards made upon the prerogatives of the crown. They complained, that the lords failed in civility to them, by receiving their messages sitting with their hats on, and that the keeper returned an answer in the same negligent posture: but the upper house proved, to their full satisfaction, that they were not intitled, by custom and the use of parliament, to any more respect. Some amendments had been made by the lords on a bill sent up by the commons, and these amendments were wrote on parchment, and returned with the bill to the commons: the lower house took umbrage at the novelty; they pretended, that these amendments ought to have been wrote on paper, and not on parchment; and they complained of this innovation to the peers. The peers replied, that they expected not such a frivolous objection from the gravity of the house; and that it was not material whether the amendments were wrote on parchment or on paper, nor whether the paper was white, black, or brown. The commons were offended at this reply, which seemed to contain a mockery of them; and they complained of it, though without obtaining any satisfaction*.

An application was made, by way of petition to the queen, from the lower house, against monopolies, an abuse which had risen to an enormous height: and they received a gracious, though a general answer, for which they returned their thankful acknowlegements. But not to give them too great encouragement in such applications, she told them in the speech which she delivered at their dissolution, "That, with regard to these patents, she hoped that her dutiful and loving subjects would not take away her prerogative, which is the chief flower in her garden, and the principal and head pearl in her crown and diadem: but that they would rather leave the matter to her disposal." The commons also took notice, this session, of some transactions in the court of high-commission, but not till they had previously received permission from her majesty for that purpose.

Elizabeth having had her hands strengthened by the bounty of her subjects at home, deputed Thomas Wilks, sir Robert Cecil, the new secretary, and sir John Herbert, master of requests, as her ambassadors to Henry, to demand of that prince upon what terms the negociation stood with Spain; to which Henry answered in very general terms, "That he wanted peace, and that the welfare of his subjects, which he preferred to all other considerations, absolutely required it; and that, as the king of Spain offered to restore all places taken by him in France, he could not reject the offer without exposing his kingdom to utter ruin." This answer convinced the ambassadors that the peace between France and Spain was as good as concluded, without Henry having taken any care of his allies; and this drew from them, especially Cecil, some very severe reproaches on the ingratitude of that king: he produced the treaty he had signed in England; he mentioned the oaths by which Henry had solemnly bound that treaty; he cajoled, he promised, he menaced; in fine, he tried every expedient to divert Henry from the thoughts of a separate peace with Spain; wherefore, to avoid such disagreeable and mortifying conferences, the French king, instead of granting any farther audiences as they demanded, appointed commissioners to treat with the ambassadors in the beginning of the following year: but, after some time spent in warm altercations on both sides the French king, consulting only the good of his own people, concluded a peace with Philip of Spain, on the second of May, 1598.

This conduct of Henry exasperated Elizabeth beyond all sufferance, who was no sooner informed of the treaty being signed, than she wrote him a letter, in which, after several other severe expressions, she told him, "that if in temperal concerns there was any such thing as a sin against the Holy Ghost, it was doubtless ingratitude." Henry was stung with these reproaches, but excused himself upon the urgent necessity which forced him to make peace; and concluded with observing, that as he had hitherto been only a burden to the queen of England, he would, for the future, give her marks of his acknowlegement in procuring her a safe and honourable peace, and in never forsaking her interests. But these were only words, and as such were regarded by Elizabeth.

In this situation of public affairs, especially as the peace of Ireland was disturbed about the same time with a formidable insurrection under O'Neil, earl of Tyrone; and James of Scotland not only almost openly demanded to be declared the queen's presumptive heir, but seemed to be making his peace with the court of Rome, as appeared from an intercepted letter, subscribed with his own hand, and addressed to the pope; Elizabeth resolved at all events to support the Dutch, and never to accept of peace with Spain, till she could procure the states such a peace as should secure their liberty, lest she should oblige them to put themselves again under the Spanish yoke. The Hollanders, on their side, seeing themselves deserted by the king of France, were glad to preserve the queen's alliance by submitting to any terms which she pleased to require of them. The debt which they owed the queen was now fixed at eight hundred thousand pounds; of this sum they agreed to pay, during the war, thirty thousand pounds a year, and these payments were to continue till four hundred thousand pounds of the debt should be extinguished. They engaged also, during the time that England should continue the war with Spain, to pay the garrisons of the cautionary towns: they stipulated, that if Spain should invade England, or the Isle of Wight, or Jersey, or Scilly, they should assist her with a body of five thousand foot and five hundred horse; and that in case she undertook any naval armament against Spain, they should join an equal number of ships to her's. By this treaty the queen was eased of an annual charge of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

This treaty was ratified on the eighth of August, and shortly after Elizabeth saw herself delivered from her greatest fears by the death of Philip II. king of Spain, her most powerful enemy, who, at the age of seventy-two, and in the forty-third year of his reign, died a most dreadful death, being devoured by lice, which swarmed from innumerable ulcers in all parts of his body. This haughty prince, desirous of an accommodation with his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, but disdaining to make in his own name the concessions requisite for that purpose, he transferred to his daughter, who had married the archduke Albert,

* Sir Simon d'Ewes's Journal, p. 579, 576, 580.

the property of the Low Country provinces; but as it was not expected that that princeſs could have any poſterity, and as the reverſion, in failure of her iſſue, was ſtill reſerved to the crown of Spain, the ſtates conſidered this deed only as the change of a name, and perſiſted with equal obſtinacy in their reſiſtance to the Spaniſh arms; the other ſtates of Europe alſo made no diſtinction between the courts of Bruſſels and Madrid; and the ſecret oppoſition of France, as well as the avowed force of England, continued to operate againſt the progreſs of Albert, as it had done againſt that of Philip.

Elizabeth's ſatisfaction at this event was, however, conſiderably damped by the loſs of Burleigh, her moſt zealous and faithful counſellor. This great man had long and earneſtly, but in vain, begged from his miſtreſs ſome moments of interval between buſineſs and the grave, but death, on the fourteenth of Auguſt, gave him that repoſe which Elizabeth would not afford him: lord Burleigh was now on the verge of eighty, and though many miniſters have lived with leſs envy, none ever died with greater reputation. If the reader is deſirous to know more particulars of this great man, let him conſult Camden; but the nature of a general hiſtory will not admit them here.

The loſs of this able miniſter was ſenſibly perceived by a ſcene of diſtractions and diviſions which ſucceeded in Elizabeth's councils, eſpecially in reſpect to the affairs of Ireland, which ſeemed now to be in a deſperate ſituation, and gave riſe, about this time, to a troubleſome affair at court. The earl of Eſſex had gained a great aſcendancy in Elizabeth's councils, which was not a little increaſed by the death of lord Burleigh, who had been a conſtant bar in the way of his ambition, and who being now removed, Eſſex lorded it at court without controul. A cabinet council being called to conſider of a fit perſon to be ſent over to quiet the rebellious Iriſh, it was propoſed to diſpatch ſir William Knolles, the earl's nephew, with a commiſſion for that purpoſe; but Eſſex, jealous of ſir George Carew, who ſeemed to be a growing favourite with the queen, and thinking this would be a proper opportunity to remove him from court, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed his nephew's advancement, and urged ſir George's with great warmth. Upon this a very ſerious debate followed in the cabinet, in the preſence of the lord high-admiral, ſecretary ſir Robert Cecil, and Windebank, clerk of the ſeal. Eſſex, in the courſe of the argument, ſhewed ſuch a contempt for Elizabeth, that ſhe could not reſtrain her indignation, and his arrogant behaviour, in diſdainfully turning his back upon her, made her forget herſelf ſo far, that ſhe ſtruck him a blow on the ſide of the face: Eſſex, in a whirlwind of paſſion, raiſed by this groſs inſult, loſt all his reaſon, and, clapping his hand to his ſword, ſwore that he would not have taken ſuch an affront from her father Henry. The lord-admiral, upon this, threw himſelf between the ſovereign and her ſubject, and matters proceeded no farther at that time, only Eſſex withdrew from court, with a ſeeming reſolution never to return. Egerton, at this time lord-keeper, wrote to Eſſex (probably by Elizabeth's orders), adviſing him to ask the queen's pardon for ſo diſreſpectful and daring a behaviour to her royal perſon; but the earl, deeply ſtung with the diſhonour which he had received, wrote a very ſpirited letter to Egerton, in which he vented ſeveral warm reproaches againſt the queen: yet, notwithſtanding this additional provocation, Elizabeth's partiality was ſo great, that ſhe reinſtated him, before the end of the year, in his former favour; and her kindneſs towards him appeared rather to have acquired new force from that ſhort interruption of anger and reſentment; and nothing, indeed, but his own indiſcretion, could henceforth have ſhaken his well-eſtabliſhed credit.

About the latter end of this ſummer, Walpole, an Engliſh Jeſuit, and one Squire, both of them fooliſh ignorant fellows, conſulted about killing Elizabeth; and Squire was ſent over to England for that purpoſe, after receiving from Walpole a phial, which both of them believed contained a poiſon, that, if rubbed upon the pommel of Elizabeth's ſaddle, would kill her if ſhe touched it. Squire, who firſt acted as an agent for redeeming ſome Spaniſh priſoners in England, and then as a helper about Elizabeth's ſtables, and laſtly as a marine under the earl of Eſſex, not only beſmeared the pommel of Elizabeth's ſaddle, but alſo a chair in which Eſſex uſed to ſit, with this pretended poiſon, but all to no effect. In the mean while Walpole had advanced large ſums of money to Squire, and was mighty uneaſy about the ſucceſs of his undertaking: at laſt, being perſuaded that Squire had only made a property of him, he managed ſo that Squire was diſcovered, and arreſted. Upon examination he confeſſed all he knew, and was then tried and hanged; but, to his laſt breath, he blamed the Jeſuit, who, he ſaid, had drawn him in, contrary to his own conviction; while Walpole, in print, as confidently denied the charge.

Before the cloſe of this year, we muſt take notice of the return of that noble adventurer, the earl of Cumberland, from an expedition to the Weſt Indies, in which he had taken Porto Rico, and ſent away the inhabitants that he might convert it into an Engliſh ſettlement; but having loſt a great number of men by the bloody flux, he reimbarked his people for England, having reaped very little fruit from his expedition: in which he had plundered Lancerota, one of the Canary iſlands.

The fire of rebellion which Philip of Spain had kindled in Ireland, continued to rage violently even after his deceaſe, inſomuch that the Engliſh council were now ſenſible that nothing was left but to puſh matters with the utmoſt ſeverity: it was therefore reſolved, early in the beginning of the year 1599, to adopt the moſt vigorous meaſures againſt the rebels; and the queen caſt her eyes on Charles Blount, lord Montjoy, as a man who, though hitherto leſs accuſtomed to arms than literature, was endowed with talents equal to that undertaking. But Eſſex, who had now recovered all his wonted influence with the queen, and was deſirous of obtaining this government for himſelf, oppoſed the nomination of this lord, and drew a picture of the qualities required in a lord-deputy of Ireland in ſuch colours, that it was plain he himſelf was the original he deſcribed; and ſuch was the great credit and quality of Eſſex, that it bore down all oppoſition, and Elizabeth gave him the commiſſion of lord-deputy, and thereby put him at the head of an army of twenty thouſand men, all devoted to his ſervice: nor was this all; his commiſſion was more ample than any that had been granted to former lord-deputies, for he was empowered to continue, or end the war, as he pleaſed; even to pardon the

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earl of Tyrone, and other rebels; which was an authority never granted to any of his predeceſſors. But it was inſerted in his commiſſion, that, laying aſide all other affairs, he ſhould apply himſelf wholly to purſue and ruin the earl of Tyrone, the chief of the rebels: a clauſe founded on his own ſpeech in council.

The earl was not long in ſetting out for his new government, and arrived at Dublin on the ſeventeenth of April. His firſt ſtep there, was, in expreſs contradiction to Elizabeth's orders, to make the earl of Southampton his lieutenant-general; the queen being diſpleaſed with that nobleman for having married without her permiſſion, which men of quality in thoſe times were accuſtomed to ask. On the other hand, inſtead of advancing directly againſt Tyrone, he waſted his army in purſuing the rebels of Munſter, whom he drove into woods and mountains; and when, at the latter end of the ſummer, he was prevailed upon to march into Ulſter, againſt the arch-rebel, he managed ſo badly that his vanguard, of fifteen hundred men, fell into an ambuſcade, and were entirely defeated. This obliged him to demand a reinforcement; but though it was granted him, he fell into the ſame error he had complained of in council, againſt others, and granted Tyrone a truce to continue from ſix weeks to ſix weeks, till May of the enſuing year; with this condition, that either party ſhould be at liberty to break it, upon giving fourteen days notice.

The queen, on receiving a letter from Eſſex with the news of this inglorious truce, was ſo highly provoked, that ſhe could not help ſuſpecting the earl of ill deſigns, and began to give ſome credit to thoſe reports which charged him with aſpiring to the crown, on a pretended right of ſucceſſion from Edward III. by his great-grand-mother, who numbered among her anceſtors Edmund de Langley, duke of York, and Thomas of Woodſtock, both ſons of that monarch.

Eſſex, underſtanding how greatly the queen was incenſed againſt him, reſolved to return to England, even without leave, to counterwork the efforts of his enemies at court; and his departure is ſaid to have been haſtened by a falſe report of the queen's being dangerouſly ill, and deſpaired of by her phyſicians. The friends of Eſſex adviſed him to land in Wales with the Iriſh army, which was at his devotion; but he rejected this counſel, and, leaving the adminiſtration of Ireland in the hands of the lord-chancellor Loftus and ſir George Carew, he ſet ſail for England on the fourth of September, with a few followers only; and on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, he threw himſelf at the queen's feet, at Nonſuch, ten miles from London, where the court had reſided for ſome days. Elizabeth was informed time enough of his arrival, to prevent any ſurprize to betray her intentions, and, according to her uſual art, received him without any emotion, and with ſome marks of favour; but after ſome upbraidings for his irregular conduct, ſhe commanded him to his own apartment till farther orders: he was afterwards committed to the cuſtody of the lord-keeper, from whence ſome of his friends propoſed to reſcue him, would he have giving his conſent.

However, this did not hinder them from exciting the people to an inſurrection in his favour, repreſenting him as the moſt accompliſhed lord England ever ſaw ſince the foundation of monarchy, and in inveighing againſt the miniſtry, not without malicious reflections on the queen's conduct, as if ſhe took no care of the Iriſh affairs, where the rebels, upon the news of Eſſex's diſgrace, and the receipt of ſupplies of ammunition, proviſions, and money, from Spain and the pope, had broke the truce, and committed great outrages on the Engliſh inhabitants.

Such proceedings extremely injured the earl, and increaſed the queen's ſuſpicions of him; and therefore, to ſatisfy the populace that his confinement was juſt and neceſſary for the public peace and ſafety, ſhe ordered his conduct to be examined in the Star-chamber, where it was unanimouſly condemned by all the privy counſellors; but no ſentence paſſed upon him, only he was more narrowly watched in his confinement at the lord-keeper's houſe.

The earl of Tyrone in the mean time, having nothing to intercept his progreſs, reduced the whole province of Ulſter to his obedience; and, being encouraged by a bull ſent from pope Clement VIII. granting him and his adherents the ſame indulgences as thoſe who fought againſt the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land, he hoped to be ſoon maſter of the whole kingdom, had not the ſeaſonable appointment of the lord Montjoy to the place of lieutenant of Ireland, and his wiſe conduct, put a ſtop to his rebellious deſigns, and checked the inſolence of his adherents.

It was now the year 1600, and the forty-ſecond of Elizabeth's reign, when ſhe was agreeably ſurprized with overtures for a peace on the part of Philip III. king of Spain, who had ſucceeded his father Philip II. on that throne: theſe overtures were backed by the interceſſion of Henry IV. of France, and Albert, archduke of Auſtria, then in the Low Countries. The queen, willing to bleſs her ſubjects with peace, lent a ready ear to this propoſal, and left it to the French king to nominate both the time and the place for the meeting of plenipotentiaries, which was ſettled for the month of May, at Boulogne.

On the day appointed, the commiſſioners met to open the conferences: thoſe on the part of England were ſir Henry Neville, ſir John Herbert, Robert Beale, and Thomas Edmonds. The Engliſh had inſtructions, firſt, to demand the precedency, agreeable to the decrees of the councils of Baſil, Conſtance, and others, and in no wiſe to give way in this reſpect to the crown of Spain; nevertheleſs, if any diſpute ſhould ariſe thereupon, the queen of England agreed that the ſame ſhould be determined by the caſting of lots, rather than break off the treaty; and for the reſt, they were to propoſe the renewing the ancient Burgundian league, freedom of commerce, &c. The Spaniards could not be brought to quit their pretenſions to the precedency, which they inſiſted on in ſo peremptory a manner, that without it they would not enter upon treaty. Hereupon the Engliſh made a propoſition to wave the queſtion of precedency, and to tranſact the buſineſs by writing and meſſages between them; or that the treaty might be intermitted only for two months, without being entirely broke off: but all was to no purpoſe; the Spaniſh ambaſſadors finding they could not carry their point, broke off the negotiation entirely.

The ſtates of the United Provinces in the mean time were ſo far from having thoughts of a peace,

that, even during the negociations, they planned a deſign to reduce the ſea-coaſt of Flanders to their ſubjection; and accordingly landing an army there, of fourteen thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, under the command of prince Maurice of Naſſau, aſſiſted by fifteen hundred Engliſh, headed by ſir Francis Vere and his brother Horatio; theſe forces, on the ſecond of July, gained the famous battle of Nieuport, where nine thouſand of the Spaniards were ſlain, and the victory, by the valour of the Engliſh, fell to the Dutch; for ſo nobly did our countrymen acquit themſelves on this occaſion, that out of the fifteen hundred, eight hundred were left dead on the field, and of the remaining number, moſt part were deadly wounded.

During theſe tranſactions, pope Clement VIII. who had ſucceeded Gregory XIV. not content with taking part with Elizabeth's ſubjects in Ireland, reſolved to try what miſchief he could do her at home. Accordingly he diſpatched two bulls or briefs into England; one addreſſed to the Romiſh clergy, the other to the people, in which both clergy and laity were forbid to acknowlege, after Elizabeth's death, any prince for their ſovereign, who would not ſwear not only to tolerate the Roman catholic religion, but even to ſupport it with all his power. This was in order to pave the way for the king of Spain's claim to the Engliſh crown, and the excluſion of James, whom the court of Rome hated as a proteſtant himſelf, and a friend to proteſtants.

While the popiſh faction were thus buſy in England, they were no leſs induſtrious in carrying on their helliſh plots in her ſiſter-kingdom, Scotland. There the Ruthvens, ſons of earl Gowry, beheaded in 1584, who was deſcended from Margaret, daughter of king Henry VII. and conſequently ſtood next to king James in ſucceſſion to the crown of England, conſpired to murder that prince in their own houſe at Perth, where, on ſome pretence, they had engaged the favour of his royal preſence as their gueſt. But the king eſcaped their deep-laid plot by a ſort of miracle, even in the inſtant of its execution, by the timely aſſiſtance of ſir Thomas Erſkine and John Ramſey; the two Ruthvens were killed upon the ſpot, and ſuch of their accomplices as were taken, ſuffered the puniſhment due to their atrocious villany. But it is now time to return to the domeſtic affairs of England.

The earl of Eſſex, who had been a priſoner ſix months in the houſe of the lord-keeper, began to repent in good earneſt of his follies; and the queen at laſt ſuffered herſelf to be ſo far wrought upon by the earl's ſubmiſſive letters, that ſhe permitted him to retire to his own houſe, under the free cuſtody of ſir Richard Berkeley, who had orders to watch him; the ſame time proteſting, that all that ſhe did, or deſigned, againſt him, was for his reformation, not ruin; and there is no doubt but that he might have found means to be reſtored to her royal preſence and favour; but his friends and domeſtices raiſed ſuch cabals among the people by aſſerting his innocence, and inſinuating that his life was attempted on falſe ſuggeſtions, that her majeſty, who always endeavoured to remove the prejudices of the people againſt her, was obliged to bring the earl to an open trial before her privy council, to whom ſhe added two earls, four barons, and four judges; not to condemn him to any infamous puniſhment, as guilty of treaſon or treachery, but only to convince him of having failed in his allegiance, and ſlighted her orders and inſtructions, through exceſs of vanity; in order to ſhew the prejudiced people, that ſhe in this caſe had acted with moderation, and not rigour; and that the earl of Eſſex deſerved a ſeverer puniſhment than a few months confinement in a nobleman's houſe.

The accuſations laid againſt him in this court were, "I. A contempt of the queen's orders in making the earl of Southampton general of the horſe. II. His making knights, contrary to the expreſs words of his patent. III. A neglect to purſue the rebel of Tyrone, though that was the principal end of his commiſſion. IV. A ſecret conference with that rebel. V. The grant of a truce, very prejudicial to the queen's affairs. VI. The abandoning his government without vouchſafing to ask the queen's permiſſion." Some inferences were likewiſe drawn from his diſreſpectful expreſſions in his apology, and from certain dangerous principles contained in a book dedicated to him, concerning the depoſing of king Richard II.

Eſſex, when his turn came to plead in his own behalf, renounced, with great ſubmiſſion and humility, all pretenſions to an apology, and declared his reſolution, "never, on this or any other occaſion, to have any conteſt with his ſovereign; he ſaid, that, having ſevered himſelf from the world, and abjured all ſentiments of ambition, he had no ſcruple to confeſs every failing or error into which his youth, folly, or manifold infirmities might have betrayed him; that his inward ſorrows for his offences againſt her majeſty, was ſo profound, that it exceeded all his outward croſſes and afflictions; nor did he retain any ſcruple of ſubmitting to a public confeſſion of whatever ſhe had been pleaſed to impute to him; that in his acknowlegements he retained only one reſerve, which he would never relinquiſh but with his life, the aſſertion of a loyal and unpolluted heart, of an unfeigned affection, of an earneſt deſire ever to perform to her majeſty the beſt ſervice which his poor abilities would permit; and that if his ſentiment was recognized by the council, he willingly acquieſced in any condemnation or ſentence which they could pronounce againſt him." This ſubmiſſion was uttered with ſo much eloquence, and in ſo pathetic a manner, that it drew tears from many of the ſpectators. All the privy counſellors, in giving their judgment, made no ſcruple of doing the earl juſtice with regard to the loyalty of his intentions; even Cecil, whom he believed his capital enemy, treated him with regard and humanity: and the ſentence given by the lord-keeper (to which the council aſſented) was in theſe words, "If this cauſe (ſaid he) had been heard in the Star-chamber, my ſentence muſt have been for as great a fine as ever was ſet upon any man's head in that court, together with perpetual confinement in that priſon which belongeth to a man of his quality, the Tower: but ſince we are now in another place, and in courſe of favour, my ſentence is, that the earl of Eſſex is not to execute the office of a counſellor, nor that of earl marſha lof England, nor of maſter of the ordnance; and to return to his own houſe, there to continue a priſoner till it ſhall pleaſe her majeſty to releaſe this, and all the reſt of his ſentence."

The earl received his chaſtiſement with ſo much humility, that the queen, perſuaded that his repentance was ſincere, in order to convince him that ſhe had not entirely withdrawn her countenance

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from him, ordered his ſentence ſhould not be recorded, and was even pleaſed to remove Berkeley from him and leave him at his full liberty; but ſhe adviſed him to be cautious of giving farther offence, and forbid him the court. Hereupon he immediately prepared to ſet out for the country, and, before his departure, ſent a moſt abject meſſage to the queen, by the lord Henry Howard, filled with all that fulſome flattery to which Elizabeth's ears were ſo accuſtomed, and with which they were never to be ſated. On this occaſion ſhe expreſſed a moſt viſible ſatisfaction, both in looks and words; however, ſhe thought fit to return the earl this anſwer, "that ſhe was not to be amuſed with empty words; but as he had ſo long abuſed her patience ſhe would take ſome time to try his ſincerity;" thereby plainly inſinuating, that, with a little perſeverance, he might appeaſe her entirely; and in ſome meaſure directing him how to frame his conduct: but the impetuous temper of Eſſex hindered him from improving the advantage his ſovereign's manifeſt partiality in his favour ſeemed to give him; on the contrary, he was ſo imprudent as to follow the intereſted and fatal counſels of his domeſtics and dependents, which ended in his final ruin.

In the courſe of this year Elizabeth treated with the kings of France and Denmark about the regulation of traffic; and ſome diſputes ſubſiſting between the Engliſh and Danes, touching the fiſhery on the coaſt of Norway, commiſſioners being appointed on both ſides, met at Bremen, but they could not agree, and the matters were left undetermined. But though the trade of England thus received ſome check in the North, it was carried on with great glory and ſucceſs in the moſt ſouthern and eaſtern parts of the globe: and Elizabeth, for the increaſe of trade, the glory of England, and the improvement of navigation, was pleaſed to erect the Eaſt India Company, towards the cloſe of this year, and endowed them with great privileges, as will appear by a peruſal of their charter of inſtitution, dated December 31, 1600, for the heads of which I refer the reader to the article Commerce, at the end of this reign.

The year 1601 began with the machinations of that reſtleſs ſpirit, Eſſex. It has been already intimated that the queen, by her behaviour on his ſubmiſſive letters, had given him great reaſon to expect a revival of the royal favour, and he was now grown ſo confident, that he became a ſuitor to her for a renewal of the farm on ſweet-wines, in which the chief part of his fortune conſiſted; and Elizabeth, whom age and infirmities had now rendered very touchy, immediately imagined that all his pretended humility was only to ſmooth his way to this grant, ſhe therefore give him a denial, attended with ſome ſlighting reflections; and Eſſex, who was always in extremes, flew from that of reſignation to that of reſentment; and he was ſo imprudent as to follow the intereſted counſels of ſeveral needy perſons, who lived upon his bounty and in his houſe, and who, on the refuſal of his petition by the queen, inſpired him with a deſign to reſtore himſelf to favour by force, and to deſtroy all his enemies about the royal perſon. That unhappy nobleman came but too readily into ſuch deſigns; and now kept open houſe for all anti-courtiers and malecontents: the chief of theſe were the earl of Southampton, ſir Chriſtopher Blount, ſir Giles Merrick, captain Henry Lea, and Henry Cuff. They fomented his anger, and inſtigated him to violent meaſures. By this time the miniſtry began to miſtruſt that Eſſex entertained very dangerous deſigs; convinced the queen of the juſtneſs of their ſuſpicions; and found means to have ſpies placed about him, who informed the court of all the earl's tranſactions.

Thoſe who ſpeak moſt favourably of the earl of Eſſex's project, ſay it was to ſeize the queen's perſon, and to drive his enemies from court, as had been practiſed in Scotland with regard to king James: but he ſeems to have had greater deſigns, ſince he ſent Henry Lea ſecretly into Scotland, to ſolicit that king's aſſiſtance; probably to place him on the throne before the queen's death: thus much is certain, that, by his letters, he put James upon the only courſe that could ruin him with Elizabeth.

He acquainted him, "that whatever appearances the Engliſh court affected, there was a fixed deſign to introduce the infanta of Spain to the ſucceſſion; that for this purpoſe all places of power, all poſts of importance, were in the hands of thoſe who were enemies to the Stuart family; that the lord high-admiral had the command of the army and navy: that Buckhurſt had the power of the purſe; Cobham was warden of the Cinque Ports; Burleigh lord-lieutenant of the North; Raleigh was governor of the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey; and Carew preſident of Munſter; all of them the moſt proper places in Elizabeth's dominions for favouring the landing of the infanta. He added, that the queen was ſo impaired in her underſtanding that ſhe was incapable to act of herſelf, and was entirely guided by her miniſters; that he was therefore neceſſarily obliged to proceed openly to defeat this conſpiracy, and to ſend ambaſſadors immediately to England, to demand a public declaration of his title to the ſucceſſion, and the removal of his enemies, creatures and penſioners of Spain, from the court and council: at the ſame time he furniſhed the Scottiſh king with proofs to be uſed by the ambaſſadors, to ſhew the truth of the plot: and he concluded, that it would be neceſſary to ſupport his ambaſſadors effectually."

But this was not the only dependence of the ill-adviſed Eſſex, for he had now formed a ſelect council of malecontents, conſiſting of Southampton, ſir Charles Danvers, ſir Fernando Gorges, ſir John Davis, and John Littleton of Frankel. Theſe were men who, by their quality or accompliſhments, were well fitted to ſecond Eſſex in his views. The reſt of his friends, according to a liſt which he produced at Drury-houſe, the uſual place of his council's rendezvous, conſiſted of one hundred and twenty of the firſt noblemen and gentlemen in England. Among other criminal projects debated in this aſſembly, one was, in what manner to take up arms; whether they ſhould ſeize the palace, and force the queen to give up the enemies of Eſſex; or to ſeize the Tower of London, and bring the city to their devotion; or, finally, whether they ſhould purſue all thoſe meaſures at once? At laſt it was determined to drop the deſign of ſurprizing the court, and to make trial of his intereſt in the city. He was the more encouraged to this by being informed that ſir Francis Smith, one of the ſheriffs, was ready, with one thouſand men of the trained bands, to eſpouſe his quarrel.

While theſe treaſonable conſultations were carrying on, the government, who had private information of all that paſſed, ordered the guards to be doubled, and the lord-mayor received a meſſage from Elizabeth, commanding him to take care of the peace of the city; at the ſame time ſir Robert Sackville, ſon to Buckhurſt, the lord-treaſurer, was ſent to Eſſex-houſe, under pretence of a viſit, but in reality with a view of obſerving how matters ſtood there. Soon after Eſſex received a ſummons to attend the council, which met at the treaſurer's houſe: by this circumſtance, with the late unexpected viſit from Sackville, he was ſufficiently convinced that matters were now come to extremities; he therefore excuſed himſelf to the council, on pretence of an indiſpoſition, and he immediately diſpatched meſſages to his more intimate confederates, requeſting their advice and aſſiſtance in the preſent critical ſituation of his affairs.

The conſpirators having aſſembled at the earl's houſe, on the ſeventh of February, after many confuſed counſels, the wild project of raiſing the city was reſolved on by the majority, and Eſſex determined next day, being Sunday, to appear in the church of St. Paul, while the people were at ſermon, and, with two hundred gentlemen at his back, to demand the aſſiſtance and protection of the city of London againſt his enemies. The earls of Southampton and Rutland, the lords Parker and Monteagle, with three hundred of their friends and dependents, next morning approved of this reſolution, which probably was betrayed by ſir Fernando Gorges to Raleigh, who had a meeting together on the water. All the night between the ſeventh and eighth of February was paſſed at Eſſex-houſe in great conſternation and confuſion, and Elizabeth was punctually informed of every thing; for, early on Sunday morning, ſhe ſent the lord-keeper, the earl of Worceſter, ſir William Knolles, and the lord chief-juſtice Popham, to demand of Eſſex the meaning of his conduct. It was with difficulty they got admitance into the court-yard of the houſe, which was filled with a confuſed multitude of Eſſex's deſperate dependents, who ſurrounded their idol. In this ſtate he gave audience to the queen's meſſengers, who, on the part of the queen, offered him all reaſonable ſatisfaction, if he was unjuſtly aggrieved. Eſſex, in anſwer, repeated all his complaints, not forgetting that his life had been ſought by his enemies, who endeavoured to murder him in his bed, and that letters had been counterfeited under his hand and ſeal; and that all he did was only in ſelf-defence. While they were thus arguing, they were interrupted by a diſreſpectful clamour of the multitude, who, after groſly reviling them, even threatened them with death; and Eſſex turning from them into another room, the apartment in which they were was immediately locked, and a guard ſet upon their perſons.

Such an act of violence upon the queen's meſſengers was drawing the ſword of rebellion and throwing away the ſcabbard: Eſſex was now ſtrangely diſconcerted; he was at once loſt to all reſolution, and to all conduct; and putting himſelf at the head of about two hundred ill-armed followers, ruſhed into the ſtreets, crying out "For the queen! for the queen! my life is in danger!" and perceiving that the people only crouded to ſee him paſs, without joining in his attempt, he cried, "Arm, my friends, or you can do me no good." But all was in vain; and even the ſheriff, of whoſe aid he conceived ſuch expectations, no ſooner ſaw him advancing towards his houſe, in Fenchurch-ſtreet, but he withdrew himſelf by a back-door to the lord-mayor: which diſappointment convinced the earl that his affairs were deſperate. During the time he continued at the ſheriff's houſe, in a ſtate of uncertainty how to act, word was brought him, that an hearld and Thomas, lord Burleigh, had proclaimed him a traitor in one of the wards of the city, and that the earl of Cumberland had done the ſame in another. He then quitted the ſheriff's houſe, and proclaimed in the ſtreets, as he ſtrolled with his little army, "that England was going to be delivered to the infanta of Spain;" and conjured the inhabitants to take arms for the prevention of ſo great a misfortune. But ſeeing no body preparing to aſſiſt him, and hearing withal that the lord-admiral was marching againſt him with a ſtrong party, he reſolved to return to his own houſe, had he not been intercepted by ſir John Leveſon, and his company of ſoldiers, who had ſecured the poſt at Ludgate. Here the earl gave orders to Gorges to go and releaſe the three counſellors from their confinement in Drury-houſe, and retired back to St. Paul's: however, finding no way to retreat in ſafety through the ſtreets, which, by the care of the biſhop of London, were by this time chained and guarded by ſoldiers, he ordered Blount to begin the attack, and to force a paſſage, and ſeconded him with great reſolution, ſword in hand; in which ſkirmiſh Blount was taken priſoner, and the earl was repulſed and ſhot through the hat, which obliged him to take boat at Queenhithe, and retire to his own houſe near Temple Bar, where Devereux-court and Eſſex-ſtreet now ſtand.

He was now reduced to deſpair, and the lord-admiral, who ſurrounded his houſe with a large body of the guards, ſummoning him to ſurrender, he appeared determined, by the advice of the lord Sandys, to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity, and rather periſh like a brave man, ſword in hand, than by the ſtroke of a baſe-born executioner. But, after ſome parly, and after demanding in vain firſt hoſtages, then conditions from thoſe without, he ſurrendered at diſcretion, requeſting only civil treatment and a fair and impartial hearing. He and Southampton were immediately conveyed over the water to the archbiſhop of Canterbury's palace, at Lambeth, from whence they were next day ſent to the Tower, and his friends were confined in other priſons.

The queen, who, during all this commotion, had behaved with admirable tranquility and preſence of mind, ſoon gave orders for the trial of the moſt conſiderable of the criminals. The earls of Eſſex and Southampton were arraigned on the nineteenth of February, before a jury of twenty-five peers, the lord-treaſurer Buckhurſt acting as lord high-ſteward. The guilt of the priſoners was too apparent to admit of any doubt; and, beſides the inſurrection known to every body, the treaſonable conferences at Drury-houſe were proved by undoubted evidence: ſir Fernando Gorges was produced in court; the confeſſions of the earl of Rutland, of the lords Cromwell, Sandys, and Monteagle, of Danvers, Blount, and Davis, were only read to the peers, according to the practice of that age: Eſſex's beſt friends were ſcandalized at his aſſurance in

inſiſting ſo poſitively on his innocence, and the goodneſs of his intentions, and ſtill more at his vindictive diſpoſition in accuſing, without appearance of reaſon, ſecretary Cecil as a partizan of the infanta's title. The ſecretary, who had expected this charge, ſtepped into the court, and challenged Eſſex to produce his authority, which, on examination, was found extremely weak and frivolous. When ſentence was pronounced, Eſſex ſpoke like a man who laid his account to die; but he added, he ſhould be ſorry if he was repeſented to the queen as a perſon that deſpiſed her clemency, though he would not be believed to make any cringing ſubmiſſions to attain it. Southampton's behaviour was more mild and ſubmiſſive; he intreated the good offices of the peers in ſo modeſt and becoming a manner, as excited compaſſion in every one.

Eſſex, after condemnation, was viſited by that ſuperſtitious devotion which always poſſeſſed his mind in all his diſgraces. He was terrified almoſt into deſpair by the ghoſtly remonſtrances of his own chaplain, Aſhton, a fanatic preacher: he was reconciled to Cecil and the reſt of his adverſaries, and made a full confeſſion of his conſpiracy; he even gave the particulars of all his friendſhips and correſpondences, in writing under his own hand: and upon his diſcoveries ſir Henry Neville, Elizabeth's reſident in France, was ſent for over, and committed; as the lord Montjoy, whom he likewiſe accuſed, would have been, had not the greatneſs of his ſervices in Ireland, and perhaps the fear of rendering him deſperate, prevailed with Elizabeth to ſacrifice her reſentment to the public good.

It was natural for Elizabeth to have ſome remorſe about taking off the head of a nobleman like Eſſex, who had done her ſignal ſervices, who had been ſo lately the pride of her court, and the ornament of her kingdom; but, after all the ridiculous and romantic ſtories of her paſſion for him, it does not appear that ſhe had ever conſidered Eſſex in any other light than as being a man of great birth and greater merit: but as he had now forfeited all he could claim from his former ſervices, the ſenſe of her own dignity, and the danger in which ſhe thought herſelf, ſhould he live, at laſt got the better of all conſiderations, and ſhe ſent, by the lord Darcy, a warrant, that he ſhould die on the twenty-fifth of February, according to his own requeſt, in the Tower court-yard, attended by Aſhton a diſſenting miniſter, and two divines of the church of England. Several noblemen, by Elizabeth's order, were preſent on the ſcaffold at the execution, with ſome of the aldermen of London, and chief gentlemen about court; among others Raleigh, the avowed enemy and rival of Eſſex, appeared; but this was thought ſo indecent, that he was prevailed upon to withdraw to ſome diſtance, whence he ſaw the only head in Europe better than his own, ſtruck off. The behaviour of Eſſex in his laſt moments was full of penitence and contrition; but he had the misfortune to have a bungling executioner. He died before he was full thirty-ſix years of age.

Robert Devereux, earl of Eſſex, was a nobleman poſſeſſed of excellent and amiable qualities; brave, liberal, and humane; a patron of learning, in which he himſelf held a conſiderable rank: he was a warm friend, and an open enemy. His foibles were vanity, ambition, and an impetuoſity of temper, to which he fell a ſacrifice. His accomplices, Meyrick, and Cuffe, were executed, on the fifteenth of March, at Tyburn: ſir Charles Danvers, and ſir Chriſtopher Blount were beheaded; Littleton, Orel, and ſir Edward Baintoun were tried and condemned; but the firſt dying in priſon, the others were pardoned. The earl of Southampton was detained in the Tower till the acceſſion of king James, by whom he was ſet at liberty, and reſtored in blood by act of parliament.

The king of Scotland, when he heard of the earl's being apprehended, had diſpatched the earl of Marr, and the abbot of Kinloſs, as his ambaſſadors to the court of England; and, by the notes with which they were furniſhed, we may conclude that he was intereſted in ſome project which did not take effect: but the earl being executed before their arrival, they pretended that their errand was to congratulate her majeſty upon her happy ſucceſs in quelling the late audacious attempt. Elizabeth affected to take the compliment in good part, and was even prevailed upon to add two thouſand pounds a year to their maſter's penſion. During their reſidence in England they managed his affairs ſo dexterouſly, that the majority of the council was won over to his intereſt, and among the reſt ſecretary Cecil, who from this period correſponded with James by means of the lord Henry Howard. About this time Oſtend was inveſted by the archduke Albert, and defended with incredible valour by ſir Francis Vere, at the head of the Engliſh garriſon. Henry IV. of France repairing to Calais, Elizabeth ſent ſir Thomas Edmonds, with a compliment to that prince; who returned it by the hands of the marſhals de Biron, de Lavardin, and the duke d'Aumont. Theſe noblemen were received at the court of England with great magnificence; and, though no part of their negociation tranſpired, are ſaid to have conferred with her majeſty upon a ſcheme which Henry had formed againſt the houſe of Auſtria.

Upon Elizabeth's return from a progreſs which ſhe had made during the ſummer, ſhe convoked a parliament, which met on the twenty-ſeventh of October; and Egerton, lord-keeper of the great-ſeal, having given them to underſtand, that the wars in Flanders and Ireland had drained her majeſty's Exchquer, notwithſtanding every frugal method had been adopted, the commons indulged her with a more conſiderable ſupply than had ever been granted ſince her acceſſion. In conſideration of this ſupply, ſhe iſſued a proclamation for repealing certain monopolies of ſalt, oil, ſtarch, and other commodities, which were a grievous burden upon the people: the commons thereupon deputed eighty of their body, to preſent their humble thanks for this inſtance of her parental regard, which was delivered by Crook, the recorder of London, who had been choſen ſpeaker, in a fulſome ſpeech, which, in its flattery, approached near to blaſphemy. The commons then paſſed an act for the relief of the poor; and, having made ſome other laws of public utility, were diſſolved in the month of December.

In the mean time the queen was not without her troubles in Ireland. The Spaniards continuing their aid to the Iriſh rebels, ſent them freſh ſuccours under don Juan d'Aquila, who landed at Kinſale, with a manifeſto, ſetting forth, "that queen Elizabeth had been depoſed by the pope; that her ſubjects were, by the ſame power, abſolved from their oath of allegiance; and that he was come to deliver them from the jaws of the devil." The

Spaniards

Spaniards took the town; but, after a ſhort ſiege by the lord-deputy, and having the mortification of ſeeing the rebel earl of Tyrone utterly routed in attempting to raiſe the ſiege, the Spaniſh general was glad to ſurrender, on condition that he might reimbark with the remainder of his men for Spain, which he did with all expedition, the capitulation being ſigned, and the place given up to the Engliſh, on the ſecond of January, 1602. From this time the earl of Tyrone's affairs daily declined, which was chiefly owing to the lord-deputy's cloſe purſuit of him, without giving him the leaſt opportunity to recruit or breathe.

The remaining events of this reign are neither very numerous nor important. The queen, finding that the Spaniards had involved her in ſo much trouble, by fomenting and aſſiſting the Iriſh rebellion, reſolved to give them employment at home; and, in the ſpring of the year 1602, ſhe fitted out a ſquadron of nine ſhips, under ſir Richard Leveſon, admiral, and ſir William Monſon, vice-admiral, whom ſhe ſent on an expedition to the coaſt of Spain. The admiral, with part of the ſquadron, met the galleons, loaded with treaſure, but was not ſtrong enough to attack them; the vice-admiral alſo fell in with ſome very rich ſhips, but they eſcaped for a like reaſon: and theſe two brave officers, that their expedition might not be entirely fruitleſs, hereupon reſolved to attack the harbour of Coimbra, in Portugal, where they received intelligence that a very rich carrack had taken ſhelter. The harbour was defended by a caſtle; there were eleven gallies ſtationed in it, and the militia of the country, to the number, as was believed, of twenty thouſand men, appeared in arms on ſhore: yet, notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, and others derived from the winds and tides, the Engliſh ſquadron broke into the harbour, diſmounted the guns of the caſtle, ſunk, burned, or put to flight the gallies, and obliged the carrack to ſurrender. They brought her home to England, and ſhe was valued at a million of ducats: a ſenſible loſs to the Spaniards, and a ſupply ſtill more conſiderable to Elizabeth.

In the beginning of this year, an ambaſſador extraordinary arriving from France, in order to regulate the navigation, which had been interrupted on both ſides by depredations, the queen appointed commiſſioners to treat upon the ſubject, and all difficulties were compromiſed. The Engliſh miniſter at Paris had, in the name of his miſtreſs, made a propoſal to Henry of a league offenſive and defenſive, in order to drive the Spaniards entirely out of the Low Countries; but the finances of the French king were ſo diſordered, and his kingdom ſo filled with malecontents, that he could not engage in an enterprize of ſuch importance. The arch-duke Albert had made ſome advances towards a peace with Elizabeth, but ſhe rejected them, leſt the ſtates of the United Provinces ſhould be tempted to throw themſelves into the arms of France: that they might be encouraged to maintain the war, ſhe ſuſpended their annual payment for two years, and allowed them to raiſe ſeven thouſand men in England.

About this time a rancorous quarrel broke out between the Jeſuits and the popiſh ſecular clergy in England, the original of which was as follows: one Blackwell, a man wholly at the devotion of the Jeſuits, had by them been ſet over the ſeculars as their ſuperior, who oppreſſed them in the moſt cruel manner; and when they appealed for redreſs to the pope, cauſed them to be repreſented as ſchiſmatics and heretics. Bitter pamphlets were publiſhed on both ſides: whether this contention was ſerious, or a ſcheme to lull the government into ſecurity, while ſome great blow was preparing, is hard to ſay; it is however certain that the biſhop of London politicly fomented this diviſion, which at length roſe to ſuch an height, that the queen and her council finding them dangerous to the commonwealth, both parties were, by public proclamation, commanded to depart the kingdom forthwith. It was at this juncture that Henry IV. of France ordered the marſhal de Biron to be beheaded, for having conſpired, with other noblemen, to diſmember the French monarchy. The marſhal de Bouillon, who was likewiſe concerned in the conſpiracy, retired to Germany, where he ſolicited Elizabeth's interceſſion with his maſter; and ſhe, by her ambaſſador, hinted that this might be a Spaniſh ſtratagem, to infeſt him with ſuſpicions of his beſt ſubjects. But that prince told the Engliſh ambaſſador, his miſtreſs had a better opinion of Bouillon than he deſerved, inaſmuch as he had actually engaged in the conſpiracy of Eſſex, againſt her own perſon and dignity.

Towards the cloſe of this year the affairs of Ireland, in conſequence of Tyrone's defeat, and the expulſion of the Spaniards, haſtened to a ſettlement, and by the vigilance and activity of Montjoy, the lord-lieutenant, that arch-rebel and his friends were driven to the utmoſt extremity; and many of them, after skulking like wild beaſts in woods and moraſſes, ſubmitted to mercy, and received ſuch conditions as the lord-deputy was pleaſed to impoſe on them, which were ſo mild and generous, that Tyrone himſelf, ſeeing all hopes, either of ſucceeding or eſcaping, vaniſh, applied in the moſt abject ſtrain both to Elizabeth and the deputy for pardon. The queen was for a long time obſtinately bent not to ſhew him the leaſt favour; but being continually teized by her council, who repreſented the immenſe expence ſhe was at in keeping troops in Ireland to follow the rebels, and this clemency would be an infallible means of making every thing quiet, ſhe was at laſt prevailed upon to ſign his pardon, and ſend it to the lord Montjoy, with power to grant it upon certain conditions, mentioned in his inſtructions: but this ſhe did with ſo much reluctance, that it was deemed by many to be the occaſion of that illneſs whereof ſhe died. The terms to which the lord-deputy was reſtrained, were ſuch as the council apprehended Tyrone would not accept; but his neceſſities were ſo extreme, that, on the thirteenth of March, 1603, he came to Mellefont, where he preſented himſelf upon his knees before the lord-deputy, who received him with great pomp, ſurrounded by his principal officers, and ſeated in a chair of ſtate. Tyrone then addreſſed himſelf in a ſubmiſſive ſpeech to the lord-deputy, who thinking that he ſtood too much upon his juſtification, ordered him to be ſilent, and brought him with him under confinement to Dublin. O'Rourk, another active chief in the late inſurrections, ſurrendered about a month after; and thus this dreadful rebellion, which had raged in Ireland for eight years together, and had coſt the queen near four hundred thouſand pounds a year, was entirely ſupreſſed, and the whole kingdom reduced to a ſtate of ſub-

jection and tranquility. As for Tyrone, the lord-deputy kept him under a ſtrict guard in the caſtle of Dublin, with an intention of preſenting him to Elizabeth; but in this he was diſappointed by the death of that glorious princeſs, whoſe eyes we are now to cloſe.

She had, in general, been bleſſed with a very good ſtate of health, and notwithſtanding her age (near ſeventy) was continually hunting, or on horſeback, without minding the wind, weather, or other inconveniences, though ſhe always expreſſed a great fondneſs for life. It was about the middle of November, 1602, that ſhe began to feel herſelf decay, though ſhe affected not to let it appear, and would have her inauguration-day (the ſeventeenth of November) kept as uſual, with feaſting and great pomp. A ſlight cold confined her for a few days in the following months, but otherwiſe ſhe ſeemed to be in good health.

On the thirty-firſt of January, 1603, ſhe removed, in a very ſtormy day, from Weſtminſter to Richmond. Here ſhe began to grow worſe, and was obſerved to be continually in tears, and labouring with ſome extraordinary affliction. She had uſed to be particularly careful of her health, but now ſhe would take nothing, and obſtinately refuſed all the remedies preſcribed by her phyſicians. When the archbiſhop of Canterbury, Cecil, and others of her council, begged on their knees, that ſhe would take what was neceſſary for her ſuſtenance and relief, ſhe deſired them, in an angry tone, to let her die in quiet, as ſhe had reſolved.

All about her agreed that a deep melancholy, too ſtrong to be either aſſwaged or diverted, was the cauſe of her illneſs; but they differed much in their opinions about the occaſion of that melancholy: ſome aſcribed it to the aſſiduity which ſhe had remarked in certain of her counſellors, whom ſhe had loaded with favours, in making their court to the king of Scotland, her preſumptive heir, and ſome bitter expreſſions were heard to burſt from her lips, as if ſhe had thought herſelf helpleſs, abandoned, and betrayed by all: many imputed it to her grief for having put the earl of Eſſex to death. There is no doubt but ſhe had felt a ſenſible regret for the loſs of that great man; but it is not ſo eaſy to account how her grief came to break out ſo violently at this time: and though this may be reaſonably thought owing to the weakneſs of her body diſabling her mind to act with its former vigour, yet it is remarkable that it broke out on a ſudden, after the death of the counteſs of Nottingham (which happened about Chriſtmas laſt year), and her ſigning the pardon of Tyrone. Theſe were coinciding events, and, without having recourſe to the anecdote related by Oſborne*, it may very well be ſuppoſed, that when Elizabeth found the ſuggeſtions of Eſſex's enemies, as if he had engaged in a traitorous combination with Tyrone, which was the chief reaſon of her putting the former to death, for what might elſe have been rather termed a riot than a rebellion, to be mere ſlanders; and that thoſe very men had, after an infinite profuſion of the blood and treaſures of her ſubjects, obliged her to grant that rebel pardon, it could not but inflame her reſentment at being deceived, and enhance her grief for the loſs of a man ſo highly eſteemed as ſhe did Eſſex†.

Be that as it might, her anxiety of mind at laſt had ſo long preyed upon her frail body, that her end was viſibly approaching, and the council had many ſerious deliberations concerning the ſucceſſion. Though all the counſellors in general were firmly attached to James, yet they knew not what the ſecret intrigues of the popiſh and puritan factions might produce, and therefore reaſonably thought, that Elizabeth's own declaration in favour of James would give vaſt ſtrength to his title; but, leſt ſhe had been too weak to expreſs herſelf, the lord-admiral declared, that before ſhe left Weſtminſter, ſhe had, as it were foreſeeing her own death, in private ſaid to him, "My throne hath always been filled by a ſucceſſion of princes, and ought only to go to my next heir." It was then thought proper, that the lord-admiral, the lord-keeper, and ſecretary Cecil ſhould, in the name of the council, intreat her to ſignify her laſt will on that head. They found her almoſt ſpeechleſs, but ſhe had ſtrength enough to repeat the meaning of her former orders to the lord-admiral, "that ſhe had filled a royal throne, and deſired to have a royal ſucceſſor." Cecil thought that this declaration was not explicit enough, and urged her to a farther explanation: "I deſire (ſaid ſhe) that a king ſhould ſucceed me, and who ſhould that king be, but my neareſt kinſman, the king of Scotland?" And when theſe noblemen, on the day before her death, when her ſpeech had failed, put her in mind of what ſhe had told them, and deſiring her, in preſence of other lords of the council, to ſhew ſome ſign of confirming what ſhe had ſaid to them, ſhe accordingly put her hand to her head, in token of her approbation.

Although there was no great danger of any oppoſition being made to the Scottiſh ſucceſſion, nevertheleſs the council thought expedient to take

* This fact, which has long been rejected by hiſtorians as romantic, but which late diſcoveries ſeem to have confirmed, was as follows.

The earl of Eſſex, after his return from the fortunate expedition againſt Cadiz, obſerving the increaſe of the queen's fond attachment to him, took occaſion to regret, that the neceſſity of her ſervice required him often to be abſent from her perſon, and expoſed him to all thoſe ill offices which his enemies, more aſſiduous in their attendance, could practiſe againſt him; ſhe was moved with his tender jealouſy, and, making him the preſent of a ring, deſired him to keep that pledge of her affection; aſſured him, that in whatever diſgrace he ſhould fall, whatever prejudices ſhe might be induced to entertain againſt him, yet if he ſent her that ring, ſhe would, immediately upon ſight of it recollect her former tenderneſs, would afford him again a hearing, and would lend a favourable ear to his apology. Eſſex, notwithſtanding all his misfortunes, reſerved this precious gift to the laſt extremity; but, after his trial and condemnation, he reſolved to try the experiment, and he committed the ring to the counteſs of Nottingham, whom he deſired to deliver it to the queen. The counteſs was prevailed on by her huſband, who was Eſſex's capital enemy, not to execute the commiſſion; and Elizabeth, who ſtill expected that her favourite would make the laſt appeal to her tenderneſs, and who aſcribed the neglect of it to his obſtinacy, was, after much delay, and after many internal combats, puſhed by reſentment and policy to ſign the warrant for his execution. The counteſs of Nottingham falling into ſickneſs, and finding herſelf approaching towards her end, was ſeized with remorſe for her conduct, and having obtained a viſit from the queen, ſhe craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal ſecret: the queen, aſtoniſhed with this incident, burſt into a furious paſſion; ſhe ſhook the dying counteſs in her bed, and crying to her "that God might forgive her, but ſhe never could," broke from her, and thenceforth reſigned herſelf over to the deepeſt and moſt incurable melancholy.

See the proofs of this remarkable fact collected in Birch's Negociations, p. 206. and Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 481, 505, 506, &c.

† Carte, vol. iii. p. 696, 697.

every precaution for ſecuring the peace and ſafety of the kingdom: great numbers of idle and ſuſpected perſons, who ſwarmed about the metropolis were ſeized, and ſent to Holland for the Dutch ſervice; the fleet, which lay ready equipped, was ordered to guard the mouth of the Thames; the ſea-ports were all ſhut; and the lady Arabella Stuart was put into cuſtody. It was reſolved likewiſe to ſummon all the peers to town, and, if any commotion happened on the queen's death, to make the earl of Northumberland general of the forces. The queen in the mean time was in a deplorable condition, ſitting dreſſed and penſive ten days, on cuſhions, without an hour's reſt all the time, till, on the twenty-firſt of March, ſhe was put into bed by force, and, though ſhe then ſeemed to be better, ſhe lay on her ſide without ſpeaking to or regarding any body, only ſhe cauſed ſome meditations to be read to her, particularly thoſe of M. du Pleſſis. The archbiſhop of Canterbury attending her on this occaſion, ſhe heard his exhortations, and joined him in prayer, with great humility and devotion. On the twenty-third of that month ſhe was ſpeechleſs all the day; and having in the night got a continued ſleep of five hours, waked only to die in the calmeſt manner and almoſt inſenſibly, about two o'clock the next morning, in the ſeventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign. Her corpſe, without being opened or embalmed, was removed, on the twenty-eighth of March, from Richmond to Whitehall; but, on the pretence of her having given orders that it ſhould not be cut up, or ſeen, after her deceaſe, no body was ſuffered to ſee it, which occaſioned ſome rumours among the people that hated her miniſters, as if her death had been cauſed by violence. It was interred on Thurſday the twenty-eighth of April, in the chapel of Henry VII. in Weſtminſter abbey, with great magnificence, king James having given orders that no expence ſhould be ſpared in her funeral.

The beſt character that can be drawn of this princeſs is to be learned from the ſtory of her life; and to add a multiplicity of general reflections upon her political conduct, after having already explained it in the preceding pages, would be tireſome and uninſtructive to the reader: let it ſuffice then to obſerve, that there are few great perſonages in hiſtory who have been more expoſed to the calumnies of enemies, and more bedaubed by the adulation of friends than queen Elizabeth; and yet, there is ſcarce any whoſe reputation has been more certainly determined by poſterity. Her vigour, her conſtancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, and addreſs, are allowed to merit the higheſt praiſes, and appear not to have been ſurpaſſed by any perſon who ever filled a throne; at the ſame time that we acknowlege ſhe was often too rigorous, too imperious towards her dependents, and too little regardful of the conſtitution, or concerned for the liberties and privileges of her ſubjects: her prerogative, like the rod of Aaron, ſwallowed up whatever came in competition with it; and ſhe thought that her people were entitled to no more liberty than their anceſtors enjoyed. She was remarkably happy in the choice of her ſtateſmen and generals, whom ſhe directed by her good ſenſe, and animated by her high ſpirit. Her abilities for government were never queſtioned by any one; her application to public buſineſs was extraordinary; but her prudence was in many caſes the effect of low cunning, and of the diffidence or jealouſy of her nature; and her meaſures were often ſuch as morality could not approve, however politics might repreſent them as neceſſary.

Elizabeth is deſcribed by thoſe who knew her, to have been as to her perſon handſome, well-made, ſtrongly limbed, rather tall than middle-ſized, her forehead high and round, her eyes brown and lively, her complexion fair, her hair of a lightiſh yellow, her fingers long and taper, her voice clear and ſhrill: ſhe had a fine ſet of teeth, and her outward form was much ſet off by an air that was very agreeable. She was fond of being thought learned: ſhe ſpoke with great fluency the Greek, Latin, Italian, and French languages, underſtood the Spaniſh, and tranſlated ſeveral of the ancient writers with judgment and fidelity. Whether ſhe died a virgin was a problem much handled in thoſe days; but, upon the whole, there appears to be very good grounds for the vulgar report, that ſhe had about her perſon ſome imperfections, that rendered her very unfit for marriage. She was a great encourager of learning and learned men, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in its place. She was the great bulwark of the proteſtant religion. Her predominant paſſions were jealouſy and avarice, the former of which hurried her, in ſome caſes, into acts of tyrannic cruelty. Her vanity appeared in her love of flattery, which ſhe greedily ſwallowed even when it was fulſome and abſurd; and in the variety and richneſs of her apparel, which ſhe continued to wear long after her declining years ſeemed to require more gravity and decency.

Her cruelty and jealouſy were too conſpicuous in the fate of the duke of Norfolk, and Mary, queen of Scots. Of avarice and parſimony ſhe exhibited numberleſs proofs, in extorting preſents from noblemen, on pretence of viſiting them at their own houſes; in allowing her ambaſſadors in foreign countries to live at their own expence, until ſome of them were ruined; and in carrying on the war againſt Spain at the charge of private adventurers. When ſhe died, beſides a vaſt quantity of plate and jewels, ſhe left three thouſand robes, none of which ſhe had the liberality to diſtribute amongſt her ſervants. She raiſed an hundred thouſand crowns yearly, by granting licences to Roman catholics and non-conformiſts, exempting them from the penalty inflicted by the law upon thoſe who did not regularly attend divine worſhip. She exacted every New-year's day above ſixty thouſand crowns, in gifts from her dependents. She entertained ſpies in all the houſes of the nobility; encouraged informers; introduced the uſe of torture; enacted a great number of penal laws; and, by the terror of her ſuſpicion, which was generally fatal to the object, drove many gentlemen into exile, that ſhe might proſecute them to confiſcation, and enjoy their eſtates. Her choleric diſpoſition prompted her often to revile foreign ambaſſadors in the groſſeſt terms; to inſult her miniſters and ſubjects in the moſt abuſive language; and even to chaſtize her female attendants with her own hand. On ſuch occaſions ſhe uſed to utter oaths and imprecations in the moſt vulgar ſtyle: and the ladies of her court did not ſcruple to follow her example. Her great art conſiſted in cajoling her parliament and people with flattering careſſes; the ſincerity of which they could not doubt, when they found themſelves rich

and happy under her adminiſtration. But, as Mr. Hume very juſtly obſerves, in his hiſtory of this great princeſs, the true method of eſtimating her merit, is to conſider her merely as a rational being, placed in authority, and entruſted with the government of mankind; and then, however difficult we may find it to reconcile our fancy to her in other reſpects, her qualities as a ſovereign, though with ſome conſiderable exceptions, are the object of undiſputed applauſe and approbation.

Remarkable Occurrences.

In her third year, on the fifteenth of June, the ſpire of St. Paul's cathedral in London, the timber part of which was two hundred and ſixty feet high, and the roof ſeven hundred and twenty feet long and one hundred and thirty broad, were burnt by lightening, as it was then thought; but a plumber confeſſed, on his death-bed, that it was ſet on fire by his careleſſneſs, in leaving a pan of coals in the ſteeple when he went to dinner.

In her ſeventh year, on the twenty firſt of December, began a froſt, ſo extreme, that on New-year's day people paſſed over the Thames on foot; yet this great froſt began to thaw on the third of January at night, and by the fifth there was no ice to be ſeen at all.

In her thirteenth year a prodigious earthquake happened in the eaſt parts of Herefordſhire; and on the ſeventeenth of February, at ſix o'clock in the evening, Marcley-hill, in the neighbourhood of Hereford city, was moved from the place where it ſtood, and continued in motion from Saturday till Monday following, when it reſted. It carried along the trees, hedges, and ſheep, that grew and fed upon its ſurface, overturned Kynaſton chapel, which ſtood in its way, left an opening where it ſtood, forty feet in depth and eight ells in length, and formed a large hill twelve fathoms high, in the place where it reſted.

In her ſixteenth year was a great dearth, ſo that wheat ſold for five and ſix ſhillings a buſhel, and other things in proportion: and in her ſeventeenth year the Thames ebbed and flowed twice in an hour.

In her twenty-ſixth year, being 1588, the like prodigy happened in Dorſetſhire, as in the year 1571 had happened in Herefordſhire; a field of three acres, in Blackmore, with the trees and fences, moved from its place, and paſſed over another field, travelling in the highway to Hearn, where it reſted.

In her thirty-ſixth year was a great plague in London and its ſuburbs, which ſwept off ſeventeen thouſand eight hundred and ninety ſouls.

Of the State of Religion, Learning, Laws, Arts and Sciences, Commerce, Public Revenues, &c. in England, from the Acceſſion of Henry VIII. to the Death of Queen Elizabeth. Including a Period of Ninety-four Years, viz. from A. D. 1509 to A. D. 1603.

Of RELIGION, and of the CHURCH.

WE have upon many occaſions, in the courſe of this hiſtory, ſhewn what dreadful blows the kings and parliaments of England had given to the papal power in this country, and how greatly the doctrines of Wickliff, and of other reformers, even before a general reformation was thought of, had diſpoſed the minds of the people to what followed. The kings of England, however, by the tameneſs of thoſe whoſe titles were diſputed, and who were therefore obliged to keep well with the ſee of Rome, were ſtripped of many of their prerogatives over churchmen by the papal encroachments; but ſtill a door was open for reſuming them, and for reinforcing all the acts of parliament on that head: but even at the time of Henry VIII's acceſſion he had ſome ſuperiorities over the clergy, which no other prince in Europe beſides himſelf enjoyed: Amongſt others, in the caſe of a vacancy of a biſhopric, the crown ſeized all the temporalities, and recommend to the ſee of Rome the perſon who was to ſucceed; upon the neceſſary inſtruments for this ſucceſſion being expedited at Rome, the biſhop elect was obliged, before the king, or his commiſſioners, to renounce every clauſe in thoſe inſtruments that was inconſiſtent with the prerogative of the crown or the laws of the land, and to take an oath of fidelity and allegiance to the ſovereign.

Had not Henry VIII. immediately after his acceſſion, been intoxicated with the flattery of the popes and clergy, he might have made an excellent uſe of this part of his prerogative, by filling the ſees of England with men of ſenſe and virtue, who might in time have reſtored to the crown its prerogatives, and to the church its purity. But Henry was ſo far from this, that, during the firſt eighteen years of his reign, he acted in ſpiritual matters as an humble dependent on the Roman pontiff. He drew his pen in defence of the church of Rome, and ſent deputies to the Lateran council, which had been convoked in oppoſition to that of Piſa: the pope, delighted with this inſtance of the Engliſh monarch's attachment to his cauſe, rewarded him with the pompous title of Defender of the Faith.

This, and other compliments, induced Henry to order all Luther's books to be called in; and a commiſſion for that purpoſe was iſſued by Wolſey, by virtue of his legatine power, in the year 1521. In the ſame commiſſion forty-two articles were excerpted from Luther's doctrine, and condemned: and in the year 1523 Henry granted a privilege for printing biſhop Fiſher's book againſt Luther; and he every day gave freſh proofs of his great zeal for the ſee of Rome. The pope imputed all this to the good offices of Wolſey, whoſe character the reader has

has already ſeen in the civil part of this hiſtory. No honour which the court of Rome could deviſe were thought too great for that ambitious cardinal, who cunningly made a property of each court, and indeed of all the courts of Europe. With his maſter he pleaded his vaſt influence with the pope; and the pope was laviſh of honours upon him for his influence with his maſter; and the king of France with the Imperial court by turns courted and paid him for his influence with both. But the truth is, that Wolſey had great things in view, even from the commencement of his adminiſtration, for encreaſing the power of the crown at the expence of the church's poſſeſſions. This ſcheme could not be effected but under the pretext of the vaſt diſſolution of morals which had crept in among the clergy, of which Wolſey made moſt dreadful repreſentations at the court of Rome: this drew from the pope a bull, impowering Wolſey to viſit all monaſteries, and all the clergy of England, and to diſpenſe with all laws of the church for one whole year after the date of the bull. This bull in effect cancelled all the other powers of the clergy in England, and raiſed Wolſey to be pope in his own country.

Being then ſeated, as he thought, firmly in his power, he began to ſhew an extraordinary zeal againſt the doctrines of Luther, or the Reformation. In the year 1519, ſix men and one woman were burned at Coventry, for teaching their children the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apoſtles Creed, in the vulgar tongue. Severities of the ſame nature were practiſed in ſeveral parts of the kingdom where the Reformation began to gain ground: this, however, was the only practice in which the cardinal and the clergy could agree. He aſſumed a power of calling convocations, and laying them under contribution; and when they complained of theſe encroachments, he threatened them with a general viſitation. He was ſupported in theſe arbitrary proceedings by the king, who reaped the fruits of his exaction, and began to hold the perſons of the clergy in contempt, on account of their ignorance and profligacy. Nevertheleſs, he ſtill retained his attachment to the old religion: when Luther, at the deſire of his patron, the elector of Saxony, wrote a letter to the king of England, excuſing the acrimony and abuſe with which he had treated him in his writings, Henry, in his anſwer, retorted the other's virulence in ſarcaſms upon his doctrine; and refuſed to forgive him upon any other terms than thoſe of retracting his errors, renouncing his wife, and retiring from the world to paſs the remainder of his days in penance and mortification. It appears, by a letter from cardinal Wolſey to the biſhop of Wincheſter, that the firſt had formed a plan for the reformation of the clergy; and pope Adrian was ſo well diſpoſed in this particular, that the German princes were encouraged to preſent him with the grievances of the church, digeſted into one hundred articles, containing the luxury, prophaneneſs, avarice, ſuperſtition, and pride of the eccleſiaſtics; but the good effects of the pope's moderation were prevented by the cabals and intrigues of his clergy; and in England Henry ſtill continued to proſecute the Lutherans.

After Wolſey had been diſappointed in his repeated attempts to be elected pope, he found it his beſt courſe to keep fair with pope Clement VII. to whom he had been very inſtrumental in his election; and he obtained from the pope the prolongation of his legatine power during life. This gave him ſome notion of proceeding by his own authority, ſupported by that of the king, to diſſolve ſome monaſteries. At firſt, he pretended to purſue the plauſible method of applying the revenues to the endowment of his colleges, one at Ipſwich and the other at Oxford, which he had himſelf erected; but, upon recollection and conſulting with his friends, he thought it would be dangerous for him to proceed to this by his own authority, and therefore applied to the pope, who granted him bulls for the diſſolution of forty leſſer monaſteries, provided the king and other founders gave their conſent, for an endowment of his two colleges. The cardinal made a noble uſe of this bounty, nor indeed is he indefenſible in the meaſure, but by the precedent which it ſet. His ſcheme was to erect a college at Ipſwich, as a kind of ſeminary where youth was to be fitted for his college in Oxford, which he deſigned to be a great and noble foundation: his plan was to have it built in the moſt magnificent manner, and furniſhed with all the moſt coſtly rarities of art and learning that Europe could afford, and its clear rent was to conſiſt of two thouſand pounds a year, beſides a revenue for the entertainment of ſtrangers, the relief of the poor, and other extraordinary charges of the univerſity. After the patent for this eſtabliſhment was obtained from Henry, Wolſey ſent to Oxford, under his hand and ſeal a draught of the ſtatutes by which it was to be governed; and, according to them it was to conſiſt of the following members:

"The dean, ſubdean, ſixty ſuperior canons, and forty petty-canons; all to reſide at their ſtudies; thirteen chaplains, twelve ſinging-men, for the chapel-ſervice. Public profeſſors of the college and univerſity; of canon-law, civil-law, phyſic, liberal arts, critical learning, private lecturers and tutors, to read philoſophy, logic, ſophiſtry, critical learning. Four cenſors, to enquire into the ſtudents manners and ſtudies. Three burſers. Four rent-gatherers. Twenty inferior officers, and college ſervants. In all, one hundred and eighty-ſix."

The college itſelf was to have been built upon the ſite of St. Frideſwell's priory, which was one of the houſes diſſolved to endow it. But on Wolſey's fall, all his grand deſign was dropped, and the foundation itſelf, with all its revenues, were forfeited to the king: who in part, however, purſued the cardinal's ſcheme, and the foundation is now called Chriſt-church College, and is provided with a dean, eight canons, three public profeſſors of divinity, Hebrew, and Greek, ſixty ſtudents, eight chaplains, eight ſinging-men, an organiſt, a ſchool-maſter, an uſher, forty boys, and twenty-four almſmen.

The reader will find in the civil parts of this hiſtory, ſuch full accounts of the progreſs of Henry's divorce, and of thoſe ſteps which induced and enabled him to ſhake off his obedience to the papal power, that I ſhall reſume no part of thoſe matters here, but content myſelf with opening to the reader the co-operative means which Providence furniſhed to ſecond the great work of reformation. The diſpleaſure which Wolſey ſaw he had incurred from queen Anne Boleyn, for his proceedings in the affair of Henry's divorce, made him very jealous of the Lutheran party, who he knew would omit no

opportunity of contributing to his ruin, and he ordered Sampſon, dean of the king's chapel, to have a ſtrict eye over all Lutheran books brought into the court, leſt Henry, by reading them, ſhould get a reliſh of their doctrine. A book happened to be publiſhed at this time by Tindal, an eminent reformer of thoſe days, entitled, The Obedience of a Chriſtian Man, and was privately lent by the queen to Mrs. Guynſford, one of her maids of honour, who lent it to a young gentleman who courted her, one Mr. Zouch, in whoſe hands Sampſon ſeized the book, and delivered it to the cardinal. This diſcovery alarmed the queen and all concerned, it being a matter which touched their lives; and the queen, to prevent any bad impreſſions upon Henry, threw herſelf at his feet, and with tears and entreaties obtained from him an order that the book ſhould be reſtored to her: after this ſhe threw herſelf again at his feet, intreating him to read it, which Henry conſenting to, he is ſaid from that time to have taken the reſolution of diſclaiming many doctrines, as well as throwing off the ſupremacy of the Romiſh church. Till then he had entertained a notion, that the doctrines of the Lutherans tended to rebellion as well as hereſy; but this book, which is written in a more dutiful ſtrain towards the civil power, than any publiſhed by the papiſts of that reign, convinced him of his miſtake.

Upon the fall of Wolſey we have, in the civil hiſtory, ſeen the demands of Henry upon his clergy, and in what manner they ſubſcribed the articles in which they owned his ſupremacy. Cranmer being appointed archbiſhop of Canterbury, the king deliberated with him about the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries; and it was reſolved that this ſhould be preceded by a viſitation, which, in all probability, would reconcile the people to the ſcheme, by bringing to light the vices and impoſtures practiſed in religious houſes. Cromwell was created vicar-general, with ſuch powers as ſuſpended all epiſcopal juriſdiction; and the power he delegated to his deputies enabling them to confirm or annul the election of prelates, to ſuſpend or deprive them, to convene ſynods, try eccleſiaſtical cauſes, paſs cenſures, or grant penſions to ſuch monks as might be willing to quit a monaſtic life; their inſtructions were extremely minute, touching their enquiry into the doctrines, morals, and behaviour of abbots and abbeſſes, nuns and friars; and they followed them with the utmoſt rigour, diſcloſing ſuch ſcenes of vice, obſcenity, and impoſture, as expoſed them to the deteſtation of all thoſe who retained the leaſt regard for decency and good order. After three hundred and ſeventy-ſix abbeys had been ſuppreſſed, when a motion was made in convocation for tranſlating the Bible into the Engliſh language, Gardiner and the popiſh biſhops oppoſed it with all their power, till Henry himſelf ordered that the tranſlation ſhould be begun; and it was afterwards printed at Paris. In the mean time an Engliſh book, called The King's Primer, was publiſhed, containing the doctrines of Chriſtianity, ſet forth in a plain familiar manner, and expoſing the ſuperſtitions of the Romiſh clergy.

A convocation being held in the year 1536, to confirm the ſentence againſt the king's marriage, the lower houſe preſented the upper with fifty-nine opinions meriting reformation, extracted from the writings of Cranmer and the proteſtant party. After a long debate, they eſtabliſhed a ſet of articles, called the Six Articles, concerning religion, ſome of which we have already mentioned under the reign of Henry, and the reſt may be found at large in biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, but are too long to be inſerted here. Theſe articles were publiſhed, with a preface, by Henry himſelf.

The pope having ſummoned Henry to his council at Mantua, the king proteſted againſt the legality and proceedings of this aſſembly, and was ſeconded by the convocation of Canterbury. Hitherto he had acted under the ſanction of this authority, but now Cromwell, as his vicar-general, independent of all reſtriction, publiſhed a ſet of inſtructions to the clergy, inforcing the late articles, and recommending order and diſcipline among the people. Theſe were followed by a viſitation and diſſolution of the leſſer monaſteries (i. e. ſuch as had eſtates not exceeding two hundred pounds per annum.) Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that the full report of the viſitation of thoſe houſes (previous to their ſuppreſſion) is loſt; yet he ſaw an extract of a part of it, concerning one hundred and forty-four houſes, which contained abominations in it equal to any that were in Sodom. In ſome they found tools for coining; and, briefly, in almoſt all of them the greateſt lewdneſs and wickedneſs. The lord Herbert ſays, that the yearly amount of all theſe leſſer monaſteries was thirty-two thouſand pounds; but the king ſold them at eaſy rates to enable them to keep up the hoſpitality which the monks had done, when they were poſſeſſed of them, adding thereto a penalty of ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence per month on the farmers and poſſeſſors of the monaſteries and lands belonging to them, on failure of keeping up hoſpitality and huſbandry therein: "but (adds his lordſhip) the penalty being not ordinarily required, due hoſpitality was for the moſt part neglected; for the forfeitures, being great, were, at the ſupplication of the parliament (21 Jac. I. cap. xxviii.) wholly aboliſhed at length, by the indulgence of that king." Somewhat ſurely ought to have been done in time for preventing the poor from becoming ſo heavy a weight on the landed and trading intereſts, as it was eaſy to foreſee they would become, on the ſuppreſſion of thoſe monaſteries, whoſe kitchens were ever open to the poor of the neighbourhood. Had the purchaſers of thoſe church-lands, in every pariſh, been obliged by their tenures to ſupport the poor thereof, or at leaſt to contribute thereto in a much greater and fixed proportion than others, it would have been extremely reaſonable, as they purchaſed them at very low prices: this would have been more conducive to the benefit of a free and trading people, than the lord Herbert's ſcheme, of annexing them all to the crown for ever, for enabling our kings to keep a good army and navy, without being obliged to have recourſe to the people's purſes from time to time: a dangerous ſcheme for a free people.

It is ſaid that there were ten thouſand monks and nuns diſmiſſed by the ſaid ſuppreſſion of leſſer monaſteries, to ſeek their living where they could: to the men, if in orders, was given a prieſt's habit, and forty ſhillings in money; but to the nuns, only a gown, ſuch as ſecular women wore. Some however, ſays lord Herbert, for ſurrendering their houſes, got a ſmall yearly penſion. Now if the ſaid ten thouſand perſons could not, whilſt in their monaſteries, ſpend leſs annually than ſeven pounds each

on a medium, then the ſaid eſtates were at leaſt ſeventy thouſand pounds per annum; which ſum, by the increaſed value of lands, and other improvements in our days, equal to three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds (at the rate of five to one) would be probably leſs than their yearly value at this day.

In the year 1538 was begun, and in 1539 was completed, the diſſolution of all the remaining abbeys, called the greater ones, and ſoon after thoſe of Ireland.

Lord Herbert computes the total yearly value of them all (both greater and leſſer ones) to be one hundred and ſixty one thouſand pounds; but this is far from being an exact account of their annual value, for the abbots and priors, foreſeeing the impending diſſolution, had raiſed the fines for leaſes very high, which brought the rents very low in conſequence, that they might thereby have wherewithal to ſupport themſelves when they ſhould be expelled. Indeed the heads of theſe convents had, in part at leaſt, long before fallen into that practice, that they might not be bound to entertain too great a number in their houſes, whereby they muſt have enriched themſelves.

The nameleſs author of a ſmall folio printed anno 1689, with the title of The happy future State of England (ſaid by many to be the earl of Angleſey), thinks there were in all about fifty thouſand perſons maintained in all the convents of England and Wales. Now if they were then maintained at ſeven pounds each perſon, their annual expence would be three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, which probably was about the then yearly value of their lands; and living being at that time five times cheaper than in our times, the total yearly value of their lands in our money would be one million ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. And if, on an average, thoſe lands be worth twenty years purchaſe (as being ſince greatly improved), then the now total value or purchaſe of all the ſaid abbey-lands may be about thirty-five millions ſterling. That anonymous author farther obſerves, that as Camden, in his Britannia (anno 1607), makes all the pariſhes of England amount to nine thouſand two hundred and eighty-four; thereto may be added twenty-ſix biſhoprics, twenty-ſix deaneries, ſixty archdeaconries, and five hundred and forty-four prebends; theſe, joined to ſeveral rural deaneries, may make about one thouſand more (though here our author ſeems to have forgot that the deans and archdeacons, as well as the prebendaries, have, almoſt without exception, at leaſt one pariſh living, in ſome of which he may officiate (though but few) without entertaining a curate.) And (continues he) there being then (i. e. at the diſſolution of the monaſteries) in Oxford and Cambridge about ſixty thouſand ſtudents, who, in expectation of church-preferments, either as regulars or ſeculars, abſtained from marriage, there were then in all about one hundred and twenty thouſand perſons reſtrained by their function from increaſing and multiplying. As at preſent, double (he ſhould, at leaſt, ſurely have ſaid treble) that number is in France; which conſideration alone gives a conſiderable advantage to proteſtant countries in point of commerce as well as popularity. And reckoning that every marriage one with another produces four children (viz. two of each ſex) thoſe would more than double that number in the ſame age. This, we doubt, is not ſtrictly true.

According to Camden's Britannia, the number of monaſteries ſuppreſſed in England and Wales, firſt and laſt, was ſix hundred and forty-three, beſides ninety colleges, two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chantries and free chapels, and one hundred and ten hoſpitals. It is now too late to lament the demolition of all the monaſteries, two or three of which in every county (as being many of them ſpacious and ſtately edifices), would excellently well have ſerved for county-hoſpitals and work-houſes: much more ſhould the overthrow of the colleges be lamented, ſince even the two illuſtrious univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge were included in the diſſolution-act, and it was ſome time after, that the king was, with much difficulty, induced to continue them in their former condition. Yet ſo inconſiſtent was he, almoſt at the ſame time, as to found new and magnificent colleges in the ſaid univerſities. And what ſhall we likewiſe ſay of the deſtroying of ſuch as were real hoſpitals for the ſick poor, the moſt innocent and uſeful of any kind of charity whatever? There was no one perſon in Henry's dominions who durſt openly diſſent from his ſyſtem, except Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury; and we have already obſerved, in the civil hiſtory, that this prelate was ſcreened from deſtruction by the perſonal affection of the king.

After the fall of Cromwell, the archbiſhop was obliged to proceed with great caution, and reſolved to befriend the proteſtants, by gradually ſapping the foundations of the Romiſh religion; he even made a motion in the houſe of lords for moderating the Six Articles, which had been the foundation of a moſt cruel perſecution; and, though unſupported by the other prelates, he argued with ſuch ſtrength of reaſon, that the houſe agreed to the act of mitigation. He actually finiſhed the draught of a code, intituled "Reformatio legum eccleſiaſticarum," which he preſented to the king at Hampton-court; and letters patent were drawn up for authorizing this digeſt: nay Henry, about this time, ſeemed bent upon a farther reformation. In a letter to the archbiſhop, he forbad the practice of creeping to the croſs, and of ſeveral other ſuperſtitious ceremonies of popery. But his intention was partly fruſtrated by Gardiner, who, in a letter to him from the Imperial court, where he reſided, gave him to underſtand, that if any farther innovations ſhould be made in the religion of England, the emperor would never conſent to a pacification. This was the true reaſon for dropping the ſcheme of the digeſt, in which Cranmer had made ſuch conſiderable progreſs. Nevertheleſs, Cranmer, in obedience to Henry's commands, tranſlated the Liturgy and ſome proceſſions into the Engliſh language.

Henry himſelf was, indeed, very intent upon the great work of reformation he propoſed in religion; and the ſum of it having been drawn up in The neceſſary Erudition of a Chriſtian Man, this book was publiſhed by authority, and recommended to all perſons as a rule for directing their belief and practice. It contained a rational account of the Chriſtian covenant, with an expoſition of the Apoſtles Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Ten Commandments, and the ſacraments; and though theſe laſt, and the doctrines relating to them, were aſſerted therein agreeable to what had been determined in the ſtatute of the Six Articles, yet the worſhip of ſaints, pilgrimages, and other

BRITISH
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MUSEUM

The first Translation of the Bible, presented to Henry VIII.

C. Grignion Sculp.

To his Grace William Cavendish,
Duke of Devonshire,
This Plate is most humbly Inscribed.

ſuperſtitions, which had for ſome ages debaſed religion, were condemned: the king's ſupremacy in eccleſiaſtical matters was explained ſo as to prevent any juſt offence being taken at his title of Head; the pope's pretenſions were refuted; the Holy Catholic Church was defined to be an aggregate body, "comprehending all aſſemblies of men over the whole earth, that receive the faith of Chriſt, who ought to hold in unity of love and brotherly agreement together, by which they become members of the catholic church:" and the unreaſonableneſs of placing its unity in a ſubmiſſion to the biſhop of Rome, is fully ſhewed. Sinners were taught to depend wholly upon the merits of Chriſt; unlearned people were exhorted to pray in their mother-tongue; and a foundation laid for a farther reformation, by declaring "every national church to be a complete body within itſelf, with power to reform hereſies, correct abuſes, and do every thing elſe neceſſary for keeping itſelf pure, and governing its members."

To complete his deſigns for the inſtruction of the people, Cranmer had prevailed upon Henry to cauſe the Bible to be tranſlated into Engliſh, and publiſhed: it accordingly appeared in Engliſh in the year 1541, under the following title: "The Bible in Engliſh, of the largeſt and greateſt Volume, uſed and appointed by our ſovereign Prince, King Henry VIII. ſupreme Head of the Church and Realm of England, to be frequented and uſed in every Church within this his ſaid Realm, according to the Tenor of his former Injunctions given in that behalf: overſeen and peruſed, at the Command of the King's Highneſs, by the reverend Fathers in God, Cuthbert, biſhop of Durham, and Nicholas, biſhop of Rocheſter. Printed by Richard Grafton, cum privilegio ad imprimendum ſolum, 1541." The printing this Bible was looked upon as a great point gained for the Reformation; but ſtill the fires of Smithfield blazed with the bodies of proteſtants as well as papiſts. Cranmer, imperceptibly, was gaining ground on many of the groſſeſt abſurdities of the church of Rome: he had wrote a preface to the lately publiſhed tranſlation of the Bible, which had been tranſlated by Tindal, and reviſed by Coverdale: and even Bonner was obliged to fix up ſix copies of the ſame in his cathedral of St. Paul's. In this convocation he propoſed, with Henry's leave, that candles, ſilk habits, and other ornaments of images might be taken away; and he deſired that each morning and evening a chapter of the New Teſtament ſhould be read in every church.

Towards the latter end of his reign Henry became more and more arbitrary, both in ſpirituals and temporals. The archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, Bonner, biſhop of London, and ſeveral other prelates, were fain to make conveyances in his favour of many manors belonging to their reſpective dioceſes, upon very ſlight conſiderations; and theſe deeds were confirmed by parliament, which had already veſted in him all the colleges, free chapels, and other remaining religious endowments. In the laſt year of his reign the French king ſent over Annibault, his admiral, with a propoſal for aboliſhing the maſs in both kingdoms; and Henry reliſhed the ſcheme ſo well, that he ordered Cranmer to draw up the form of a communion to be ſubſtituted in the room of it; but his death prevented it from being put in execution.

When Edward ſucceeded to the throne, the archbiſhop exerted all his influence to complete the Reformation. The king had been inſtructed by tutors who were attached to the proteſtant doctrines; and the protector openly favoured that religion. Cranmer was aſſiſted by Barlow, biſhop of St. David's, Ridley, afterwards biſhop of London, and ſeveral other able preachers, who, by their zeal and elocution, contributed to the ſucceſs of his endeavours. Gardiner perceiving, by the complexion of the miniſtry and the inclinations of the people, that he ſhould be of very little ſervice to the cauſe of popery by openly oppoſing the tenets of the Reformation, endeavoured to check the progreſs of them by repreſenting to the protector, that all innovations during a minority would produce confuſion and diſturbance in the ſtate, and propoſing that matters of religion ſhould continue in the ſtate they were left at the death of Henry, until the reigning king ſhould take the management of affairs into his own hands. Very little regard was paid to his inſinuations. A book written againſt the corruptions of popery, and publiſhed by Harman, archbiſhop and elector of Cologne, was now tranſlated into the Engliſh language, and printed at London by the direction of Cranmer. This performance made a ſtrong impreſſion on the minds of the people; which were farther enlightened by Marcat's Declaration of the Maſs, and a Paraphraſe of Eraſmus on the New Teſtament, which were carefully tranſlated, and publiſhed for the general uſe of the nation. Glaſier, in a ſermon at St. Paul's church, affirmed that the inſtitution of Lent was no more than a politic law; and others preached againſt the other parts of the popiſh worſhip: but theſe were vehemently oppoſed by the inferior clergy, who derived their ſubſiſtence from the fees they received by the ſacrament and other ſacramentals, and chiefly by ſinging maſſes for the departed ſouls of the poor, for which they charged two pence a maſs. Theſe therefore were enemies to the Reformation, which would have deprived them of bread; and they were ſupported by Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonſtal, who declared againſt all alteration in religion; but the chief of the party was the princeſs Mary, who now openly eſpouſed the regulations of her father, and in particular the act of the Six Articles.

It may not be amiſs in this place to give a ſhort account of the Engliſh biſhops at this juncture, extracted from the beſt authorities, as it will ſerve to ſhew the reader what difficulties Cranmer had to ſtruggle with in promoting the Reformation.

Holgate, archbiſhop of York, Holbeach, biſhop of Worceſter, Goodrick, biſhop of Ely, and Ridley biſhop elect of Rocheſter, ſeconded Cranmer's deſigns: Latimer, who had quitted his biſhopric in the late reign, lived in retirement with Cranmer at Lambeth, without being reinſtated in his ſee: Heath, who had ſucceeded Latimer, was of any religion that could ſecure his own preferment: Thirlby, made biſhop of Weſtminſter by Henry, was an excellent courtier and a fine gentleman, but a ſtrict papiſt: Skip, biſhop of Hereford, was a time-ſerver, though he had been raiſed by Anne Boleyn for his zeal for the Reformation: Day, biſhop of Chicheſter, ſeems to have been a man of conſcience, but inclined more to popery than the Reformation: King, biſhop of Oxford, was always of the ſame religion with the prince upon the throne:

throne: Chambre, biſhop of Peterborough, was a court biſhop, and we know little of his principles: Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, was a prelate of virtue and moderation, and well-affected to the royal ſupremacy, but was a papiſt in the belief of tranſubſtantiation and other points: Goodrick, biſhop of Ely, was, as we have already ſeen, a friend to Cranmer, but was too good a courtier to be ſo uſeful as he might have been to the Reformation: Sampſon, biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry, had eſpouſed the royal reformation againſt the pope, but was a papiſt and time-ſerving prelate: Salcot, otherwiſe called Capon, biſhop of Saliſbury, was a worthleſs and mercenary man, and a papiſt: Knight, biſhop of Bath and Wells, was looked upon to be a good ſtateſman, but in matters of religion he ſeems to have been indifferent: Veſey, biſhop of Exeter, minded little of religious matters, but ſupported great pomp and figure in life, and, upon a valuable conſideration, reſigned his biſhopric in this reign; but inclining to popery, reſumed it in the next: Buſh, biſhop of Briſtol, was a man of learning and merit, therefore we may ſuppoſe him to have favoured the Reformation: Aldrich, biſhop of Carliſle, was a man of learning, but a time-ſerver, and in his heart a papiſt: Bird, biſhop of Cheſter, though married, was a papiſt, as appeared by the encouragement he met with under queen Mary. Barlow, biſhop of St. David's, had been advanced by the recommendation of queen Anne Boleyn to Wolſey, and continued his zeal for reformation; he likewiſe was married: Kitchen, biſhop of Llandaff, was a mean mercenary prelate, and if he had any religion, it was popiſh: and the ſame may be ſaid of Bulkeley, biſhop of Bangor, and of Durphew, biſhop of St. Aſaph.

On the fifth of November, 1547, the convocation met, and Taylor, dean of Lincoln, was choſen prolocutor. Cranmer opened the aſſembly with a ſpeech, in which he preſſed the members to a farther reformation, that the remains of popery might be entirely laid aſide. The lower houſe preſented four petitions to the upper houſe, praying that the eccleſiaſtical laws might be reviewed and publiſhed, purſuant to a ſtatute enacted in the late reign; that the clergy of the lower houſe might be admitted to ſit in parliament with the commons, according to the ancient uſage; that the corrections made by the biſhops and others, in the offices of divine ſervice, by order of this convocation, might be laid before the houſe; and that the rigour of the ſtatute for the payment of the firſt-fruits might be mitigated. The attendance of the lower clergy in parliament had been two hundred years in diſuſe, and therefore no regard was paid to this petition. It was reſolved, however, that ſome biſhops and divines ſhould be appointed to labour for the reformation of the church-ſervice. In this convocation a motion was made for annulling all canons, laws, and uſages, againſt the marriage of prieſts; and likewiſe all vows of celibacy; and a reſolution taken to adminiſter the communion in both kinds. This was immediately confirmed by act of parliament.

At the ſame time the privy-council publiſhed a proclamation, indemnifying all thoſe who had omitted carrying candles on Candlemas-day, taking aſhes on Aſh-Wedneſday, creeping to the croſs, carrying palms, and other ceremonies of ſuperſtition. They likewiſe directed a mandate to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, for a general ſuppreſſion of images; and this order was rigorouſly put into execution, though not without a dangerous oppoſition. Cranmer's next care was to form a committee for reforming the offices of the church: it was compoſed of eminent preachers and doctors in divinity, who proceeded with great accuracy and circumſpection. A form being drawn up for the communion in both kinds, was publiſhed by the king's proclamation, and the book diſtributed to all the pariſhes of England.

The new Liturgy being eſtabliſhed, and the act of Uniformity paſſed, another viſitation was ſet on foot: the inſtructions given to the viſitors imported, that in all pariſh-churches, the ſervice ſhould be read in a plain audible voice, as the people did not underſtand it while the prieſts retained the tone they uſed in reading Latin prayers: that ſome of the old rites ſhould be aboliſhed, ſuch as prieſts kiſſing the altar, the practice of croſſing, lifting the book from one place to another, breathing on the bread and ſhewing it before the diſtribution, praying by beads, and ſubſtituting a certain number of Ave Marias for one Pater noſter: that the prieſt ſhould exhort the people to remember the box of the poor; and that curates ſhould catechiſe at leaſt once in ſix weeks: that the communion ſhould not be ſold in trentals; and that there ſhould be but one communion in one church, except on Eaſter-day and Chriſtmas, when people came to the ſacrament in greater numbers: and that no market ſhould be held, or bargains made, in churches or churchyards, eſpecially in time of divine ſervice, or ſermon. Cranmer at the ſame time held a provincial viſitation, in which the articles were drawn according to the king's injunction. The council ſent orders to London, to forbid ſpecial maſſes in St. Paul's church, and to take care that there ſhould be only one communion at the great altar. Gardiner alſo, to whom the new Common Prayer and the other offices, compoſed by the committee, were extremely diſagreeable, exerted all his eloquence and influence in exciting the people to reject ſuch innovations; he was ſeveral times ſummoned before the council, and reprimanded, for the liberties he had taken in defending popery: at length he flatly told the protector duke of Somerſet, that, as a biſhop, he could not be anſwerable to his own conſcience for omitting to preach upon the maſs and euchariſt, which he had conceived to be the principal points of the Chriſtian religion. He was therefore committed to the Tower, and all his papers were ſecured.

In the year 1551, Cranmer and the other prelates of the Reformation, at the remonſtrances of Peter Martyr and Calvin, the famous reformer of Geneva, were prevailed upon to ſuffer a reviſal and correction of the Book of Common Prayer. This was accordingly done, and ſome alterations were made in things which Cranmer had rather tolerated for the ſake of bringing over the papiſts, than for any opinion he had of their efficacy. The uſe of oil and the ſign of the croſs were omitted in confirmation; as was extreme unction in the viſitation of the ſick; and the prayers for the dead, in the communion and burial ſervices. Many other alterations alſo took place, to the diſcredit of tranſubſtantiation; and ſome conſiderable variations were made in the forms of delivering the conſecrated elements. Cranmer then, by order of the king and council, proceeded to draw up articles of religion, for

greater uniformity of doctrine and practice: this was a favourite meaſure with Cranmer, and we have elſewhere mentioned the progreſs which he made in it. They were afterwards publiſhed, and differ only in ſome particulars from thoſe authorized by Elizabeth in 1562.

In the laſt parliament of Edward, an act was paſſed for dividing the dioceſe of Durham into two biſhoprics, one of which was denominated the ſee of Newcaſtle. The council afterwards appointed viſitors, to make an enquiry about the plate, jewels, and other furniture, in all cathedrals and churches, and compare what they ſhould find with the inventories made in former viſitations, that they might know how far, and in what manner, it had been embezzled.

Upon the acceſſion of queen Mary, all the deprived popiſh biſhops were reſtored, and conſequently the proteſtants, who had filled their ſees, were ſet aſide; and a letter was iſſued to the biſhops, attended by a proclamation, forbidding all exerciſes of preaching and expounding the Scriptures, without the queen's licence: and one of Mary's firſt meaſures, after the parliament met, was to repeal Edward's laws in favour of the Reformation, and to reſtore religion to the ſtate Henry VIII. had left it in. Another act was made againſt affronting prieſts, and another repealing all acts allowing marriage in the clergy. Upon the ſuppreſſion of Wyatt's rebellion, the queen directed inſtructions to biſhops for viſiting their clergy. Thoſe inſtructions inveighed ſtrongly againſt the religion eſtabliſhed by king Edward, and then proceeded to require, "that the biſhops, and others having eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, ſhall, with all poſſible expedition, put the canons and eccleſiaſtical laws in execution, which were formerly uſed in the reign of king Henry VIII. provided they are not contrary to the laws and ſtatutes of the realm: that no biſhop, or eccleſiaſtical officer, ſhall in any inſtrument of proceſs inſert the clauſe, "regia authoritate fulctus:" that the oath of primacy or ſucceſſion, that is, the oath of ſupremacy, ſhould not be impoſed on the clergy at ordination or admiſſion to benefices; with many others in favour of popery, too numerous to be here inſerted.

After this, commiſſions were iſſued for depriving the biſhops who had been favourable to the Reformation; and according to biſhop Burnet, no fewer than twelve thouſand clergymen, throughout England, were turned out of their benefices, on account of their being married. Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, were committed, by the queen's order, to the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford, where they were obliged to diſpute with four popiſh divines in public, and treated with the moſt inſolent partiality. Thoſe who were impriſoned in and about London, drew up repeated addreſſes and petitions to the queen and parliament; and theſe being altogether neglected, their friends and partizans were inflamed into ſome indecencies againſt the government, which were productive of a ſevere perſecution.

In the beginning of this reign a great number of Engliſh proteſtants retired to the continent, and ſettled in ſeveral places. Thoſe reſiding at Franckfort were greatly influenced by John Knox, the Scottiſh reformer, who exclaimed againſt the Engliſh Liturgy, and was a violent aſſertor of purity in the church-government. Theſe principles produced a ſchiſm among the Engliſh refugees: thoſe who had retired to Zurich diſclaimed all ſuch innovations: Knox and Wittingham conſulted Calvin, who diſapproved the Engliſh ſervice. Nevertheleſs, they agreed to compromiſe the difference, and to compile a new liturgy from thoſe of England and Geneva. Dr. Cox, however, with ſome other refugees, arriving at Franckfort, acquired a majority in the aſſembly, and fixed the imputation of treaſon upon Knox and his party. They ſupported the charge from parts of his own writings, levelled not only at queen Mary, but againſt the emperor, ſo that he was obliged to take refuge in Geneva; and Cox modelled the church at Franckfort according to the Engliſh conſtitution.

In the mean while the perſecution, as we have ſeen in the civil part of the hiſtory, proceeded very warmly in England; and a reſolution was taken, if poſſible, to bring into the univerſities a teſt for purging them of all proteſtants, and to prevent their admiſſion for the future: this was done by way of oath, which being very remarkable, I ſhall here tranſcribe:

"You ſhall ſwear by the holy contents of this book, that you ſhall not keep, hold, maintain, and defend, at any time, during your life, any opinion erroneous or error of Wickliff, Hus, Luther, or any other condemned of hereſy; and that you ſhall keep, hold, maintain, and defend, generally and eſpecially, all ſuch articles and points as the catholic church of Rome believeth, holdeth, or maintaineth, at this time; and that ye ſhall allow and accept, maintain and defend, for their power, all traditions, inſtitutions, rites, ceremonies, and laudable cuſtoms of the ſaid church of Rome as ſhe taketh them, alloweth them, and approveth them; and that you ſhall generally and eſpecially hold as the ſaid catholic church holdeth, in all thoſe articles wherein lately hath been controverſy, diſſention, and error, as concerning faith and works, grace and free-will, of ſin [in a good work, of the ſacrifice of the New Teſtament, of the prieſthood of the new law, of communion under both kinds, of baptiſm and Chriſtian liberty, of monaſtic vows, of faſtings and choice of meats, of the ſingle life of prieſts, of the church, of the canonical books, of the form of holding of matters not expreſſed in Scripture, of the inerrability of general councils in faith and manners, of the power of the church to make laws, of the church's ſacraments, and efficacy of the power of excommunication conferred upon the church, of puniſhing heretics, of the ſacrifice of the maſs, of purgatory, of worſhipping ſaints and praying to them, of worſhipping the images of ſaints, of pilgrimages, of evangelical precepts and councils; and likewiſe of all other articles wherein controverſy or diſſention hath been in the church before this day."

It doth not appear that this oath was preſſed more than one year; for, towards the end of the year 1557, the queen was ſo much exaſperated upon being informed, that, notwithſtanding all the ſevere methods that had been uſed, the number of Engliſh heretics was rather increaſed than diminiſhed, that ſhe iſſued out commiſſions that fell very little ſhort of the inquiſition. Among other ſufferers, was John Rough, a Scotchman, who had ſignalized his zeal for the Reformation, both in his own country and in England, where he held a benefice in Yorkſhire; the government therefore finding that he had enjoyed a local protection, ordered him to be tried before Bonner, who condemned him to

the ſtake, and he was burned in Smithfield, together with a woman of the ſame communion. Theſe, and the many raging inhumanities of this time, were principally promoted, as we have already ſeen, by cardinal Pole, who went to a ridiculous degree of zeal.

About this time, Weſton, dean of Weſtminſter, was prevailed on, or intimidated, to ſurrender the foundation of that houſe, which was again converted into an abbey, and the government of it beſtowed upon Dr. Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, who had under him fourteen monks. The queen likewiſe reſtored and rebuilt the convent of Obſervants, at Greenwich, in gratitude for their having diſtinguiſhed themſelves in oppoſition to her father's divorce from her mother: ſhe likewiſe reſtored the nunnery of Sion, near Brentford, in Middleſex; and furniſhed the ancient monaſtery of Sheen, near Richmond, in Surry, with a convent of Carthuſians. The fraternity of Knights Hoſpitallers of Jeruſalem was refounded, and ſir Thomas Treſham was made lord prior; but he dying, that dignity was conferred upon ſir Richard Shelley, whoſe preferment was confirmed by the pope, and he was the laſt grand-maſter of that order in England. Mary likewiſe re-endowed the hoſpital in the Savoy; and made an attempt to reſettle the monaſtery of Glaſtonbury. Towards the end of this reign Pole gave out articles of enquiry for the viſitation of his dioceſe of Canterbury, which regarded both clergy and laity, and were well calculated to promote the deteſtable perſecution that then raged. The other chief eccleſiaſtical events of this reign are mentioned in the civil hiſtory.

Upon the acceſſion of Elizabeth to the throne, all the eccleſiaſtical meaſures which had been taken in the laſt reign were reverſed. Soon after the queen's coming to the crown, ſhe, by proclamation, ordered the Engliſh Liturgy, as it was uſed in her own chapel, together with the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Epiſtles and Goſpels, to be read in all churches and chapels throughout her dominions, in the vulgar tongue; her firſt parliament reſtored the firſt-fruits and tenths to the crown; the ſupreme government of the ſtate eccleſiaſtical, and the Book of Common Prayer and Adminiſtration of Sacraments in the Engliſh Tongue, were alſo reſtored: and thus, by degrees the proteſtant religion was again eſtabliſhed. The biſhops that refuſed the oath of ſupremacy were all removed, and proteſtant biſhops placed in their room. It was enacted, that all perſons ſhould go to divine ſervice on Sundays and holidays; and a fine of one ſhilling was impoſed upon every abſentee, the ſame to be given to the poor. The queen, in virtue of her reſtored ſupremacy, prepared a ſet of injunctions, which contains ſo good an account of the declared ſenſe of the church of England in matters of religion at this time, that I cannot refuſe the reader a peruſal of them.

"It was no where declared, either in the Scriptures, or by the primitive church, that prieſts might not have wives; upon which many, in king Edward's time, had married: yet great offence was given by the indecent marriages ſome of them made. To prevent the like ſcandal for the future, it was ordered, that no prieſt or deacon ſhould marry without allowance from the biſhop, two juſtices of the peace, and the conſent of the woman's parents or friends. All the clergy were to uſe habits according to the degrees in their univerſities; the queen declaring that this was not done for any holineſs in them, but for order and decency. No man might uſe any charm, or conſult with ſuch as did. All were to reſort to their own pariſh-churches, except on extraordinary occaſions. Inn-keepers were to ſell nothing in the time of divine ſervice. None were to keep images, or other monuments of ſuperſtition in their houſes. None might preach but ſuch as were licenced by their ordinary. In all places they were to examine the cauſes why any, in the late reign, had been impriſoned, puniſhed, or put to death, upon the pretence of religion; and all regiſters were to be ſearched for it. In every pariſh the ordinary was to name three or four diſcreet perſons, who were to ſee that all the pariſhioners did duly reſort on Sundays and holidays to church; and thoſe who did not, and upon admonition did not amend, were to be denounced to the ordinary. On Wedneſdays and Fridays the Common Prayer and Litany were to be uſed in all churches. All ſlanderous words, as Prieſt, Heretic, Schiſmatic, and Sacramentarian, were to be forborne, under ſevere penalties. No books might be printed without a licence from the queen, the archbiſhop, the biſhop of London, the chancellor of either of the univerſities, or the biſhop or archdeacon where it was printed. All were to kneel at their prayers, and to ſhew a reverence when the name of Jeſus was pronounced." Then follows an explanation of the oath of ſupremacy, in which the queen declared, "that ſhe did not pretend to any authority for adminiſtering divine ſervice in the church; and that all ſhe challenged, was that which at all times had belonged to the temporal crown of England: that ſhe had the ſovereignty and rule over all manner of perſons, under God, ſo that no foreign power had any rule over them; and if thoſe who had formerly appeared to have any ſcruples about it, took it in that ſenſe, ſhe was well pleaſed to accept of it, and did acquit them of all penalties in the act." The next was about altars and communion-tables: ſhe ordered, that for the future, for the preventing of riots, no altar ſhould be taken down without the conſent of the curates and church-wardens; that a communion-table ſhould be made for every church; and that, on ſacrament-days, it ſhould be ſet in ſome convenient place in the chancel, and at other times it ſhould be placed where the altar had ſtood. The ſacrament-bread was ordered to be round and plain, without any figure on it, but ſomewhat broader and thicker than the cakes formerly prepared for the maſs. Then the form of bidding-prayer was preſcribed, with ſome variation from that of king Edward's time; for whereas to the thankſgiving for God's bleſſing to the church in the ſaints departed this life, a prayer was added, "that they with us, and we with them, may have a glorious reſurrection;" now the words *they with us*, as ſeeming to import a prayer for the dead, were left out.

The queen next gave orders for a royal viſitation of the clergy all over England. The commiſſioners were chiefly laymen, to whom ſhe committed her whole ſupremacy. The Engliſh refugees now returned to their own country; the greater part of them with ſtrong prejudices againſt the church-ſervice; and ſeveral foreign princes interceded

terceded with the queen in behalf of thoſe diſſenters, that they might be indulged with the liberty of a ſeparate worſhip. This, however, ſhe would never grant, though they enjoyed a toleration by her connivance. Dr. Parker was prevailed upon to accept the archbiſhopric of Canterbury; and the papiſts affected afterwards to ridicule the irregularity of his ordination. which they branded with the name of Nag's-head Conſecration, becauſe, after he had been conſecrated at Lambeth chapel, the officers of the court of Canterbury were entertained at a tavern of that name in Cheapſide: it appears, however, from inconteſtible evidence, that he was duly conſecrated; and thus authorized, he proceeded to the conſecration of other prelates, who were elected into vacant ſees. Jewell, biſhop of Saliſbury, publiſhed a liſt of the abſurdities in the church of Rome, and declared from the pulpit, that if any papiſt would make good a ſingle propoſition of thoſe he had ſtigmatized, either from the Scripture, from the ancient fathers, or councils, he would give up the conteſt, and ſubſcribe himſelf a proſelyte. He afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Apology for the Church of England; and acquired great reputation for learning all over Europe.

In proportion as England, by the wiſdom of its queen, enjoyed the bleſſings of peace and plenty, with the eſteem and veneration of all its neighbours, religious heats increaſed within it. The prodigious influx into England of foreign ſectaries, driven hither by perſecution, had infuſed into many of the common people an inclination for the plainer modes of worſhip practiſed abroad; and ſeveral Engliſh noblemen, allured by the ſweets of ſacrilege, were ſo forward in encouraging ſuch doctrines, that in a few years a formidable party was formed in England againſt the church.

This party, which was known by the name of the Puritans, as affecting ſtrict evangelical purity in the doctrine, habit, and ceremonies of holy worſhip, was chiefly under the guidance of Thomas Cartwright, of the univerſity of Cambridge, under whom, and the auſpices of Theodore Beza, a foreigner, they greatly gained ground, and grew ſo troubleſome to the queen and kingdom, by their writings and preachings, and publicly refuſing to attend the divine ſervice of the eſtabliſhed church, or conform to any of its rites, that Elizabeth, to ſuppreſs them, was obliged, in the year 1569, to publiſh a proclamation enjoining uniformity of worſhip and eccleſiaſtiacal habits, and that all the books of the diſſenters ſhould be delivered into the hands of the biſhops, or the queen's council, under pain of impriſonment to thoſe who concealed them. Cartwright, however, ſtill continued to publiſh pamphlets in defence of his tenets*. He was ſeconded by one Edward Deringe, who gave lectures in St. Paul's cathedral, and a preſbytery was formed at the village of Wandſworth, on the model of the Geneva inſtitution. Some dignitaries

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* I have, in this note, given the reader the heads of his opinions, by which he will perceive the total ſum of the objections of the diſſenters to the church at this period.

"I. The names and functions of archbiſhops and archdeacons ought to be ſuppreſſed,

"II. The names of the lawful miniſters of the church, ſuch as biſhops and deacons, when abſtracted from the office deſcribed in the Holy Scriptures, are likewiſe to be rejected, and the whole brought back to the apoſtolical inſtitution: and thus the biſhops function ought to be limited to praying and preaching, and the deacons to take care of the poor.

"III. The government of the church ought not to be intruſted with biſhops, chancellors, or archdeacons officials, but in the hands of the miniſters and elders of the ſame church.

"IV. That the miniſtry ought not to live at large, but that every one ought to be tied to a particular congregation.

"V. That nobody ought to ſolicit for the function of a miniſter, nor ſtand candidate as it were for that employment.

"VI. That miniſters ought not to be ordained by the ſole authority of the biſhop; much leſs are they to receive orders in a ſtudy, or ſuch private place: but this office ought to be confirmed by a public choice of the congregation."

Beſides theſe heterodoxies and miſrepreſentations of the government of the church, there were ſeveral unſound propoſitions maintained by Cartwright and his party; and of theſe the chancellor had an account ſent him this year: theſe were ranged under the following articles.

"I. In reforming the church, it is neceſſary to proceed upon the firſt model, and to bring every thing up to an apoſtolical inſtitution.

"II. None ought to be admitted into the miniſtry, unleſs qualified for teaching; and thoſe who have no claim for this function, ought to forfeit their character, and be diſcharged.

"III. Preaching, praying, and adminiſtering the ſacraments, ought to be performed by the ſame perſon: from hence it follows, that thoſe who are miniſters of the word, that is, thoſe who cannot preach, ought neither to pray publicly for the congregation, nor adminiſter the ſacraments.

"IV. Popiſh prieſts have no authority to be miniſters of the Goſpel by virtue of their own ordination.

"V. Nothing but canonical Scripture ought to be publicly read in the church.

"VI. The church liturgy ought to be ſo formed for the public ſervice, that no allowance ſhould be left for private prayer or reading; but that all the audience ſhould attend to the miniſter, whether preaching or praying.

"VII. That the office of burying the dead belongs no more to the miniſter, than to the reſt of the pariſh.

"VIII. That all portions of Scripture, all names and diſtinctions of God Almighty, are to be treated with the ſame reverence and regard: and therefore it is againſt reaſon to enjoin the people to ſtand at the reading of the Goſpel, or to bow, and pull off their hats, at the name of Jeſus.

"IX. That ſitting at the holy communion is as lawful and defenſible a poſture, as ſtanding or kneeling; and, over and above, it is more convenient, becauſe it gives a better image of a ſupper.

"X. That the ſacrament ought not to be delivered in private places, nor by the miniſters themſelves, and much leſs by women and private perſons, as baptiſm is ſometimes adminiſtered to infants, and the Lord's ſupper to thoſe in danger of death.

"XI. That to make uſe of the ſign of the croſs in the baptiſm of infants is a ſuperſtitious practice, and the cuſtomary reaſons for the uſe of this ceremony, makes it ſtill more intolerable.

"XII. It is very reaſonable that the father ſhould preſent the child to the church for baptiſm, and make a profeſſion of what faith he intends to inſtruct him in; and that this ought to be done without repreſenting, form, or anſwering, "I will," "I will not," "I believe," and ſo forth, in the name of the infant: neither is it to be ſuffered that the child's name ſhould be given by a woman in the church; or that an ignorant one ſhould engage for the education of the infant. By an ignorant one, is meant one not qualified to receive the Lord's ſupper.

"XIII. That in giving the names at baptiſm, all reſemblance of paganiſm ſhould be avoided; and beſides, the names of officers ſhould be declined upon ſuch occaſions, as that of Chriſt, Angel, Baptiſt, &c.

"XIV. That to forbid matrimony at certain times of the year is quite a popiſh fancy; but to take money for a licence within the times prohibited, is ſtill more intolerable.

"XV. To give any perſons liberty to marry without acquainting the congregation, who are the proper judges of the impediment (in caſe there ſhould be any) is unlawful.

"XVI. The keeping Lent, together with Friday and Saturday, either upon motives of ſuperſtition, or otherwiſe, is unlawful; neither is it a ſufficient defence to ſettle the keeping thoſe faſts upon reaſons of ſtate.

"XVII. Keeping the holidays is unlawful, and ſo are fairs, upon the Lord's day.

"XVIII. Theſe words, "Receive the Holy Ghoſt," at the ordination of miniſters, is a ridiculous and wicked expreſſion.

"XIX. Kings and biſhops ought not to be anointed." Collier, vol. ii. p. 525, 526.

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of the church took up the pen, and anſwered ſome pamphlets: a proclamation was iſſued for executing the laws againſt nonconformiſts, and ſome of the principal diſſenters were ſuſpended, deprived, and impriſoned. The ſeverities exerciſed againſt them were chiefly attributed to archbiſhop Parker, who ſuſpected them of practices againſt his perſon. He had always been a bitter enemy to their opinions, and now, perceiving they were countenanced by perſons of high rank, he complained that the church had no friend at court but the queen herſelf. She ordered the lord high-treaſurer Burleigh to make a ſevere ſpeech in the council againſt nonconformity: ſhe declared againſt the religious exerciſes of the diſſenters, and ſeemed at this juncture inclined to a perſecution; for ten Dutchmen and one woman were condemned to the ſtake for hereſy, though the ſentence was afterwards mitigated into baniſhment; yet two perſons of the ſame nation were actually burned in Smithfield.

Hitherto the papiſts in England had lived free from perſecution, nay they were even indulged with the liberty of ſolemnizing their own rites within their private houſes, though againſt the laws then in being; but when that hot haughty prelate, pope Pius V. in the year 1569, fulminated his bull againſt Elizabeth, by which he deprived her of her crown, and abſolved her ſubjects from their obedience and allegiance to her, the government, well knowing what vaſt ſwarms of miſſionaries were then in England, thought it neceſſary to redouble its circumſpection upon the popiſh party. Many gentlemen of the inns of court were brought before the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and not giving a ſatisfactory account of their principles, were ſent to priſon. The gentlemen in the commiſſion of peace all over England were obliged to ſign an inſtrument, profeſſing their conformity to, and belief in, the eſtabliſhed religion; and in the next parliament, which ſat in the year 1571, the law was enacted againſt thoſe who brought into, or offered to publiſh in England, any bulls or mandates from the pope, &c. already mentioned in the civil hiſtory of this reign†: yet, for ſix whole years together, after this law was made, it was not executed upon any papiſt, till Cuthbert Mayne, a prieſt, and an obſtinate maintainer of the pope's authority over that of the queen, was executed at Launceſton, in Cornwall; and a country gentleman who had harboured him, had his goods confiſcated, and himſelf adjudged to perpetual impriſonment.

Archbiſhop Parker dying in 1575, was ſucceeded in the ſee of Canterbury by Grindal, of York, a prelate of great moderation towards the puritans. In his firſt convocation, ſome articles for the regulation of the clergy were agreed upon; and in the ſummer after he made a metropolitical viſitation. The articles of his injunctions manifeſt a becoming concern for the doctrines and worſhip of the church; but appearing too zealous for the puritans, the members of the Star-chamber, by virtue of their eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, confined him to his houſe, and ſuſpended him for ſix months from his juriſdiction. At length, however, he was reſtored to his functions, which he exerciſed until, finding himſelf preſſed with age and infirmities, he reſigned his archbiſhopric in 1583, and retired to Croydon, where he ſoon after died.

He was ſucceeded by Dr. John Whitgift, biſhop of Worceſter, a divine who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning and regard for the church of England. The beginning of his adminiſtration was peſtered with the ſect of Browniſts, ſo called from their founder, Robert Brown, an Engliſh gentleman of Rutlandſhire, who refuſed to join the congregation in any public office of worſhip, and out-did all the other puritans in railing againſt the church. Brown having written ſome pamphlets that were obnoxious to the miniſters of the ſtate and Goſpel, Elias Thacker and John Copping, who had diſperſed ſome of them, were proſecuted by the government, and executed for their crime. As to Brown himſelf, he was a poor unſteady wrong-headed man; he was ſaved from the gallows by being kinſman to the lord Burleigh; he next conformed, and then relapſed, and conforming again, had a benefice given him: at laſt he died in jail, into which he had been thrown for the breach of the peace: his ſect, however, continued very numerous. But Whitgift was a prelate of great reſolution, and preſſed conformity as vigoroully as the queen could wiſh him: finding the diſſenters, among other things, had confined the queen's ſupremacy to a temporal juriſdiction, he took occaſion to repreſent them to Elizabeth as agreeing with the papiſts on that head. Elizabeth could not brook the leaſt oppoſition of this kind, and finding Whitgift to be a prelate according to her own mind, ſhe remitted all eccleſiaſtical buſineſſes to him, that ſhe might be free from the importunities of the great patrons of the diſſenters.

The firſt thing, therefore, that Whitgift did, was to preſs the clergy of his own dioceſe to ſubſcribe to the following articles, which had been declared lawful by the civilians and judges of England.

"I. That the biſhop, but no other inferior judge, may puniſh any perſon, eccleſiaſtical or lay, by a pecuniary mulct, for an eccleſiaſtical crime or offence, eſpecially if he ſees the party more afraid of ſuch a penalty than the church cenſures.

"II. By the eccleſiaſtical law, the ordinary may ſet a pecuniary puniſhment upon ſuch as abſent themſelves from divine ſervice without reaſonable excuſe, eſpecially when his abſence proceeds from contempt.

"III. Some canoniſts affirm, that a biſhop may make an ordinance, that an excommunicated perſon ſhall pay ten thouſand pounds for every month he ſtands excommunicated out of contempt."

The preſſing thoſe articles raiſed ſuch a ſtorm of calumny againſt the archbiſhop as muſt have cruſhed him, had he not been powerfully ſupported by Elizabeth. After various tentatives to reclaim the diſſenters, Whitgift at laſt gave the heads of them a meeting at Lambeth, in preſence of the earl of Leiceſter and other miniſters, who, though puritanically inclined, could not help deciding in his favour. Nevertheleſs, in the next parliament, a ſtrong party in the houſe of commons joined in a petition to the upper houſe in favour of the nonconformiſts; but they were baffled by the vigilance of the archbiſhop, who prevailed upon the queen to quaſh all objections from the houſe of commons, and inflict farther ſeverities on the diſſenters; they were ſubjected to the oath "ex officio," as often as it ſhould be adminiſtered, on pain of impriſon-

† See p. 382, of this volume.

ment. Cartwright was ſent to the Fleet for refuſing it; Udal, one of their preachers, was condemned to death; and Penry was executed for having written ſome ſatirical libels.

The other eccleſiaſtical occurrences of this reign are very inconſiderable; I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that the diſſenters, who, like all other ſects, increaſed under perſecution, now ſwarmed all over England; and at laſt they diſputed the legality of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion under which they had ſuffered ſo great ſeverities, and the matter was ſolemnly argued at the bar, in an action brought by one Caudrey, a deprived miniſter: many learned arguments were produced on each ſide the queſtion; but the judges came to a reſolution, that if the act of ſupremacy had never been made, the king or queen of England, for the time being, might eſtabliſh ſuch an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion as was then in force, by the ancient prerogative and law of England. Some time after this, one John Greenwood, a prieſt, and Henry Barrow, a gentleman, were, to the ſhame of Chriſtianity, executed for not thinking like the queen and her council; but Cartwright, relenting in his oppoſition, had ſome indulgence ſhewn him: and, in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, the farther execution of the more ſanguinary laws againſt diſſenters were, for reaſons of ſtate, judged proper to be remitted.

Of LEARNING and LEARNED MEN in the XVIth CENTURY.

LEARNING, on its revival, was held in great eſtimation by the Engliſh princes and nobles; and as it was not yet proſtituted by being too common, even the great deemed it an object of ambition to attain a character for literature: the four ſucceſſive ſovereigns, Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, may be, on one account or other, admitted into the claſs of authors. Queen Catherine Parr tranſlated a book; lady Jane Grey, conſidering her age, her ſex, and her ſtation, may be regarded as a prodigy of literature; ſir Thomas Smith was raiſed from being profeſſor at Cambridge, firſt to be ambaſſador to France, and afterwards ſecretary of ſtate. The diſpatches of thoſe times, and among others thoſe of Burleigh himſelf, are frequently interlarded with quotations from the Greek and Latin claſſics: even the ladies of the court valued themſelves on knowlege; lady Burleigh, lady Bacon, and their two ſiſters, were miſtreſſes of the ancient as well as the modern languages, and valued themſelves more on their erudition than on their rank and quality. But to be more particular:

Cardinal Wolſey may be ſaid to have been the father of revived learning in England, in this century. He had before him the fame which Leo X. the fineſt gentleman of his age, had acquired by reſtoring more than an Auguſtan age. In Italy, Bembo, Vida, Sannazarius, and more great poets and writers than ever appeared in any one nation at any one time, all found encouragement and protection, either from the bounty or through the example of his holineſs. Painting, ſculpture, and architecture, now ſtarted at once to that height from which they have been ever ſince declining. Wolſey had a ſoul exquiſitely ſuſceptible of the glory ariſing from a patronage, that gives ſurer immortality than power or titles can communicate. The learning of the Engliſh in general, at this time, was equally uſeleſs and heavy, and their taſte none. Wolſey ſaw this, and had the virtue to attempt to improve the one, and introduce the other. He had himſelf as much learning as was ſufficient for a gentleman, and more than was uſeful for a ſtateſman. Mr. Guthrie, in his Hiſtory of England, has favoured us with a letter of this great man, addreſſed to the maſters of a ſchool he founded at Ipſwich, which does great honour to his ſtyle, his taſte, and his judgment: it contains the method of teaching and education that was to be obſerved in that ſchool; and it is no ſmall reproach to Engliſh literature, that this piece, the moſt perfect of its kind that we know of, muſt have been utterly loſt here, had it not been preſerved in a foreign grammar, which, by great accident, fell into the hands of a late laborious antiquary.

I am pleaſed that I can here introduce the reader to ſome acquaintance with this curious piece, as it fully confirms the character of the cardinal's taſte and learning. It is drawn up as a ſcholar, and at the ſame time as a gentleman would expreſs himſelf, were it not perhaps in too princely a ſtyle: it is prefaced by a letter to his two ſchoolmaſters, where he pays great compliments to their functions, and exhorts them ſtrongly to the faithful diſcharge of their duty. He then lays down the method of education to be obſerved in his ſchool, and orders the boys to be divided into eight claſſes: he orders thoſe in the firſt claſs to be inſtructed in the eight parts of ſpeech, and to be taught to pronounce the Latin in a full, open, elegant manner. The ſecond claſs is to practiſe the ſpeaking of Latin: every boy is to have a note-book, and being well grounded in his rudiments, he is to be exerciſed in tranſlating ſome quick, witty, pertinent ſaying from Engliſh into Latin: they are in this claſs to read no author but their rudiments; though the maſters are at liberty to teach them, if they pleaſed, Lily's Carmen Monitorium, or Cato's Diſtichs: "Nimirum (ſays the cardinal) formandi oris gratia." To the third claſs his eminency recommended the reading of Æſop, for the improvement of their ordinary ſtyle, becauſe of that author's pure, neat, polite, and pleaſant language: along with this ſtudy he recommends the learning of Lily upon Nouns, but without enjoining it. The fourth claſs is to read Virgil, that prince of poets, as the cardinal calls him; and he orders the maſters to make the boys read the majeſty of his verſe aloud, in full ſonorous tone. There is ſomething ſo genteely expreſſed by the cardinal, when he comes to ſpeak of the fifth claſs, that I cannot help tranſcribing and tranſlating it: "Imprimis hoc unum admonendum cenſuerimus, ut neque plagis ſeverioribus, neque vultuoſis minis, aut ulla tyrannidis ſpecie tenera pubes afficiatur. Hæc enim injuriâ ingenii alacritas, aut extingui, aut magnâ ex parte obtundi ſolet —"In the firſt place, I think it proper to put you upon your guard, that tender youth is not to be treated with ſevere whippings, or bluſtering threatenings, nor with the leaſt appearance of tyranny; for by ſuch uſage a forward

genius is commonly either quite cruſhed, or at leaſt in a great meaſure blunted." After this preface, he recommends to the fifth claſs Cicero's Select Epiſtles, as being, in his opinion, the beſt book for obtaining the richneſs and copiouſneſs of ſtyle. The ſixth claſs are appointed to read books of hiſtory, ſuch as Salluſt, or Cæſar's Commentaries; and, by the bye, he recommends it to the maſters to teach the ſtudents in this claſs, the knowlege of defective, anomalous, and heteroclite verbs, out of Lilly. The ſeventh claſs are enjoined to read the Epiſtles of Horace, with Ovid's Metamorphoſes and Faſti; they are likewiſe to be taught compoſition of verſes and epiſtles; to reduce verſe to proſe, and proſe to verſe; and to have always in the morning ſome ſpecimen of their compoſition ready: and the cardinal concludes his directions to this claſs in the following amiable manner: "Interdum laxandus eſt animus, intermiſcendus luſus at liberalis tamen et literis dignus. In ipſis ſtudiis ſic voluptas eſt intermiſcenda, ut puer ludum potius diſcendi quam laborem exiſtimet. Cavendum erit ne immodicâ contentione ingenia diſcentium obruantur, aut lectione prælongâ defatigentur. Utrâque enim juxta offenditur.—" In the mean time the mind is to be relaxed, and labour to be mixed with diverſions, but ſuch diverſions as may become a gentleman, and a man of letters. Pleaſure is even to be mingled with ſtudy itſelf, that the boy may think learning rather an amuſement than a toil. Particular care is to be taken nor to hurt the genius of a boy by over-ſtretching it, nor to fatigue him by too long leſſons: both extremities are hurtful." I cannot withſtand the temptation of tranſlating the whole of the ſection relating to the eighth and laſt claſs: "Laſtly (ſays his eminence), when the youths, by ſuch exerciſes, have attained to ſome knowlege of the language, let them then proceed to the higher rules of grammar, ſuch as the figures, as they are laid down by Donatus Valla, upon elegance, and ſeveral ancient writers who treat upon the Latin tongue. In reading thoſe works, we particularly recommend it to you, to endeavour to make yourſelves maſters of every paſſage requiring immediate explanation: as, for inſtance, ſuppoſe you were to give the plan of one of Terence's comedies, you are to preface it with a ſhort account of the author's life, his genius, and his manner of writing; you are next to explain the pleaſure and profit that attends the reading of comedies; you are then, in a clear but ſuccinct manner, to explain the ſignification and etymology of the word, to give a ſummary of the fable, and alſo an exact deſcription of the nature of the verſe; you are afterwards to conſtrue it in its natural order; laſtly, you are carefully to mark out to your pupils every ſtriking elegance of ſtyle, every antiquated expreſſion, every thing that is new, every greciciſed turn, every thing that is obſcure, every etymology, derivation, or compoſition, that may ariſe, whatever is harſh or confuſed in the arrangement of the ſentence: you are to mark every orthography, every figure, every graceful ornament of ſtyle, every rhetorical flouriſh, whatſoever is proverbial, all paſſages that ought to be imitated, and all that ought not. Beſides, you are to take care in ſchool, that your pupils ſpeak as correctly as poſſible; you are to applaud the excellent, and you are to mend the incorrect; ſometimes you ought in the Engliſh language to throw out a ſhort ground-work for an eſſay; but let it be ſomewhat that is excellent: if you pleaſe, you are to lay before them certain ſhort rules, by which they may more conveniently handle the ſubject aſſigned them.

"When in the ſchool, the ſtudents are tinctured with ſuch ground-works of learning, they will ſoon give eminent proofs of what great importance it is to have their tender years formed by the beſt maſters. In the mean while, do you perſevere in adorning the country to which you owe ſo much, with the moſt liberal ſtudies."

To his zeal for the improvement of youth, the cardinal added all the qualities of a fine gentleman and a polite courtier. Eraſmus, one of the beſt judges of wit and good-manners that ever wrote, in ſeveral of his epiſtles takes particular notice of his politeneſs and affability: he ſays, that his manners betrayed nothing of his birth; and that the public was not in greater admiration of his exalted fortune, than of his generous diſpoſition. But it was not for Wolſey to confine his love for learning and the Muſes to his own example and munificence, without planting thoſe ſeminaries, which, in ſucceeding ages, were productive of many of the nobleſt fruits of learning. He ſearched for men of genius and letters, as the lord of a ſoil does for a rich mine: he employed no miniſters but ſuch as were ſcholars; and under his adminiſtration, the dignities of the law, the church, and of the ſtate, were filled with men who had nothing but merit to recommend them. Dr Clark and Dr. Knight were through him made biſhops; Dr. Taylor was made maſter of the Rolls; Dr. Pace, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate; Dr. Gardiner, who had a very fine turn for letters, was employed in ſeveral embaſſies; not to mention Cromwell and others, who by his means roſe to the higheſt offices in the ſtate, with a vaſt number of other promotions, equally juſt and generous.

Wolſey's houſe, like Cicero's Tuſculanum, was a retreat to all men of letters, without diſtinction; they were welcome to his purſe, to his library, and to his table. The ſtudy of the liberal arts, ſays the great author I have already quoted, when decayed and degenerated, was by him revived and renewed. Learning, whilſt ſtruggling with the patrons of ancient ignorance, was encouraged by his countenance, protected by his authority, embelliſhed by his ſplendor, and cheriſhed by his munificence. Whenever he heard of a learned foreigner, he ſettled on him a handſome ſalary, ſuitable to his merit, and invited him to England. He employed agents through all countries for making up a library which might vie with that of Ptolemy Philadelphus himſelf; and revived the ſtudy of the three learned languages, the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin, without which, to uſe his own expreſſion, learning itſelf was but lame.

No mechanic ever worked with more labour in his profeſſion, than the cardinal did with aſſiduity to adorn England with the luminaries of learning: he brought Matthias Calphurnius, one of the beſt Greek ſcholars of his time, from Greece, to teach that language at Oxford; and I am apt to believe it is owing to his labours that England can ſhew more great men than any other nation can in that language: though Eraſmus differed from him greatly, both in political and religious matters, yet he allowed him a large appointment, and offered to

provide for him, if he would come to England, either in the church or ſtate: he was the patron of Ludovicus Vives, another learned foreigner, perhaps the beſt critic of his time, who lived ſome time in England at the cardinal's invitation: he appointed Lavinius, a pupil and relation of Eraſmus, to be his private ſecretary, and gave him an education worthy his merit. I ſhould tire the reader were I to enumerate all the other inſtances of Wolſey's regard for the polite arts; I ſhall therefore cloſe this account of the cardinal with obſerving, that he did a thouſand generous acts for the benefit of learning, for which his memory deſerves all the immortality the pen can beſtow.

There were many other perſons of note in the literary walk during this reign; but it would too much ſwell our work to enumerate all their names and writings: we muſt not, however, paſs unnoticed Dr. John Collet, dean of St. Paul's, and founder of the ſchool there; nor William Lilly, born at Odiham, in Hampſhire, who was firſt maſter of St. Paul's ſchool, and compoſed a grammar of the Latin tongue, which goes by his name, and is ſtill in uſe in ſeveral of our ſchools; John Leland, that famous ſearcher of antiquities, flouriſhed alſo in Henry's time.

The ſhort reign of his ſucceſſor, Edward VI. furniſhed very few perſons of note, either as ſwordſmen or ſcholars. Edward Hall, a barriſter at law, wrote a chronicle of the union of the two houſes of York and Lancaſter, which was well received; and Thomas Sternhold, born at Southampton, turned into Engliſh metre the Pſalms of David, as we now hear them ſung in moſt of our churches.

During the reign of Mary, bloody and tumultuous as it was, we find ſeveral learned men, the chief of whom were John Rogers, a clergyman of Lancaſhire, who tranſlated the Bible into Engliſh, with notes; and Henry, lord Stafford, ſon to Edward, duke of Buckingham, who, amongſt other works he wrote, tranſlated a book out of Latin into Engliſh, entitled, "Utriuſque poteſtatis differentia," which book, as ſome think, was firſt compoſed by Edward Fox, biſhop of Hereford: John Hopkins alſo tranſlated ſeveral of the Pſalms into Engliſh metre, which, with thoſe of Sternhold, ſtill continue to be ſung in the church.

Revived and improved literature made one of the principal glories of Elizabeth's reign; England under her ſaw an Auguſtan age! Elizabeth herſelf tranſlated ſeveral books, and was familiarly acquainted with the Greek as well as Latin tongue. It is pretended that ſhe made an extempore reply in Greek to the univerſity of Cambridge, who had addreſſed her in that language: it is certain that ſhe anſwered in Latin without preparation, and in a very ſpirited manner, to the Poliſh ambaſſador, who had been wanting in reſpect to her; when ſhe had finiſhed, ſhe turned about to her courtiers, and ſaid, "God's death! my lords (for ſhe was much addicted to ſwearing), I have been forced this day to ſcour up my old Latin that hath lain long ruſting." Elizabeth, after ſhe was queen, did not entirely drop the ambition of appearing as an author: and, next to her deſire of admiration for beauty, this ſeems to have been the chief object of her vanity: ſhe tranſlated Boethius Of the Conſolation of Philoſophy, in order, as ſhe pretended, to allay her grief for Henry IV's change of religion. As far as we can judge from Elizabeth's compoſitions, we may pronounce, that, notwithſtanding her application and excellent parts, her taſte in literature was very indifferent; ſhe was inferior to her ſucceſſor in this particular, who was himſelf far from being a juſt model of eloquence.

Unhappily for literature, at leaſt for the learned of this age, the queen's vanity lay more in ſhining by her own learning, than in encouraging men of genius by her liberality: this province ſhe left to Leiceſter, &c.

During this reign England produced a number of excellent poets, ſuch as Spencer, Sidney, Donne, Johnſon, Shakeſpeare, Beaumont, and Fletcher: Fairfax tranſlated Taſſo with great eaſe and elegance, and Harrington tranſlated Arioſto with tolerable accuracy; Bacon acquired immortal renown by his philoſophical writings; Camden excelled as an antiquary and hiſtorian. In this reign we owe to the patronage of the illuſtrious great who compoſed the Engliſh court, the ſtrength of Jewell's reaſoning, the inimitable ſtyle of Hooker, with the extent and variety of Raleigh's learning; it was under Elizabeth that Hobbes formed his firſt notions; and, towards the latter end of her reign, Cromwell drew his firſt breath, as if (ſays a modern author) it had been the will of Heaven, that ſhe ſhould not leave the world without bequeathing to it a ſpirit equal to her own.

LAWS.

HENRY VIII.

THIS king's firſt parliament ſat on the twenty-firſt of January, 1510, at Weſtminſter. Its laudable deſign ſeems to have been chiefly pointed towards relieving the people from the dreadful yoke under which they groaned, through the infamous revival of the penal ſtatutes by Empſon and Dudley. Among other ſtatutes, it was now enacted, "that untrue inquiſitions found in the reign of king Henry VII. by the procurement of Richard Empſon and Edmund Dudley, entitling the king to tenures in capite, may be traverſed by the parties, though they have had liveries: and that their livery ſhould be no concluſion." By another act, all aſſurances made by Empſon and Dudley of lands to the uſe of others, were made void, and their joint feoffees ſtood ſeiſed of the whole. The penal laws againſt clothworkers were likewiſe repealed, or mitigated. But the moſt important act of this parliament, was that determining that all actions for the king, upon any penal ſtatute, ſhould be taken within three years after the offence was committed; and actions for any other perſon, within one year: this act wiſely foreclоſed the field of litigation, by ripping up or reviving paſt offences, ſince no benefit for a forfeiture could accrue three years after the offence charged or committed.

There likewiſe paſſed in this parliament a repeal of that ſtatute made in Henry VII's time giving authority to juſtices of aſſize and juſtices of the peace,

peace, in their ſeſſions, to hear and determine all offences and contempts committed againſt any ſtatutes in force, ſaving treaſon, murder, and felony. A law was likewiſe made for obliging coroners to do their duty without having the thirteen ſhillings and four pence advanced to them as a fee; ſince the meaning of the law was, that the fee ſhould accrue from the eſtate of the murderer, but not in caſes of death by accident or miſadventure.

On the fourth of February, 1512, the parliament ſat again, when the following acts were paſſed: That every perſon carrying beyond ſeas money, plate, or jewels, ſhould forfeit double the value. This had been a favourite meaſure in the Engliſh government, though it was often broke through for conveniency; but as the Engliſh were now upon the eve of a war with France, it was abſolutely neceſſary to enforce it. By another act it was ordained, "That all ſorts of men, under the age of forty years, excepting judges and clergymen, ſhould make uſe of bows and arrows, and practiſe ſhooting." This act was occaſioned by the experience of the decay of military diſcipline in England. The uſe and conveniency of fire-arms bade fair to enervate the bodies of the Engliſh, who, by the practice of archery and ſtrength of their arms in drawing the bow, had rendered themſelves the terror of Europe; it was therefore provided by the parliament, that thoſe exerciſes ſhould be revived, not only to improve the natural ſtrength of Engliſhmen, but becauſe the long-bow and arrow was ſtill a more formidable weapon than any of the ſmall fire-arms that were yet carried to the field. In conſequence of this principle, that bodily exerciſe in the people is abſolutely neceſſary for the defence of the ſtate, another act was made in this parliament, in confirmation of a ſtatute paſſed in the nineteenth of the late reign, againſt ſhooting with croſs-bows, and retracting all licences which allowed ſuch exerciſe.

Two other acts which paſſed in this parliament, relate entirely to the expedition which was now on foot againſt France: the firſt was a kind of extenſion of the law made in Henry VII's time, and which we have already taken notice of, for empowering all thoſe who followed the king to the wars, to alienate their lands; for it was now provided, that who is or ſhall be in the king's wars beyond the ſea, or on the ſea, ſhall have a protection of "Profecturus, or Moraturus cum clauſula volumus;" and he may alien his lands holden in capite, without licence: and if he die in that ſervice, his heirs, within age and ward, his executors, feoffees, or aſſigns, ſhall have the wardſhip and marriage towards the performance of his will.

The other act related to falſe muſters, and to penalties upon captains uſing the ſame, or defrauding the ſoldiers of their pay: deſertion was made felony without benefit of clergy, and was cognizable by the juſtices of the peace of that county where the offender was apprehended.

By another act it was provided, "That no perſon within the city of London, or within ſeven miles of the ſame, ſhould practiſe phyſic or ſurgery without being firſt examined by the biſhop of London, or the dean of St. Paul's, who were to be aſſiſted by expert phyſicians and ſurgeons. The ſame proviſions were to extend throughout all the other counties in the kingdom, but with this difference, that the number of aſſiſtants to be called in by the biſhop there, was left undetermined; and the practitioners approved of at London were not to undergo any ſecond examination: but all this was with a ſaving clauſe to the two univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge of all their rights and privileges.

In the winter of the following year, 1513, an act paſſed for taking away benefit of clergy from all who committed murder or felony in any conſecrated place, or upon the king's highway, or in their houſes.

In 1514, the parliament paſſed an act relating to ſurgeons, by which they were exempted from ſerving all conſtableſhips and wardſhips, bearing of arms, and ſitting on all juries and inqueſts, by reaſon of the continual ſervice and attendance they give day and night, and at all times, to their patients. This privilege is ſtill enjoyed by all perſons of that profeſſion.

The parliament of the year 1515, paſſed many ſalutary acts; among others, a ſumptuary law was enacted againſt the exceſſive expence of apparel; and the dreſs of every degree among the laity was regulated. Another act confirmed and made perpetual the ſtatute of the third of this reign, concerning the maintenance of archery and ſhooting in long-bows. I am inclined to believe, with lord Herbert, that this precaution chiefly tended to exerciſe the common people, whom the conveniency of calivers, or hand-guns, then in uſe, was apt to render idle and effeminate. Another act was made for regulating the wages of artificers and farmers ſervants; and another for encouragement of huſbandry. Another act was made, for regulating the manner of manufacturing woollen cloth, and a ſevere penalty impoſed upon any perſon that ſhould export Norfolk wool out of the kingdom. Thoſe acts concerning the woollen trade were at this time abſolutely neceſſary, becauſe of the diſreputation which the faults in that trade had brought upon Engliſh cloths in foreign countries.

But the moſt remarkable act of this parliament was for remedying an abuſe become frequent, from the great hurry the members of the houſe of commons were generally in for returning into the country before the cloſe of the ſeſſions: it was therefore provided, that ſuch members who ſhall, without leave from the houſe, abſent themſelves from their duty, ſhall forfeit all their wages to which they are entitled from their conſtituents. From this act it appears, that the practice of paying wages, viz. four ſhillings to a knight of the ſhire, and two ſhillings at leaſt to a burgeſs, a day, beſides travelling expences, was ſtill continued, and punctually obſerved. But it is remarkable we know of no coercive power upon the face of this act, which the houſe of commons before this time had over its own members; and the act itſelf eſtabliſhes no other penalty againſt thoſe who ſhould abſent themſelves even without leave from the houſe, beſides the loſs of their wages. This, however, is no argument that the houſe might not exerciſe a compulſatory power, by ordering ſuch members into cuſtody; though it is a very ſtrong reaſon for thinking, that the payment of their wages was then by law ſo much a debt from the conſtituents, that, let the behaviour of the repreſentative, after choſen, be what it would, it might be levied by him.

The parliament of 1523 took the ſtate of the coinage into conſideration. It was found that the

the increaſe of trade demanded a greater circulation of money, than the current ſpecie of that time could effect; it was therefore enacted, "That coiners who make money in any mint in England, ſhould coin of every hundred pounds of gold, twenty pounds into half angels, or pieces of forty pence; and of every hundred pounds worth of bullion, plate, or ſilver, a certain portion into groats, two-pences, pence, and farthings: the farthings to have a different make from the half-penny; that they who bring leſs than one hundred pounds in bullion, or plate, to the mint, ſhall have the tenth part thereof in half-pence or farthings; and yet this ſhall not extend to the mint-maſters of York, Durham, or Canterbury." By another ſtature it was enacted, "That all in the king's ſervice in war, might alienate their lands for the performance of their wills; and if any of them died in the king's ſervice in war, his feoffees or executors ſhould have wardſhip of his heirs and lands." This gave a new blow to what ſtill remained of the feodal inſtitution, as it left the barons and great tenants at farther liberty to indulge their full enjoyment, at the expence of their eſtates, of all the luxuries now introduced by the extenſion of commerce and the increaſe of coin. Thus many of thoſe great poſſeſſions, which, ever ſince the Conqueſt or ſoon after, had gone from father to ſon in the ſame deſcent, came now into the hands of commoners, and thereby the ſyſtem of property was almoſt daily and hourly altered.

The parliament which ſat in the year 1530, paſſed ſeveral acts relating to the clergy, which we have mentioned in their proper places; beſides which, ſeveral acts paſſed of a civil nature; in particular one act, by which all ſervants embezzling goods to the value of forty ſhillings and upwards, within their maſters houſes, were adjudged to be guilty of felony; and the goods, after conviction, were ordered to be returned to the rightful owners. Another act was made for prohibiting the exportation of braſs; probably with a view to encourage the making of great guns. Several regulations about foreign tradeſmen likewiſe paſſed in this parliament, and they were ſubjected to the ſame taxes and duties with natural-born ſubjects.

In 1532, the twenty-fourth of this king, it was enacted by the parliament, that none ſhould have the benefit of his recourſe to his ordinary, excepting thoſe in holy orders, and even they were to give ſecurity for their good behaviour. The act, however, did not extend to thoſe, who, being attainted of felony or murder, are afterwards admitted to the benefit of clergy, and ſo delivered to the ordinary; but the ordinary, having ſuch a perſon in his cuſtody, might, if he pleaſed, diſcharge himſelf of the ſame, by degrading him, and ſending him to the King's Bench.

By another act in the ſame ſeſſion, the places where jails ought to be built and kept, were pointed out: the juſtices of the peace, in their reſpective counties, had the power of taxing the inhabitants towards building the jail, and of appointing collectors for raiſing the money for the ſame. Another act was made againſt falſe verdicts, by which a writ of attaint was followed againſt every juror giving ſuch verdict; and the jury, if found guilty, was each man to forfeit twenty pounds, one half to go to the king, and the other to the party that ſueth.

Another act provided for the importation of all French wines by the king's natural ſubjects, Engliſh, Iriſh, or Welſh; and that no ſuch wines ſhould be imported between the laſt day of September and the ſecond day of February: it was farther enacted, that no perſon ſhould retail French wine for above one penny the pint, and malmſey and ſack for one ſhilling the gallon. Another excellent act was made, extending the ſtatute of the ſtaple (which was before confined between merchant and merchant, and only for the merchandize of the ſtaple) to the reſt of the king's ſubjects: and this, ſays lord Herbert, not only enlarged contracts, but ſtrengthened the ſinews of them.

By another act, another terrible grievance which the ſubjects laboured under from the clergy's power, was removed. It ſeems (as the preamble of the act recites) that it had been a common practice to cite people, upon fictitious and ſurmiſed cauſes, from the moſt diſtant parts of the kingdom, to the Arches, Audience, and other high courts of the archbiſhops; and upon their not attending, to lay them under excommunication, or ſuſpenſion from divine ſervice; it was therefore provided, that no ſuch citation ſhould take place, but in caſes ſpecified by the ſtatute.

Another act declared all feoffments of lands to the uſe of the church, to be void; and that all aſſurances of lands to churches, communities, or companies of any kinds, were as prejudicial to the lords ſuperiors of ſuch lands, as if they were alienated in mortmain.

Several other acts paſſed in this parliament, equally beneficial, though not ſo extenſive, in their nature: which were all allowed of by Henry, that he might ſtrengthen his own power againſt the clergy, and ſtrike the greater terror into the court of Rome.

In 1534, the parliament paſſed an act, giving power to the chancellor to ſettle the price of victuals; and all exportation of corn or cattle was prohibited, excepting to the Engliſh dominions abroad. By another act, all thoſe who, being regularly indicted, ſhall ſtand mute to prevent the courſe of law, are deprived of the benefit of clergy. Another act was made to prevent the abuſe of converting tillage into paſturage, eſpecially for ſheep: in the preamble of the act, great complaints are made againſt this practice, which raiſed the rents, and enhanced the prices of every thing; it was therefore enacted, "that no man ſhould have in his farmed lands above two thouſand ſheep; yet that every temporal perſon may keep upon his inheritance as many as he will: ſecondly, that no man ſhall take and hold above two farms at once; and thoſe to be in the ſame pariſh, upon certain penalties there ſet down."

By another act it appears, that the legiſlature thought it became them to take into conſideration the ſtate of printing: an act had been made ſo far back as the reign of Richard III. for importing books, both printed and manuſcript; according to the preamble of this act, made in Henry's reign, there were but few printers within this realm in the reign of Richard III. who were cunning and expert in the ſaid ſcience and craft of printing; but there being now great numbers of that kind, the ſaid act of Richard III. was repealed; and, for the encouragement both of printers and book-binders, it was provided that no man ſhould buy books which

were brought from beyond ſeas to ſell again, if they were bound: that no man ſhall buy books by retail, brought from beyond ſeas; and that the prices of books, increaſed to a miſerable rate, were to be qualified by the king's great officers of ſtate, or the juſtices, or any two of them. Several other acts, not relating to the buſineſs of the Reformation, were likewiſe paſſed for the benefit of the ſubject, but are too immaterial to be mentioned here.

The parliament of 1536, undertook and brought about the union of England with Wales, in the manner we have related in the hiſtory of this reign; and, in order to introduce a general uniformity, juſtices of the peace, with like powers as they have in England, were appointed by the lord chancellor of England in the county-palatine of Cheſter, and the other counties already mentioned. By another, the inhuman foreſt-laws were taken away. By another, it was enacted, that no perſon, from the firſt of July, 1536, ſhould have power and authority to pardon or remit treaſons, murders, manſlaughters, or any felons, or their acceſſaries, in any part of England, Wales, or the Marches of the ſame: that likewiſe none ſhould make juſtices of oyer, juſtices of aſſize, juſtices of peace, or juſtices of jail-delivery; but they ſhould be made by the king's letters patent; and that all original writs, and all manner of indictments of treaſon, felony, and treſpaſs, and all manner of treſpaſs, ſhould be made in the king's name; and things done againſt the king's peace, ſhould be ſuppoſed to be done againſt the king's peace, and not againſt the peace of any other perſon. But, notwithſtanding the generality of thoſe acts, a great many privileges ſtill continued to the proprietors of lordſhips.

It appears that there was as yet in England no determined method eſtabliſhed by the municipal law for the trial of pirates, who were left to the forms of the civil law, which did not admit any one to be put to death without firſt confeſſing their offences, and required more ſtrict proof of the fact than the nature of the offence would admit of: by this means great numbers of offenders had eſcaped; and thoſe who were convicted, were often put to the torture for confeſſion: but it was now enacted, that they ſhould be judged by commiſſioners appointed by the king, and in the ſame manner as if their offences had been committed on land; and that no benefit of clergy ſhould be allowed the criminal: the act, however, very properly made a diſtinction between pirates, and thoſe who took things through neceſſity, upon the ſea; the ſaid things, viz. proviſions, materials, or utenſils for navigating the ſhip, to be paid for, if taken on this ſide the ſtreights of Morocco (Gibraltar, I ſuppoſe) in four months; and if on the other ſide, in twelve. Another act was made in favour of the breed of Engliſh horſes; and a penalty impoſed upon thoſe who, having parks, did not keep mares thirteen hands, and ſtallions fourteen hands high. Several regulations were likewiſe made concerning the form for ſuing for the gifts and grants made under the king's ſign manual. The king, likewiſe, in this ſeſſion, carried, in part, his former deſign of voiding private deeds made in prejudice of the right of wardſhip: it was likewiſe enacted, that no lands ſhould paſs by bargain and ſale, but that which was by writing indented, ſealed, and enrolled.

We have now the title of the firſt law ever made in England relating to bankrupts, in the thirty-fourth year of Henry VIII. viz. "the lord-chancellor, treaſurer, &c. ſhall take order with bankrupts bodies, lands, and goods, for the payment of their debts." But there was a farther regulation made in this act by the thirteenth of Elizabeth.

We now come to the time when intereſt, or uſe for money lent, and in thoſe days always known by the name of Uſury, was firſt ſettled in England by law. It was a ſtatute of 37 Henry VIII. cap. ix. entitled, "How offenders in uſury ſhall be puniſhed." Before this time (ſays the judicious Joſiah Child) there was no law for limiting the rate of intereſt; there was little trade, and as little money, in the nation, wherefore every man took ſuch an intereſt for what money he could put out, as he could get; which in ſundry inſtances (to be found in hiſtory here and there) was, before this time, higher than ten per cent. as partly appears from the ſtrong expreſſions in this law, the preamble of which ſays, "that ſundry ſtatutes have been made for the avoiding and puniſhing of uſury, being a thing unlawful [and yet, with the ſame breath, theſe lawgivers eſtabliſhed it; for this was the church's opinion in thoſe times, though never uniformly put in practice], of other corrupt bargains, ſhiefts, and cheviſances; which ſtatutes are ſo obſcure and dark in intent [ſo framed on purpoſe to leave room to avoid the penalties; whilſt, in general words (to pleaſe the clergy), it was declared ſinful], and are of ſo little force, that by reaſon whereof little or no puniſhment hath enſued to the offenders of the ſame; for reformation whereof (ſays this preamble gravely), be it enacted, that all former ſtatutes concerning uſury, ſhiefts, &c. all forfeitures and penalties concerning the ſame be henceforth utterly void.

Taxes in the Reign of Henry VIII.

In his fourth year, in a parliament at Weſtminſter, were granted to the king two fifteenths of the temporalty, and two tenths of the clergy; and head-money, of every duke ten marks, an earl five pounds, a baron four pounds, a knight four marks, and every man valued at eight hundred pounds in goods, to pay four marks, and ſo after that rate till him that was valued at forty ſhillings, and he paid twelve pence; and every man and woman of fifteen years and upwards, four pence.

In his ſixteenth year a parliament was holden, wherein divers ſubſidies were granted to the king, towards the charges of his wars in France.

In his fourteenth year, order was taken by cardinal Wolſey, that the true value of all men's ſubſtance might be known, and would have had every man ſworn to give an account of his worth, and required a tenth part thereof towards the king's charges in the then war, as the ſpiritualty had granted a fourth part: this the Londoners thought very hard, and thereupon were excuſed taking an oath, and were allowed to bring in their bills upon their honeſties. But when all was done, after much labouring by the cardinal, the clergy granted one half of their yearly ſpiritual revenues for five years; and the temporalty, two ſhillings in the pound, from twenty pounds and upwards; and from forty ſhillings to twenty pounds, of every twenty ſhillings twelve pence; and under forty ſhillings, of every head, of ſixteen years and upwards, four pence, to be paid in every two years.

In

In his ſixteenth year, the cardinal, of his own head, attempted by commiſſion to draw the people to pay the ſixth part of every man's ſubſtance in plate or money; but this was generally oppoſed, and cauſed inſurrections in ſeveral counties, which coming to the king's knowlege, he utterly diſavowed it, and blamed the cardinal extremely for attempting it.

In his twenty-fourth year, in a parliament then held, a fifteenth was granted to the king, towards his charges in erecting fortifications againſt Scotland.

In his thirty-firſt year, a ſubſidy of two ſhillings in the pound upon lands, and twelve upon goods, with four fifteenths, were granted to the king, towards his charges in making bulwarks.

In his thirty-fifth year, a ſubſidy was granted, to be paid in three years; every Engliſhman being worth, in goods, twenty ſhillings and upwards to five pounds, to pay four pence of every pound; from five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, ſixteen pence; and from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound two ſhillings: ſtrangers, as well denizens as others, being inhabitants, to pay double. And for lands, every Engliſhman paid eight pence of the pound, from twenty ſhillings to five pounds; from five pounds to ten pounds, ſixteen pence; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two ſhillings; and from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound three ſhillings: ſtrangers double. The clergy, ſix ſhillings in every pound of benefices; and every prieſt having no benefice, but an annual ſtipend, ſix ſhillings and eight pence yearly, during three years.

EDWARD VI.

A Very neceſſary ſtatute was made the ſecond and third of Edward VI. cap. xv. "for reſtraining the ſellers of all manner of proviſion in England, from combining together not to ſell but at a fixed price; and alſo for reſtraining workmen and labourers not to make or do their work but at a fixed price; or to do but a certain work in a day, or not to work but at certain hours." A clauſe, wiſely intended, was added to this act, licenſing all manner of workmen relating to building of houſes, &c. to follow their occupation in all cities and towns corporate, although they did not live therein, nor were free of ſuch corporations: but this clauſe was repealed by a ſtatute of the third and fourth of this king, cap. xx. plainly (as appears) by the interpoſition of the city of London, who repreſented "that being the king's chamber and moſt ancient city of this realm, the artificers and craftſmen of the arts, crafts, and myſteries aforeſaid, were at great coſts and charges, as well in bearing and paying taxes, tallages, ſubſidies, ſcot, lot, and other charges, as well to the king's majeſty as to the ſaid city, and to many and ſundry triumphs and other times for the king's honour; and that if foreigners [i. e. non-freemen] ſhould come and work among them within the liberties of the ſaid city, contrary to their ancient privileges, the ſame ſhould be a great decay of learning, and the impoveriſhment and driving away of the freemen, being artificers of the crafts and myſteries aforeſaid, within the ſaid city; for reformation whereof, the ſaid clauſe is hereby repealed entirely." So that the reaſons for this repeal are expreſſed as above only in reſpect to London, yet the repeal being general, took in all other corporations, cities, and towns; and ſo it remains to our own times, contrary to the opinion of moſt wiſe and judicious men. By cap. iii. of the ſaid ſecond and third year of king Edward VI. for regulating the purveyors for the king's houſhold, poſt-horſes are therein fixed at one penny per mile.

In the third and fourth of king Edward VI. there was an act of parliament paſſed (cap. ii.) with many well-contrived clauſes for preventing of frauds in the woollen manufactures in England, ſuch as for the clothier's ſeal on his cloth, againſt over-ſtretching the cloths, for the well drying of cloth, alſo for the well dyeing of wool to be converted into cloth, or into hats or caps; alſo for preventing the putting any deceitful thing upon cloth, ſuch as flocks, chalk, flour, ſtarch, &c. nor to uſe iron cards in the rowing of cloths; alſo for juſt meaſuring of cloths: for all which purpoſes overſeers are directed to be annually appointed, not only in corporation-towns, by the chief magiſtrates, jointly with the wardens, &c. of the clothworkers, but in towns, villages, and hamlets not incorporated, by the juſtices of the peace, jointly with the clothworkers; which overſeers ſhall, at leaſt once in every quarter of a year, or as often as they think needful, viſit clothiers, drapers, dyers, and preſſers houſes, ſhops, &c. to which overſeers one moiety is hereby given of all the forfeitures and penalties of this act, and the other to the king, &c. All which evidently ſhews the care of the legiſlature for that manufacture, and alſo that it was at this time univerſally ſpread all over the kingdom, and in a flouriſhing condition.

Notwithſtanding all which favourable laws for regulating the Engliſh woollen manufacture, we have another ſtatute, anno 1552 (5 and 6 Edward VI.) for the very ſame ends and purpoſes, to which we refer the curious reader.

We have ſeen, under the year 1515, a ſtatute for aſcertaining the length, breadth, and weight of certain Engliſh woollen cloths; as alſo another more ample ſtatute, anno 1549, for more fully regulating the different kinds of them: in this year, 1552, we have another ſtill more extenſive law for the ſame purpoſe (5 and 6 Edward VI. cap. vi.) wherein the woollen manufactures of all the different counties of England and Wales are aſcertained with reſpect to length, breadth, weight, &c. whereby all former ſtatutes concerning this ſubject are repealed. Yet, as perfect as this ſtatute might then be thought, there were many more ſubſequent ones made on the ſame ſubject, not only for aſcertaining the true dimenſions and weight of thoſe cloths, but for diſcovering and reſtraining many frauds and irregularities therein; the full recital of which would be both tireſome and unprofitable to the generality of readers; ſuch as are deſirous of peruſing them, may conſult the ſtatute-books.

By cap. xxiv. of the ſaid 5 and 6 Edward VI. there is another monopolizing act relating to the making of felt hats and thrummed hats, coverlets, and dornecks (i. e. diaper linen), though ſomewhat more more moderate than that in favour of the city of York; for whereas, by the ſtatute made in the year 1544, the manufacture of coverlets was abſolutely confined to that city alone, excluſive of all other parts whatever of that county, this law now before us only confines the making of the above-named four kinds of goods to the city of

of Norwich, and to corporate or market-towns of that county.

By a ſtatute of the ſeventh and laſt year of king Edward VI. cap. v. "I. The prices of wines are fixed thus; Gaſcony and Guienne at eight pence per gallon; and Rochelle wine at four pence per gallon; nor ſhould any other wines be ſold at an higher price than twelve pence per gallon, on forfeiture of five pounds. This ſtatute is ſaid, in the preamble, to be enacted for the avoiding of many inconveniences, much evil rule, and common reſort of miſruled perſons, uſed and frequented in many taverns, of late newly ſet up in back lanes, corners, and ſuſpicious places, both in London and other towns and villages.

"II. The next clauſe enacts, that none but ſuch as can ſpend a thouſand marks, or elſe, laſtly, ſhall be the ſon of a duke, marquis, earl, viſcount, or baron of the realm, ſhall have in his houſe any veſſel of the ſaid wines, for his family's uſe, exceeding ten gallons, on forfeiture of ten pounds.

"III. Nor ſhall any perſon keep a tavern retailing of the ſaid wines, unleſs licenſed, and that only in cities, towns-corporate, boroughs, port-towns, or market-towns, or in the towns of Graveſend, Sittingbourn, Tuxford, and Bagſhot, on the forfeiture of ten pounds: and there ſhall be but two taverns for retailing wines in every city or town, except in London, which may have forty taverns, in York eight taverns, in Norwich four, in Weſtminſter three, in Briſtol ſix, in Lincoln three, in Hull four, in Shrewſbury three, in Exeter four, in Saliſbury three, in Gloceſter four, in Weſtcheſter four, in Hereford three, in Worceſter three, in Southampton three, in Canterbury four, in Ipſwich three, in Wincheſter three, in Oxford three, in Cambridge four, in Colcheſter three, in Newcaſtle upon Tyne four. By this limitation it may be thought a pretty near gueſs may be made at the comparative magnitude of cities and towns, allowances being made for towns ſituated on very public roads; yet this matter is nevertheleſs ſtill very uncertain.

"IV. None of the ſaid taverns ſhall retail wines to be ſpent or drank within their reſpective houſes.

"V. Merchants may uſe in their own houſes (but not to ſell) ſuch wines as they ſhall import; alſo high-ſheriffs, magiſtrates of cities and towns, and inhabitants of fortified towns, may keep veſſels of wine for their own conſumption only."

As extraordinary as ſeveral parts of this ſtatute may appear to ſome of us at this time, they may be pretty well accounted for, not only from the ſobriety, poverty, and ſimplicity of that age, compared with ours, but alſo from the unſettled and tumultuous diſpoſition of a great part of the people, thoſe eſpecially who adhered to the old religion, and thoſe alſo who excited commotions in moſt counties againſt incloſures; yet, with reſpect to the limited number of taverns, in ſeveral of the fore-named towns, we cannot now perhaps altogether clearly judge or determine the proportion of the magnitude of thoſe places therefrom; for inſtance, Cambridge is allowed four and Oxford but three taverns; nor ſome other points relating to this act.

Taxes in the Reign of Edward VI.

In no king's reign were ever more parliaments for the time, nor fewer ſubſidies. The greateſt was in his laſt year, when there was but one ſubſidy, with two fifteenths and tenths, granted by the temporalty, and a ſubſidy by the clergy. And indeed, to ſhew how loth this king was to lay impoſitions upon his people, this may be a ſufficient argument, that, though he was much in debt, yet he choſe rather to negociate a loan of money from the people of the Low Countries, at the intereſt of fourteen per cent. per ann. But his way of raiſing money was by ſelling the chantry-lands and religious houſes, granted him by parliament; and by enquiring after all church goods, either remaining or embezzled, as jewels, gold and ſilver chalices, ready money, copes, and other veſtments, reſerving to every church one chalice and one covering for the communion-table, the reſt to be applied to his own benefit. He alſo raiſed money by enquiring after offences of officers in great places: on enquiry one Beaumont, maſter of the Rolls, being convicted of many crimes, ſurrendered all his offices, lands, and goods, into the king's hands. Alſo one Whalley, receiver of Yorkſhire, being found a delinquent, ſurrendered his office, and paid a great fine beſides. Alſo the lord Paget, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, conſcious that he had ſold the king's lands and timber woods without commiſſion, and had applied the king's ſtores to his own uſe, for theſe and other offences, ſurrendered his office, and was fined four thouſand pounds, which he paid in hand. One thing more was done in his time, for raiſing of money; twenty thouſand pounds weight of bullion was appointed to be made ſo much baſer, that the king might gain thereby one hundred and forty thouſand pounds.

MARY.

WE have ſeen, under the year 1285, that the firſt ſtatutes made in England for widening the roads between market-towns, was made purely for the prevention of robberies, without the leaſt hint therein of the benefit to ariſe thereby to carriages, on account of commerce, of which there was but very little at that time.

From that time we meet with nothing relating to that ſubject (except the paving the ſuburbs about London, &c.) till king Henry VIII's reign, in which there are four ſtatutes, viz. two for the altering or removing certain roads (annis 14 & 15, cap. vi.) in the Weald of Kent, and (anno 26, cap. vii.) in the deep ways of Suſſex; both which have been already taken notice of, under the year 1524; a third, for mending a lane near Cheſter; and a fourth for the repair of bridges, and highways at the ends of bridges; neither of which two did we think worthy of animadverſion. But commerce beginning to increaſe conſiderably in the reign of his daughter Mary, whereby the old roads became much more frequented by heavy carriages, an act, of 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, anno 1555 (cap. viii.) takes notice, "that the highways were then very noiſome and tedious to travel in, and dangerous to all carriages; wherefore it was now enacted (and is ſtill in force), that every pariſh ſhould annually elect two ſurveyors of the highways, to ſee that the pariſhioners, according to their lands, abilities, farms, &c. ſend their carts, horſes, men, tools, &c. four days in every year, for mending the roads." So that this is properly the firſt general ſtatute made for mending the roads, extending

extending to all England and Wales, by the labour and expence of each reſpective pariſh alone; and on that bottom alone we find in all ſix ſtatutes relating to this ſubject in queen Mary's reign, nineteen in queen Elizabeth's, and one in king James I's reign; after which there were none of this kind till king Charles II's Reſtoration. The ſaid parochial means for keeping the roads in repair were found, in moſt caſes, tolerably effectual, till after the Reſtoration of Charles II. when the vaſt increaſe of the nation's commerce and manufactures, and of the capital city of London, with the concomitant increaſe of luxury, brought in ſuch a number of heavy-wheeled carriages on our roads, as rendered it by degrees impracticable in moſt caſes for pariſhes entirely to keep their own part of the roads in tolerable condition, more eſpecially in the counties near London, and in the manufacturing counties. This has introduced the more equitable and effectual method of tolls payable at numberleſs toll-gates (called turnpikes) by the identical wearers of thoſe roads alone: and many ſubſequent local ſtatutes have been made for thoſe ends, and alſo ſeveral general ones for limiting the weight of waggon-loads, the breadth of wheel-rims, called fellies, the number of horſes, &c. And thus much we thought ſufficient to ſerve for a ſummary hiſtory of the laws relating to the roads of England, ſo as not to have much occaſion to name them any more in this work.

What we have here ſaid, concerning a ſummary hiſtory of the keeping the roads or highways of England in repair, may alſo be partly applied to the ſubject of deepening rivers, and meliorating havens or harbours on the ſea-coaſts. With reſpect to the former, we have ſeen that the firſt inſtance thereof in the ſtatute book, is that of the third of Henry VI. (cap. v.) for deepening the river Lea from the town of Ware to London, an. 1424; and that in his ninth year (cap. ix.) for the ſame end: after which we find none, either for rivers or for havens, till the reign of Henry VIII. who repaired and fortified ſeveral harbours; for that of 4 Henry VII. for preſerving the river Thames, relates merely to the fiſhing therein; and that of the eleventh of the ſame king, for removing wears and engines from Southampton harbour, was for the like purpoſe; but we find no more ſtatutes of either kind till queen Elizabeth's reign, ſome of which, as alſo ſubſequent ones, we may perhaps think it neceſſary to take a more particular notice of, in their reſpective places; as alſo for bridges over rivers.

Taxes in the Reign of Queen Mary.

Queen Mary began with a rare example, for in the firſt year of her reign, ſhe remitted, by proclamation, the ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound of land, and two ſhillings in the pound of goods granted in the laſt parliament of king Edward VI.

In her ſecond year, in a parliament then holden, was granted to the king and queen a ſubſidy of the laity, from five pounds to ten pounds, of eight pence in the pound; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, of twelve pence in the pound; and from twenty pounds and upwards, of ſixteen pence in the pound; all ſtrangers to pay double: and the clergy, ſix ſhillings in the pound. If this were all, then, upon the matter, in all her time there came no new charge upon her people: for one ſubſidy remitted, and one received, made but even.

In her laſt year ſhe borrowed twenty thouſand pounds of the city of London, at the rate of twelve per cent. per annum.

ELIZABETH.

IN the fifth year of Elizabeth (cap. iii) was the firſt ſtatute enacted in England for the relief of the poor: for whereas all other acts of parliament were only on the foot of voluntary contributions for the poor, reſting or depending upon the charitable devotion of the people, which method had not anſwered the intended purpoſe, or prevented common beggars from multiplying every where, it was now therefore found neceſſary to go a ſtep farther. It is certain that the ſuppreſſion of the convents had not a little increaſed this diſorder; thoſe houſes having been a great relief to the poor of their own lands, and in their neighbourhood, to whom not only their kitchens, but their granaries, were ever open, more eſpecially in times of dearth; when, therefore, the church-lands were ſold by Henry VIII. at very eaſy purchaſes, it was then declared to be for enabling the buyers to keep up that wonted hoſpitality, which, however, they greatly neglected to do; yet ſtill there was no compulſory law till now. This act, therefore, after "directing poor and impotent perſons of every pariſh to be relieved of that which every perſon will, of their charity, give weekly, to be gathered by collectors, and diſtributed to the poor, ſo as none of them ſhall go, or ſit, openly begging; (now comes the compulſory clauſe) and if any pariſhioner ſhall obſtinately refuſe to pay reaſonably towards the relief of the ſaid poor, or ſhall diſcourage others, then the juſtices of the peace, at their quarter-ſeſſions, may tax him at a reaſonable weekly ſum; which if he refuſes to pay, they may commit him to priſon: yet, where the pariſhioners have more poor than they can relieve, the juſtices may licence ſo many of their poor as they ſhall think proper, to beg in one or more hundreds of their reſpective counties. Laſtly, beggars in any other place than where legally licenced, were to be puniſhed according to the laws of vagabonds."

The next ſtatute of the ſame ſeſſion of parliament (viz. cap. iv.) entitled "A repeal of ſo much of former ſtatutes as concern the hiring, keeping, departing, working, or order of ſervants, labourers, &c. and a declaration who ſhall be compelled to ſerve in handicrafts, and whom in huſbandry, and their ſeveral duties, &c." gives the ſubſtance of many former laws, with their imperfections, contrariety, and remarks, and obſerves that the wages aſcertained in many of thoſe acts of parliament were now become inſufficient, by reaſon of the advanced prices of all neceſſaries ſince thoſe times; yet, large and comprehenſive as this act is (and too much of it is ſtill in force) there are ſundry ſubſequent ſtatutes, both in this and ſucceeding reigns, for the regulation of diſputes between maſters and their ſervants, apprentices, and labourers, concerning their wages, time of labour, &c.

The next law (cap. v.) of that year, entitled "Conſtitutions for the maintenance of the navy, &c." contains many good clauſes for encouraging our own ſhipping and mariners: as "I. By permitting herrings, and other fiſh caught upon our coaſts, to be exported duty-free. II. That no foreign ſhips ſhall carry any goods coaſtwiſe, from

any one Engliſh port to another. III. Wines and woad ſhall be imported from France in Engliſh ſhipping alone (with ſome inconſiderable exceptions.) IV. That, as well for the maintaining of ſhipping, the increaſe of fiſhermen and mariners, and the repairing of port-towns, as for the ſparing and increaſe of the fleſh victuals of this realm, it ſhall not be lawful for any to eat fleſh on Wedneſday and Saturdays, on the penalty of three pounds for each offence, excepting caſes of ſickneſs; and alſo thoſe by ſpecial licences to be obtained [this purely political faſting from fleſh meat was partly altered by cap. ii. 27 Eliz. by leaving out Wedneſday; yet the victuallers were to utter no fleſh in Lent, nor on Fridays and Saturdays]; for which ſaid licence obtained by peers, they were to pay one pound ſix ſhillings and four pence to the poor's box of the pariſh; knights and their wives, thirteen ſhillings and four pence; and others, ſix ſhillings and eight pence each: but no licence was to extend to the eating of beef [on theſe days] at any time of the year [this ſhews, that in thoſe days, black cattle were deemed ſcarce]; nor to the eating of veal, in any year, from Michaelmas to the firſt day of May. "But becauſe (adds the ſtatute) no perſon ſhall misjudge the intent of this ſtatute, be it enacted, that whoſoever ſhall, by preaching, teaching, writing, or open ſpeech, notify that any eating of fleſh, or forbearing of fleſh, mentioned in this ſtatute, is of any neceſſity for ſaving the ſoul of man, or that it is the ſervice of God, otherwiſe than as other polite laws are and be, then ſuch perſons ſhall be puniſhed as ſpreaders of falſe news ought to be."

In the following year the parliament, aſſembled at Weſtminſter, among others, paſſed the following acts, viz. I. An act againſt holding or maintaining the authority of the biſhop of Rome. II. That no one ſhall procure a falſe witneſs, upon the penalty of forty pounds; nor any one be a falſe witneſs, upon the penalty of twenty pounds, and ſix months impriſonment. III. An act making the clipping and waſting of coin treaſon. IV. That any perſon who ſhall be ſeen or found in the company of Egyptians [gypſies], ſhall be deemed felons. V. An act for the due execution of the act "De excommunicato capiendo." VI. An act for tranſlating the Bible and Common Prayer Book into Welſh. VII. An act to eſtabliſh and confirm the queen's ſupremacy in eccleſiaſtical affairs. The work of Reformation, which, with ſeveral interruptions, had been carrying on above thirty years, was in a great meaſure completed, and the articles of the church of England ſettled by the convocation, and reduced to the number of thirty-nine, as they ſtand at this day.

The parliament which was diſſolved on the twenty-ſecond of January, 1567, made the following acts: I. An act declaring the making and conſecrating of biſhops within this realm, to be good, orderly, and lawful. II. That no man ſhall ſend any rams, ſheep, or lambs, alive, out of the realm, upon pain, for the firſt offence, of forfeiture of all his goods, and one year's impriſonment; and for the ſecond, of being declared a felon. III. That cut-purſes and pickpockets ſhall not have benefit of clergy. IV. Whereas there was but one ſheriff for Surry and Suſſex, one for Eſſex and Hertfordſhire, one for Somerſet and Dorſetſhire, one for Warwick and Leiceſterſhire, one for Nottingham and Derbyſhire, one for Oxford and Berkſhire; it was ordered that, for the future (the year 1567 being the firſt), each of theſe counties ſhould have a ſheriff reſpectively.

In the year 1571, the fourteenth of Elizabeth's reign, was paſſed the famous act for the maintaining the queen's title, of which we have given the ſubſtance, in our hiſtory of that reign*. The other acts made in this parliament are little worth notice, if we except one relating to the clergy, by which it is enacted, "that no eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhall be admitted to any benefice with cure, except he be twenty-three years of age at leaſt, and ſhall firſt ſubſcribe the articles of religion, in preſence of the ordinary, and, within two months after induction, read the ſame in his pariſh-church, in the time of common prayer, and declare his unfeigned aſſent thereunto, and all this upon pain of deprivation. That no one ſhall retain a benefice with cure, being under the age of twenty-one years, or without a teſtimonial of his honeſt life, nor unleſs he is able to render to the ordinary an account of his faith in Latin."

In the eighteenth year of her reign, an act was paſſed, making it treaſon to impair, diminiſh, or falſify the coin of the realm.

The parliament of 1585 enacted ſeveral ſevere laws againſt papiſts: it was alſo declared, "that no perſon ſhould be returned to ſerve upon juries, but who has an eſtate of freehold lands, tenements, or hereditaments, to the clear yearly value of four pounds at leaſt.

The parliament which met in February, 1593, paſſed a very rigid ſtatute againſt all non-conformiſts, which equally affected papiſts and proteſtants. In the preamble to this act it is ſaid, "that this act was made for preventing and avoiding ſuch great inconveniences and perils as might happen and grow by the wicked and dangerous practices of ſeditious ſectaries and diſloyal perſons." The act ran, "that if any perſon above the age of ſixteen years, ſhall refuſe to repair to ſome church, or refuſe to do the ſame for the ſpace of one month, ſhall be committed to priſon, there to remain, without bail or mainprize, until they ſhall conform, and make ſuch open ſubmiſſion and declaration of their conformity, as by this act is appointed." The offenders againſt this ſtatute, who refuſed to make the ſubmiſſion, were to abjure the realm, and not to return without her majeſty's licence, under the penalty of ſuffering as felons, without benefit of clergy. This bill met with great oppoſition in the houſe of commons, as may be ſeen in d'Ewe's Journal, p. 474, &c. where the ſpeeches on both ſides are inſerted. There was an act alſo made againſt popiſh recuſants, by which they were confined within five miles of their reſpective dwellings, on forfeiture of all their goods and chattles, together with lands, during life. By another act all the abbey-lands were confirmed to the crown and grantees.

The parliament which met at Weſtminſter on the twenty-fourth of October, 1597, and was diſſolved on the ninth of February, 1598, made the following acts: "I. An act for the puniſhment of rogues, vagabonds, and ſturdy beggars: by this ſtatute all the following perſons are to be adjudged

† See p. 382, of this volume.

rogues

rogues and vagabonds: people who go about begging as poor ſcholars, or on the pretence of loſs by fire or ſhipwreck; collectors for jails, or perſons delivered out of jail and begging for their fees; ſuch as uſe any ſubtle craft or unlawful games, fortune-tellers, gypſies, fencers, bear wards, common players, and minſtrels, jugglers, lurkers, pedlars, and petty-chapmen, fellows not working for reaſonable wages when they are able, and the like: their puniſhment is, to be whipped and ſent from pariſh to pariſh, by the officer in each, the next ſtraight way to the pariſh where they were born, or laſt dwelt for the ſpace of a whole year. II. An act for erecting hoſpitals, houſes of correction, and workhouſes for the poor. III. One for the increaſe of mariners, and maintenance of navigation. IV. An act againſt lewd and wandering perſons, pretending to be ſoldiers or mariners, and travelling without teſtimonials from juſtices of the peace.

In the laſt parliament of this reign, holden at Weſtminſter, on the twenty-ſeventh of October, 1601, the following ſtatutes were paſſed. I. An act for the relief of the poor, appointing the chuſing of overſeers, and the manner of raiſing money for the relief of the poor. II. That every pariſh in England ſhall pay a weekly ſum for the relief of the ſick, hurt, and maimed ſoldiers and mariners. III. An act to redreſs the miſemployment of lands, goods, &c. given to charitable uſes. IV. That perſons cutting and carrying away corn growing, robbing of orchards, breaking or cutting up hedges, poles, &c. and digging or pulling up fruit-trees, cutting or ſpoiling wood or underwood, not being felony by law, ſhall be obliged to make ſatisfaction or be whipped.

Taxes in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

In the parliament holden in the firſt year of her reign, a ſubſidy was granted, of two ſhillings and eight pence in the pound on goods, and four ſhillings on lands, to be paid at two ſeveral payments, by every perſon, ſpiritual and temporal.

In her ſixth year, in a parliament held at Weſtminſter, one ſubſidy was granted by the clergy, and another by the laity, together with two fifteenths and tenths.

In her eighth year, at a parliament then held, there were offered to her four ſubſidies, upon condition ſhe would declare a ſucceſſor; but ſhe refuſed their offer, and directly remitted the fourth ſubſidy which they had granted, ſaying, "that it was all one, whether the money was in her ſubjects coffers or in her own."

In her thirteenth year, in a parliament then held, towards her charges of repreſſing the Northern rebellion, there was granted her a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound, by the clergy; and by the temporalty, two fifteenths, and a ſubſidy of two ſhillings and eight pence in the pound.

In her ſix-and-thirtieth year a parliament was holden, in which two ſubſidies were granted by the clergy, and by the laity three, beſides ſix fifteenths and tenths; but it was put in this act, that this contribution, the like whereof had not been known in former ages, ſhould not be drawn into example.

In her fortieth year, in a parliament at Weſtminſter were granted her by the clergy three entire ſubſidies, and by the laity as many, with ſix fifteenths and tenths.

In her forty-ſecond year, to furniſh her with money towards the Iriſh war, ſhe delegated certain commiſſioners to confirm the crown-lands to the poſſeſſors that held any of controverted titles, and to take money for the confirmation, thereby to take away the trouble by contractors, who were at this time very buſy.

ARTS and SCIENCES, MANNERS and CUSTOMS, in the XVIth Century.

IF there is a ſatisfaction, ſays a modern hiſtorian, in viewing in painting and ſculpture the features of our anceſtors, it muſt be equally ſo to read in the page of hiſtory their manners and diſpoſitions. We have already ſhewn how great encouragement learning and the polite arts received from Wolſey, in the beginning of this period; neither were the Engliſh wanting all this time in cultivating and cheriſhing new-born arts and diſcoveries. One Owen is noted as being the firſt who, about the year 1536, caſt braſs cannon in England, ſome ſpecimens of which are ſaid to be ſtill preſerved in the Tower of London. The art of printing had alſo before this time been imported, and had been brought to as great perfection in England as in any neighbouring country. Muſic and painting had met likewiſe with encouragement, Henry himſelf having ſome taſte for thoſe arts, as appears from ſeveral letters patent in favour of their profeſſors, eſpecially to the famous Hans Holbein.

Archbiſhop Nicholſon, in his Engliſh Hiſtorical Library, ſpeaking of the ſtate of geographical knowlege at or about this period, obſerves, "that ſince the beginning of king Henry VIII's reign, our eldeſt general geographer or antiquary is ſaid to have been Thomas Sulmo, a Guernſey man, who died at London in the year 1545. The year following, a much greater man of the profeſſion, ſir Thomas Elliot, one of king Henry's ambaſſadors, and ſir Thomas More's friends, died alſo. Cotemporary with thoſe two was George Lily (ſon of William, the famous grammarian), who lived ſome time at Rome with cardinal Pole, and publiſhed the firſt exact map that ever was, till then, drawn of this iſland."

In the year 1521 was firſt introduced the uſe of hand-guns or muſquets, whereby, in proceſs of time the practice of bows and arrows in war was quite laid aſide.

About the year 1535, glaſſes were firſt begun to be made in England: the finer ſort was made in Crutched-friars, London; the fine flint-glaſs, little inferior to that of Venice, was firſt made in the Savoy-houſe, in the Strand, London; but the firſt glaſs-plates for looking-glaſſes and coach windows, were made about the year 1673, at Vauxhall, near Lambeth, by the encouragement of the duke of Buckingham. The Engliſh have improved this manufacture ſo greatly, as to ſurpaſs every other nation in Europe in this uſeful branch of buſineſs.

The ingenious author of the Preſent State of England, printed in 1683, acquaints us, that the firſt manufacture of knives in England was begun in 1563, by Thomas Matthews, on Fleet-bridge, London.

London. How ſtrangely are things altered ſince thoſe times! for now London excels all the earth in this article, and ſupplies many other nations therewith in great quantities.

Mr. Anderſon, in his moſt elaborate and uſeful work, lately publiſhed, concerning the Origin of Commerce, to which I acknowlege myſelf greatly indebted for many curious extracts, tells us that he has in his poſſeſſion the firſt work ever publiſhed in England on the art of Italian book-keeping, or merchants-accounts by double-entry; it is a folio, printed at London, anno 1569, in a black letter, the author James Peele. The ſtyle (ſays Mr. Anderſon) is obſolete, yet he has ſufficiently teſtified that he underſtood the true grounds and principles of double-entry accounts full as well as ſome who have written much later.

In all probability, this art of double-entry accounts had its riſe, or at leaſt its revival, amongſt the mercantile cities of Italy: poſſibly it might be firſt known at Venice, about the time that numeral algebra was taught there, from the principles of which ſcience double-entry, or what we call merchants-accounts, ſeem to have been deduced, viz. about the middle of the XVth century, though it did not reach England till our commerce, about this time, began to be conſiderable. It is ſaid that Lucas de Burgo, a friar, was the firſt European author who publiſhed his algebraic work at Venice, anno 1494.

In the year 1589, William Lee, M. A. of St. John's college, Cambridge, invented an engine or ſteel-loom, called the Stocking-frame, for knitting or weaving of ſtockings. This was but twenty years after we had firſt learned from Spain the method of knitting them with wires or needles. Mr. Lee's invention has proved of conſiderable benefit to the ſtocking manufacture, by enabling England, in after times, to export vaſt quantities of ſilk ſtockings to Italy, &c. where, it ſeems (by ſir Joſiah Child's excellent Diſcourſe on Trade, firſt publiſhed in the year 1678), they had then not got the uſe of the ſtocking-frame, though little ſhort of one hundred years after its invention: yet Dr. Howell, in his Hiſtory of the World (vol. iii. p. 222.) makes this invention eleven years after, 1600; and adds, that Mr. Lee not only taught his art in England and in France, but his ſervants did the ſame in Spain, Venice, and Ireland.

We have the beſt authority for fixing the date of the firſt manufacturing of ſail-cloth in England to the year 1599, being the preamble to an act of parliament of king James I. cap. xxiii. reciting, that "whereas the cloths called Mildernix, and Powl Davies, whereof ſails and other furniture for the navy and ſhipping are made, were heretofore altogether brought out of France, and other parts beyond ſea, and the skill and art of making and weaving the ſaid cloth was never known or uſed in England till about the thirty-ſecond year of the reign of the late queen Elizabeth (i. e. 1590.), about which time the skill and art of making and weaving was attained to, and ſince practiſed and continued in this realm to the great benefit and commodity thereof," &c.

As we ſtill excel all nations upon earth both in naval power and maritime commerce, every thing relative to either ſhould (as far as is practicable) come to us at the firſt hand; yet, though it may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange, that a nation in thoſe days very far from being eminent in ſhipping, ſhould have ſo long ſupplied us with this great article, it ought to be conſidered, that they were in thoſe days (and long before we fell into it) eminent for the manufacture of many kinds of excellent cloths, made both of flax and hemp; and that perfection (in almoſt every art) is not to be arrived at but by very ſlow degrees.

In or about the ſame year was the invention of the teleſcope or ſpying-glaſs diſcovered, being juſtly eſteemed one of the moſt uſeful and excellent diſcoveries of modern times; though it was, it ſeems, produced by mere chance. The common account is, that two children of one Janſſen, a ſpectacle-maker at Middleburgh, in Zealand, being at play in their father's ſhop, and looking through two pieces of glaſs between their fingers, which were at ſome ſmall diſtance from each other, the weather-cock of the church-ſteeple appeared to them unuſually large, and much nearer; of this they inſtantly told their father, who, ſurprized alſo at firſt, made the experiment of fixing two ſuch pieces of glaſs in brazen circles, or cylinders, ſo as they might be placed nearer or farther, at pleaſure. Janſſen very ſoon improved this diſcovery ſo much, that he preſented a teleſcope, twelve inches long, to prince Maurice, and another to the archduke Albert. Mr. Wotton (in his Reflections on ancient and modern Learning) relates, "that prince Maurice, conjecturing this might be of great uſe in war, deſired him to conceal his ſecret, and for that reaſon his name was ſo little known, that neither Des Cartes nor Gerard Voſſius had ever heard any thing of him, when they attributed this invention to one Jacobus Metius, of Allemain." None of theſe firſt teleſcopes, however, were above eighteen inches long, neither were they properly framed for aſtronomical obſervations, until Galileo, aſtronomer to the grand-duke of Tuſcany, hearing of this diſcovery for bringing objects nearer, made ſuch great improvements therein, as to have gained him, in the opinion of many, the honour of the invention itſelf, by giving to the teleſcope the appellation of Galileo's Tube. Some, indeed, make this noble invention to have happened ſome years later, and that J. Baptiſta Porta, a Neapolitan, was the firſt inventor; but the general belief is as above. Our incomparable ſir Iſaac Newton was the inventor of the reflecting teleſcope, conſiſting of ſpecula, or mirrors, inſtead of lenſes, which has been ſince much improved, and is much more exact than reflecting ones. The microſcope, which magnifies the ſmalleſt objects ſo as to be diſtinctly viewed, was diſcovered in the year 1621; and it is ſaid this happened both at Naples and Holland at the ſame time. Mezeray makes this invention eighteen years later; yet he adds, that even the ancients muſt have known the uſe of them, if what Roger Bacon ſays be true, viz. "that Julius Cæſar being on the Belgic ſhore, oppoſite Britain, did, with certain great burning-glaſſes, diſcover the poſture and diſpoſition of the Britiſh army, and all the coaſts of that country."—Which whoever pleaſe, may believe!

By the teleſcope, aſtronomy is brought to ſuch a degree of perfection, as it was impoſſible for the ancients to arrive at. Navigation, and conſequently commerce, is likewiſe much aſſiſted, from a more perfect diſcovery of the heavenly bodies:

and many volumes have been publiſhed of the wonderful and amazing diſcoveries made by the microſcope.

About this time flouriſhed the famous Daniſh aſtronomer, Tycho Brahe, who made ſome aſtronomical diſcoveries and improvements, which proved very beneficial to navigation and maritime commerce. He deceaſed anno 1601.

The progreſs which the fine arts made in England ſince the death of their patron, Wolſey, was next to nothing. The Engliſh poetry, indeed, ſeemed to have riſen amongſt us complete, and is the only art that, ſince the days of Shakeſpeare and Spencer, has been on the declining hand. Architecture came, towards the middle and cloſe of this century, to be more ſumptuous; but its ſtyle was barbarous. Painting has, in England, been always of foreign growth, and when tranſplanted hither, has been but juſt kept alive by the bounty of the great; nor could England, during the ſucceſſive reigns of Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, produce a patron like Wolſey, or an artiſt like Holbein, who in the likeneſs could draw the character.

The progreſs made in the mathematical art was confined to the ſtudies of Dee and one or two more, who were patronized by Burleigh. In natural philoſophy the nation was exceſſively ignorant, inſomuch that we read in the year 1577, ſome of the greateſt men about court ſuffered themſelves to be bubbled out of conſiderable ſums by impoſtors, who pretended to the ſecret of tranſmuting metals: we are ſorry to find the name of that great and able man Burleigh, in the liſt of thoſe dupes of a ſenſeleſs credulity. The queen's own example revived a taſte for muſic, both vocal and inſtrumental; and even dancing was not void of elegance.

Although the nobility of this age preſerved great remains of the ancient cuſtoms, yet they were by degrees acquiring the taſte of elegant luxury, and many edifices in particular were built by them, neat, large, and ſumptuous, to the great ornament of the kingdom, ſays Camden, but to the no leſs decay of the glorious hoſpitality of the nation. It is, however, more reaſonable to think, that this new turn of expence promoted arts and induſtry, while the ancient hoſpitality was the ſource of real diſorder and ſedition, idleneſs. Among the other ſpecies of luxury, that of apparel began much to increaſe during this age, and the queen thought proper to reſtrain it by proclamation. Her example was very little conformable to her edicts; as no woman was ever more conceited of her beauty, nor more deſirous of making impreſſions on the hearts of beholders; no one ever went to greater extravagance in apparel, nor ſtudied more the variety and richneſs of her dreſs; ſhe appeared almoſt every day in a different habit, and tried all the ſeveral modes by which ſhe hoped to make herſelf agreeable: ſhe was likewiſe ſo fond of her cloaths, that ſhe never would part with any of them; and at her death ſhe had in her wardrobe all the different habits, to the number of three thouſand, which ſhe had ever worn in her life-time. The retrenchment of the ancient hoſpitality, and the diminution of retainers, was ever favourable to the prerogative of the ſovereign, and, by diſabling the great noblemen from reſiſtance, promoted the execution of the laws, and extended the authority of the courts of juſtice.

Of COMMERCE, HUSBANDRY, NAVIGATION, PUBLIC REVENUES, &c. in ENGLAND during the XVIth Century.

THE Engliſh had not the ſame ſplendor of ſucceſs with the Spaniards, nor ſuch influence in other courts, nor did they poſſeſs that great power which rendered Spain ſo dangerous to her neighbours; but they acquired a new kind of glory from the ocean, and the extenſive maritime trade they carried on: they knew their true element, and that alone made them more happy than all the foreign conqueſts and poſſeſſions of their ancient kings, and they became a powerful, civilized, induſtrious, laborious, and enterprizing nation. The improvements made by the Spaniards in navigation excited their emulation, and they undertook three ſucceſſive voyages to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage to Japan and China: Drake and Cavendiſh ſailed round the globe, attacking in all places thoſe very Spaniards who had extended their conqueſt and trade to both ends of the world: the famous ſir Walter Raleigh eſtabliſhed the colony of Virginia, and afterwards aſſiſted in that expedition wherein the Engliſh fleet went and inſulted Philip II. upon his own coaſts, deſtroying his ſhips, and burning the rich city of Cadiz: at length, grown more formidable, they, in 1602, defeated the firſt fleet Philip III. ſent to ſea, and from that time acquired a ſuperiority at ſea, which they have ever ſince maintained.

From the firſt beginning of Elizabeth's reign they applied themſelves to manufactures. The Flemings, being perſecuted by Philip II. removed to London, bringing with them an increaſe of inhabitants, induſtry, and riches. This capital, which enjoyed the bleſſings of peace under Elizabeth, cultivated likewiſe the liberal arts, which are the badges and conſequences of plenty: in a word, London was enlarged, civilized, and embelliſhed, and in a ſhort time one half of the little iſland of Great Britain was able to counterbalance the whole power of Spain.

The Engliſh now figured as the ſecond nation in the world in induſtry, as in liberty they were the firſt. They began early to eſtabliſh a navy-royal; they commenced a great fiſhery on the Banks of Newfoundland, a whale-fiſhery in the North Seas, and a trade to Ruſſia; and, by means of an important diſcovery of a paſſage by ſea to that country, round the north cape of Lapland, opened an extenſive field for other diſcoveries, and new branches of commerce; they alſo commenced their Turkey trade; and in the very laſt year of this century incorporated the Eaſt India company.

Agriculture now began to be conſidered in England as the chief riches of the ſtate, while in Spain they began to neglect this real good for ideal treaſures: the gold and ſilver trade of the new world enriched the king of Spain, but in England the ſubject was benefited by the ſale of the natural commodities. A private merchant of London, ſir

Thomas Greſham, was at that time rich enough to build the Royal Exchange at his own expence, and to found and endow the college which bears his name; and ſeveral other citizens founded hoſpitals and public ſchools. Such, ſays Mr. de Voltaire, in his Eſſay on General Hiſtory, were the glorious effects produced by induſtry in this kingdom, that private perſons could do what kings at preſent can only effect, during the moſt happy adminiſtration.

Thus much in general: I ſhall now proceed to point out the moſt remarkable gradations, by which the ſeveral articles under our conſideration tended to perfection during this period.

Nothing material of diſcovery had been made from England ſince Cabot's voyage to the coaſt of America, in the year 1496. In 1525, king Henry VIII. ſent two ſhips towards the ſame coaſts, one of which was caſt away in the Gulph of St. Laurence, and the other returned home the ſame year, but without any material diſcovery. One Robert Thorn is ſaid to have put Henry upon this voyage, in hopes of finding a north-weſt paſſage to the Moluccas.

In our review of the ſtate of Commerce, &c. at the end of the reign of Henry VII. we have ſhewn the ſtate of huſbandry in England at that time; it ſeems the evil then complained of, was now grown to a greater height, for, in the twenty-fifth of Henry VIII. a law was made (cap. xiii.) which repreſents "the cuſtom of engroſſing great numbers of ſheep in one man's hands, and for that end keeping many farms in the ſame man's hands, as a practice which has not been but within a few years paſt, putting ſuch lands as they can get into paſture, and not to tillage; whereby they have not only pulled down churches and towns [quære, how this could be], and enhanced old rates and rents, or elſe brought them to ſuch exceſſive fines, that no poor man is able to meddle with them; but alſo have enhanced all manner of corn, cattle, wool, pigs, geeſe, hens, chickens, eggs, &c. by reaſon whereof a marvellous multitude of people be not able to provide meat, cloaths, &c. for themſelves and families. One of the greateſt occaſions why thoſe covetous people do keep ſuch great quantities of lands in their hands from the occupying of the poor huſbandman, and do uſe it in paſture and not in tillage, is only the great profit that cometh by ſheep, now got into few perſons hands in reſpect to the whole number of the king's ſubjects, that ſome have twenty-four thouſand, ſome twenty thouſand, ſome ten thouſand to five thouſand ſheep, whereby a good ſheep, that uſed to be ſold for two ſhillings and four pence, or three ſhillings at moſt, now ſold for ſix, five, or four ſhillings at the leaſt; and a ſtone of wool, which uſed to be ſold for eighteen pence and twenty pence, is now ſold for four ſhillings or three ſhillings and four pence at leaſt, &c. which things tend to the decay of hoſpitality, the diminiſhing of the people, and the let of cloth-making, whereby many poor people have been accuſtomed to be ſet to work. For the remedy whereof, it was in ſubſtance enacted, I. That none ſhall keep above two thouſand four hundred ſheep (excluſive of lambs) at any one time, unleſs it be on his own land of inheritance, in which caſe he is not hereby limited, nor any ſpiritual perſons. II. No man ſhall hold above two farms, in the

pariſh of one of which two he ſhall be obliged to live or reſide himſelf."

The increaſe of the woollen manufacture increaſing the demand for wool, gave riſe to this practice of engroſſing farms, and turning them into ſheep-walks, which undoubtedly can be managed by much fewer hands than tillage-farms can be, whereby depopulation muſt neceſſarily enſue.

In the year 1536, the twenty-ſeventh of Henry VIII. the king gave encouragement to certain merchants to ſend out two ſhips on diſcovery to the north coaſt of America, where they viſited Cape Breton and Newfoundland; and being in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions there, they returned home in October the ſame year; and although this voyage proved unfavourable to their main intent of finding a north-weſt paſſage to India, yet it gave riſe to the very beneficial fiſhery of the Engliſh on the Banks of Newfoundland, on which barren iſland one Mr. Hoar, of London, merchant, attempted a ſettlement at this time, though he met with much misfortune in that unſucceſsful attempt.

We find that the Engliſh merchants of Southampton and London traded to Braſil in the years 1540 and 1542, and ſo it ſeems at thoſe times to have been permitted, and until the year 1580, when the king of Spain got poſſeſſion of Portugal.

About this time the ſtate of ſhipping, even in the port of London, was very low, compared with the preſent time. If we may give credit to Wheeler's Treatiſe of Commerce, who wrote in 1601, he expreſly aſſerts, that about ſixty years before he wrote, there were not above four ſhips, beſides thoſe of the royal navy, that exceeded one hundred and twenty tons burthen, within the river of Thames.

In the year 1553, the laſt of Edward VI. a very great coſmographical as well as mercantile diſcovery was made by the enterprizing genius of a certain Engliſhman, who (whether reading Oether's account of the ſituation of the lands and ſeas about Norway, &c. delivered to the great king Alfred, anno 887, or whether from any informations lately received from the Norway people, with whom we now conſtantly traded) about this time diſcovered a paſſage by ſea to Ruſſia, along the north end of Norway and Ruſſian Lapland, and down into the ſea or rather great bay, ſince termed the White Sea, in which is ſituated the noted port of Archangel. Sir Hugh Willoughby, as commander in chief, with three ſhips, had begun this voyage juſt before the death of Edward VI. being ſupported by a ſociety or company of gentlemen and merchants for the diſcovery of unknown countries. It ſeems to have been the ſcheme of the famous Sebaſtian Cabot, who was choſen governor of that company, and who well deſerved the penſion already noted to have been ſettled on him by Edward VI. and that the wars of Sweden with Ruſſia by the way of Norway, in ſome degree obliged the Engliſh to attempt this new paſſage to Ruſſia by the Northern Ocean. This undertaking was ſupported by a ſubſcription of ſix thouſand pounds, divided into twenty-four ſhares, twenty-five pounds each ſhare. With thoſe ſhips went letters from king Edward to all kings, princes, &c. for their protection. It was intended chiefly as a ſhorter and eaſier paſſage (as they imagined) to Cathay (a name then uſed for that country which is now called China.) Sir Hugh Willoughby being toſſed up and down

down for a long time as far as ſeventy-two degrees north latitude, was compelled, by the ſudden approach of winter, to run into an obſcure harbour in Ruſſian Lapland, called Arcaia Keca, where he and the crew of two of his three ſhips (ſeventy in number) were frozen to death, and where ſome Ruſſian fiſhermen, in the ſummer following, found him ſitting in his cabin, with his diary and other papers before him: it being the cuſtom of thoſe Laplanders to frequent the ſea-coaſts in ſummer for the benefit of the fiſhery, but when winter approaches, to withdraw into the Calmar iſle and parts, which occaſions thoſe ſtormy ſhores to be deſolate in winter. Richard Chancellor however, in the third ſhip, accidentally fell into the bay of St. Nicholas, or White Sea, on the Ruſſian coaſt, where no European, nor any other ſhips, had ever been ſeen before: here he landed at the abbey of St. Nicholas, near Archangel, then only a caſtle, determining to wait on the czar John Bazilowitz, at that time engaged in the Livonian war; which war having greatly interrupted the Eaſtland trade, that prince was the more inclinable, by Chancellor's interpoſition, to grant the Engliſh conſiderable privileges at Archangel, &c. The Ruſſians before thoſe times having no ſea-ports nor ſhipping on the Baltic ſhores, the rich furs, hemp, &c. were carried to other parts of Europe, from the ports of Livonia lately poſſeſſed by the Teutonic kinghts of St. Mary of Jeruſalem. Thus (as in general is noted in our introduction), although we failed in our principal aim of arriving at China by this ſuppoſed north-eaſt paſſage, we however made a uſeful and profitable diſcovery of a trade by ſea to Ruſſia: and this ſame diſcovery moreover pointed out likewiſe to the Engliſh the way to the whale-fiſhery at Spitzbergen, ſoon after put in practice.

Chancellor, from Archangel, by the governor's leave and aſſiſtance, travelled on ſledges to the czar's court at Moſcow, of whom (overjoyed at the new opening of a maritime commerce with Europe) he obtained privileges from the Engliſh merchants, and letters to king Edward VI. who, however, died before the arrival of Chancellor.

Thus, by the encouragement of this excellent young prince, for making diſcoveries northward, a beginning was made for a trade to Ruſſia; but Edward dying before he had executed a very ample charter to thoſe adventurers, it was the ſaid firſt and ſecond of Philip and Mary (February 6, 1554) that the firſt charter of incorporation was granted to the Ruſſia company (as it has ſince been uſually called), but then by the name of the Merchants Adventurers for the Diſcoveries of Lands, Countries, Iſles, &c. not before known or frequented by any Engliſh. The preamble to this charter, and the ſubſtance of the whole it ſets forth, is, that the marquis of Wincheſter, then lord high-treaſurer, the earl of Arundel, lord high-ſteward of the queen's houſhold, the earl of Bedford, lord privy-ſeal, and the earl of Pembroke, the lord Howard of Effingham, lord high-admiral, &c. had already fitted out ſhips for diſcoveries northward, north-eaſtward, and north-weſtward, not as yet frequented by other Chriſtian monarchs in friendſhip with us, to have one governor (the firſt to be Sebaſtian Cabot, for life), and twenty-eight of the moſt ſad (i. e. ſedate), diſcreet, and honeſt of the ſaid fellowſhip, four of whom to be called Conſuls, and the other twenty-four to be called Aſſiſtants; the governor and two conſuls (or three conſuls in the governor's abſence), and twelve aſſiſtants to be the quorum of a court. This corporation might purchaſe lands to the yearly value of ſixty pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence, to have perpetual ſucceſſion, a common-ſeal, may plead and be impleaded, may impoſe mulcts, forfeitures, &c. on offenders againſt the company's privileges, and may admit perſons from time to time to be free of the company; may make conqueſts of lands of infidels, ſo to be diſcovered by them. And whereas one of the ſaid ſhips (i. e. Chancellor's) ſet forth laſt year (1553) arrived ſafe, and wintered, in the dominions of our couſin and brother, lord John Baſilowitz, emperor of all Ruſſia, who entertained them honourably, &c. and granted them letters to us, with free licence to traffick into his country, with other privileges, under his ſignet; wherefore we grant this corporation liberty to reſort, not only to all parts of that emperor's dominions, but to all other parts not known to our ſubjects; none of whom but ſuch as ſhall be free of, or licenced by, this company, ſhall frequent the parts aforeſaid, under forfeiture of ſhip and merchandize, one half to the crown and the other half to the company."

It ſeems the Briſtol merchants had gotten into the Ruſſia trade ſoon after its diſcovery, being encouraged thereto by ſir Sebaſtian Cabot.

Much the like complaints in relation to the Engliſh woollen manufacturers as have been made in the preſent time, were we find made above two hundred years ago, as appears by the ſtatute of the ſecond and third of Philip and Mary (cap. xi.) entitled, "Who ſhall uſe the trade of weaving," viz. "that whereas the rich clothiers do oppreſs the weavers, ſome by ſetting up and keeping in their houſes divers looms, and maintaining them by journeymen and perſons unskilful; ſome by engroſſing looms into their hands, and letting them out at ſuch unreaſonable rents as the poor artificers are not able to maintain themſelves by, and much leſs their wives and families, ſome again by giving much leſs wages for the workmanſhip of cloths than in times paſt, whereby they are forced utterly to forſake their occupations, &c. wherefore it is enacted, I. That no clothier, living out of a city, borough, or market-town, ſhall keep above one loom in his houſe, nor let out any loom for hire. II. That no woollen weaver, living out of a city, borough, or market-town, ſhall keep more than two looms, nor more than two apprentices. III. No weaver (whilſt ſuch) ſhall have a tucking-mill, nor be a tucker, fuller, nor dyer. IV. No tucker or fuller (whilſt ſuch) ſhall keep any loom in his houſe. V. That no perſon who hath not heretofore been a cloth-maker, ſhall hereafter make or weave any kind of broad white woollen cloths, but only in a city, borough, town corporate, or market-town, or elſe in ſuch places where ſuch cloths have been uſed to be commonly made for ten years preceding this act. [This clauſe was probably well intended, that the ſearchers might be the better enabled to ſee the goodneſs of this manufacture.] VI. No perſon ſhall ſet up as a weaver, unleſs he hath previouſly ſerved an apprenticeſhip of ſeven years to that buſineſs. Laſtly, that nothing in this act is to extend or be prejudicial to the inhabitants of the counties of York, Cumberland, and Weſtmoreland; but they

they may keep looms in their houſes, and do every other matter relating to ſpinning, weaving, and cloth-making in the ſaid counties as before the making this ſtatute."

After England had held the town and port of Calais (with its dependent garriſons of Guiſnes and Ham) for two hundred and eleven years (the only part of the continent of France held by England) during which time it was not only a door always open for the invaſion of France, over which, for that reaſon, England had no ſmall influence; but (which is more to our purpoſe) was extremely well ſituated for a ſtaple port, to diſperſe, in more early times, the wool, lead, tin, and, in later times, the woollen manufactures of England, into the inland countries of the Netherlands, France, and Germany; the loſs of this important place (in the year 1558) to the French, moſt ſhamefully and negligently, in the midſt of winter, was undoubtedly a conſiderable prejudice to commerce, and not a little to the honour and influence of England. Hereupon the ſtaple of wool, &c. was removed to Burges, to the great benefit of that city, which had been for ſome time declining from its ancient opulence and grandeur.

That moſt diligent agent for the Ruſſian company, Mr. Anthony Jenkinſon, did, in the year 1557, firſt ſet on foot a new channel of trade, through Ruſſia into Perſia, for raw ſilk, &c. He ſailed down the great river Volga to Niſi, Novogorod, Caſan, and Aſtracan, and thence croſſed the Caſpian ſea to Perſia. At Boghar, a goodly city, he found merchants from India, Perſia, Ruſſia, and Cathay or China, from which laſt-mentioned country it was nine months journey to Boghar. Jenkinſon returned the ſame way to Colmizro, in the bay of St. Nicholas, anno 1560, and ſo home the ſame year to England. On his return he publiſhed the firſt map of Ruſſia, that had ever been made. This voyage, it ſeems, he performed ſeven different times; yet ſo promiſing a proſpect for that company was dropped ſome few years afterwards, and remained as if it had never been, until the reign of king George II. anno 1744, when it was revived by an act of parliament, enabling the Ruſſia company to trade thence into Perſia; upon which conſiderable quantities of raw ſilk were brought home by the very ſame way that Jenkinſon took from Perſia to Ruſſia, and thence to England: yet the continual troubles and ravages in Perſia have ſince ſuſpended the good effects of this law.

We are now arrived (November 17, 1558) at the commencement of the moſt illuſtrious female reign, and of the longeſt duration, which probably ever exiſted in the world, viz. that of the truly great Elizabeth, queen of England, it is not now either our preſent province or intention to draw her character at length, which has already been done; we ſhall therefore, at this entrance on her glorious government, confine ourſelves to this one brief remark, viz. that, to her immortal honour and her kingdom's immenſe benefit, her reign was ſupplied with more important articles for commercial hiſtory, and more beneficial to the kingdom (even whilſt ſhe was ſurrounded by foreign and domeſtic enemies) than perhaps all the preceding reigns jointly, ſince the time of her great predeceſſor king Edward III. We ſhall here only in general remark, that, on her now ſucceeding to the crown, ſhe found the balance of power and wealth already got into the hands of the commons, or people, ſhe prudently conducted her meaſures accordingly; though now and then ſhe would exert her prerogative as far (though with more prudence) as did ſome of her leſs wiſe ſucceſſors.

In the year 1560, the ſecond of Elizabeth, ſhe by her charter confirmed all former charters of privileges to the company of merchant-adventurers of England, and likewiſe granted them two other ample charters, viz. one in the ſixth, and the other in the twenty-eighth year of her reign, in the former of which they had firſt the deſignation of Merchant-adventurers given them.

The Engliſh Ruſſian company which had been incorporated in the firſt and ſecond of Philip and Mary, anno 1554, had now the noble ſanction of an act of parliament, in the eighth year of Elizabeth's reign.

Martin (afterwards ſir Martin) Frobiſher or Forbiſher made now his firſt voyage for diſcovering a north-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, Captain Luke Fox, in his book, in quarto, entitled The North-weſt Fox, printed anno 1535, ſays, "that Mr. Forbiſher was fifteen years in noting and bringing up the adventure, before he did attempt the ſame, which was brought to paſs by the help of Ambroſe Dudley, earl of Warwick." He ſet out with two barks, of twenty-five tons each, and one pinnace, of ten tons, and entered the ſtreights going into the great bay (ſince called Hudſon's Bay), which he named Forbiſher's Streight; he alſo gave the following names to places there, viz. Queen Elizabeth's Foreland, Cape Labrador, Gabriel's Iſland, Prior's Sound, and ſundry other iſlands, capes, and bays, by which names the ſame places are known to this day. He brought home one of the ſavages, and alſo a kind of bright ſtone, which being tried by the London goldſmiths, it was given out by them, that it held gold in it very richly, and are ſaid to have promiſed great matters, if any quantity thereof could be obtained; which flattering hopes produced a ſecond voyage, ten years after, although no north-weſt paſſage was found.

Mr. John Hawkins, aſſiſted by the ſubſcriptions of ſundry gentlemen, now fitted out three ſhips, and having learned that Negroes were a very good commodity in Hiſpaniola, he ſailed to the coaſt of Guinea, took in Negroes, and ſailed with them for Hiſpaniola; where he ſold his ſlaves and Engliſh commodities, and loaded his three veſſels with hides, ſugar, and ginger, and alſo many pearls, returning home anno 1563, after making a proſperous voyage. This ſeems to have been the very firſt attempt from England for eſtabliſhing a Negroe trade.

The Engliſh genius was not to be diſcouraged by former unſucceſsful attempts for finding a paſſage to China and the Eaſt Indies, without interfering with the Portugueſe by the Cape of Good Hope ſouth-eaſtward, nor with the Spaniards ſouth-weſtward by the Streights of Magellan: and as they had attempted in vain a paſſage north-eaſtward, there ſeemed now only the north-weſtward paſſage to be explored, which we have ſeen had been in part already attempted by Forbiſher. The Portugueſe and Spaniſh chart-makers and coſmographers were, it ſeems, expreſly enjoined by their ſovereigns, not to give any kind of light to any other nation, in this reſpect, becauſe they were greatly aprehenſive

leſt, if there were any ſuch north-weſt paſſage, it would prove a much ſhorter courſe to India and China than theirs, either by the ſouth-eaſt or ſouth-weſt paſſage. For encouraging the Engliſh in this attempt, ſundry treatiſes were publiſhed by ſir Humphrey Gilbert, Mr. Richard Wilkes, &c. built moſtly upon the romantic reports of certain ancient and ſome more modern authors, without any ſolid probability: yet, upon ſuch ſlight grounds, and encouragement of friends, captain Forbiſher made his ſecond attempt in 1577, with one of the queen's own ſhips, two barks, and one hundred and forty perſons, ſome of whom were gentlemen. He again entered the ſtreights he had named after himſelf in his former attempt, where he found ſtore of glittering ſtones and ſand, which he had ſeen in his laſt voyage, and with which he now loaded his veſſels, returning home the ſame year, with his imaginary treaſure, which, upon farther trial proved good for nothing. However, this ſerved to give riſe to the third and laſt fruitleſs attempt, by the ſame ſea-commander, in the enſuing year, to find out a north-weſt paſſage to China.

In the ſame year, 1578, Hakluyt gives us an account of the Newfoundland fiſhers from Europe, in the preceding year, viz. "One hundred ſhips from Spain, fifty from Portugal, one hundred and fifty from France, and fifteen from England: that the Engliſh had the beſt ſhips, and therefore gave law to the reſt, being in the bays, and protectors of others; for which it was then, and had been of old a cuſtom to make them ſome ſort of acknowlegement as admirals, ſuch as a boat-load of ſalt for guarding them from pirates and other violent invaders, who frequently drove them from a good harbour," &c. He ſays, "the fiſhery of the Engliſh at Iceland was the reaſon that we had not then ſuch numbers of ſhips at Newfoundland; that the Spaniards, next to the Engliſh, had the beſt ſhips there; that there were then alſo twenty or thirty ſhips from Biſcay, to kill whales, for train-oil." (But here is no mention as yet of whale-fins, or whale-bone, of ſo great value in our days (which ſhews its uſe for women's ſtays, &c. was not then known.) His friend, in a letter from Newfoundland, is earneſt for the Engliſh to ſettle at the iſland of Cape Breton, for the benefit of the fiſhery, and in another iſle in the mouth of the great river of St. Laurence. Hakluyt was in thoſe times a moſt indefatigable enquirer after new trades and diſcoveries, and was undoubtedly of great uſe to our adventurers, by giving them much light into the nature and means of diſcoveries, and ſeems to have been a public bleſſing to England in thoſe days.

We have, in the former part of the hiſtory of this reign, given an account of the circumnavigation of the terraqueous globe by ſir Francis Drake, and therefore have no occaſion to recapitulate the particulars of that tranſaction in this place; we ſhall therefore proceed to give a ſhort account of the firſt eſtabliſhment of, and charter granted to, the Engliſh Turkey company.

Queen Elizabeth having ſettled preliminaries at Conſtantinople, two years before, for her ſubjects to trade to Turkey, ſhe now (viz. anno 1581) judged it reaſonable to incorporate a number of eminent merchants for that end, ſir Edward Oſbern, an alderman of London, Thomas Smith, eſq. Richard Staper, and William Garrett, merchants; in which charter of corporation the queen ſets forth, "that the ſaid ſir Edward Oſbern and Richard Staper, had, at their own great coſts and charges, found out and opened a trade to Turkey, not heretofore, in the memory of any man living, known to be commonly uſed and frequented, by way of merchandize, by any merchants or other ſubjects of us or our progenitors, whereby many good offices may be done for the peace of Chriſtendom, relief of Chriſtian ſlaves, and good vent of the commodities of the realm, to the advancement of her honour and dignity, the increaſe of her revenue, and of the general wealth of the realm: her majeſty therefore grants unto thoſe four merchants, their executors and adminiſtrators, and to ſuch Engliſhmen (not exceeding twelve in number) as the ſaid ſir Edward Oſbern and Richard Staper ſhall appoint to be joined to them and the other two before-named perſons, and their factors, ſervants, or deputies, for the ſpace of ſeven years to trade to Turkey, in ſuch manner as the ſaid company ſhall agree between themſelves. During which time, they may make bye-laws for their good government (not repugnant to the laws of the kingdom.) Nothing to be tranſacted without the conſent of the governor for the time being (ſir Edward Oſbern being hereby appointed the firſt governor): the trade to Turkey to be ſolely to them, their factors and ſervants, during the ſaid term: and any other ſubjects trading thither, either by ſea or land, without this company's licence, to forfeit ſhips and goods; a moiety to the crown, the other moiety to this company. For the laſt ſix of the ſaid ſeven years, this company ſhall export ſo much goods to Turkey as ſhall annually pay at leaſt five hundred pounds cuſtom to the crown (except in caſe of ſhip wreck, &c.) I. Proviſo, that in caſe this excluſive grant ſhall hereafter appear to be inconvenient, the queen may revoke the ſame, upon one year's previous notice. II. Proviſo, the queen, during the ſaid term, may nominate two perſons to be added to the ſaid number of patentees, with the ſame privileges, &c. as the reſt herein named. Laſtly, that if, at the end of the ſaid ſeven years theſe grantees deſire it, the queen will grant other ſeven years to them, provided (as aforeſaid) the ſaid excluſive trade ſhall not appear to be unprofitable to the kingdom."

The queen's letters to the grand ſignor were received with much civility, being delivered to him by her ambaſſador, Hareborne, anno 1582, whom ſhe empowered to ſettle conſuls in the ſeveral ports, and to eſtabliſh laws or rules to be obſerved by the Engliſh trading to Turkey.

With the firſt factor the indefatigable Hakluyt (vol. iii. p. 164, 165) ſent excellent inſtructions for enquiring into the nature of dyeing ſtuffs; alſo what of thoſe drugs might be produced in England; and how beneficial ſuch new productions would have been to us, which he inſtances in that of ſaffron, firſt brought into England by a pilgrim; as alſo woad, originally from Thouloufe, in Languedoc: "that the damask-roſe was firſt brought into England by Dr. Linacre, phyſician to king Henry VII. and king Henry VIII. Turkey fowls, about fifty years paſt (viz. about 1532): the artichoke in king Henry VIII's time; and of later times the muſk-roſe and ſeveral ſorts of plums, by lord Cromwell, out of Italy: the apricot by king Henry VIII's French gardiner: (but there is no mentioned yet of peaches, nor of nectarines).

And now, within theſe four years (anno 1578) have been brought into England from Vienna, in Auſtria, divers kinds of flowers called tulips, and others procured thither a little before from Conſtantinople. And it is ſaid, that ſince we traded to Zante (this muſt have been but lately), the plant that beareth the currant is alſo brought into this realm; and although it brings not fruit to perfection, yet it may ſerve for pleaſure and for ſome uſe. (This ſhews it was then but juſt introduced.) Many other things have been brought in, that have degenerated by reaſon of the coldneſs of the climate: ſome things brought in, have, through negligence, been long loſt; and archbiſhop Grindal brought the tamariſk plant from Germany, and many people have received great health by this plant."

On the commencement of the Engliſh trade to Turkey, the merchants having occaſion to attend the queen and council, they had there great thanks and commendations for the ſhips they then built of ſo great burthen, with many encouragements to purſue the plan, for the kingdom's ſake, ſays the author of Trade's Increaſe, who adds, that the ordinary returns of this trade, at the beginning, were three for one.

By England's entering at this time into a direct trade to Turkey, all the commodities of Greece, Syria, Egypt, Perſia, and India, came home to us much cheaper. "And (ſays ſir William Monſon) when the Venetians ſerved us with thoſe rich eaſtern wares, by the way of the Red Sea, and down the Nile to Alexandria, and alſo by the way of caravans to Aleppo, they (i. e. the Venetians) alſo were then wont to take freight in their ſhips from port to port, whereas now (i. e. 1685) all ſtrangers are more deſirous to employ our own ſhips in that ſervice."

Jacobs, in his Lex Mercatoria, alleges (upon what authority I know not), that the Barbary merchants were incorporated in king Henry VII's time; but that company decaying, out of their ruins aroſe the Levant or Turkey company, who firſt trading with Venice, and then with Turkey, furniſhed England that way with Eaſt Indian commodities, which till then were brought to us (moſtly) by land, and to the Portugueſe alone by long ſea," &c.

The ſame year, 1582, the ſhip Suſan, of London, mounting thirty-four guns, carried over to Turkey the Engliſh ambaſſador, Hareborn, who now firſt ſettled peace with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, which piratical ſtates had taken many ſhips belonging to London, Briſtol, &c. and Hareborn having eſtabliſhed all the Engliſh factories in Turkey (maugre the ſpite and malice of the French and Venetians) returned over-land to England.

Sir Walter Raleigh, whoſe great genius much inclining him to new enterprizes and diſcoveries, had this year formed a ſociety of gentlemen and merchants to ſubſcribe a conſiderable ſum of money towards forming a ſettlement on the continent of North America, and on Lady-day, 1584, queen Elizabeth granted them a charter for that purpoſe. Amidas and Barlow, with two veſſels, were accordingly ſent thither: but they ſailed about a thouſand leagues out of their way; for the ſhort courſe to the northern parts of America not being as yet known to us, they ſteered the wonted courſe of the Spaniards, by the Canary Iſlands, and thence into the trade-winds to the Caribbee Iſlands, thence ſailing through the Gulph of Florida, they anchored at a part of what is now called Virginia, where, making ſome inſignificant trade with the natives, exchanging toys for their furs, they returned home with gain (as they ſaid), and greatly magnified the richneſs of the country. For encouraging a ſecond adventure, they brought home ſome pearls and tobacco (the firſt of that ſort that had been ſeen in England.) The wiſe queen ſeemed fond of this deſign, and either ſhe herſelf, or ſir Walter Raleigh, gave the country the name of Virginia, which they judiciouſly repreſented to be a pleaſant country, abounding in fine woods, deer, hares, wild fowl, fiſh, vines, currants, &c.

Raleigh therefore obtained queen Elizabeth's patent to himſelf, &c. for the poſſeſſing ſuch remote heathen lands, not then inhabited by Chriſtians, as they ſhould diſcover for ſix years, of which they thereby had the property granted to them for ever, reſerving to the crown the fifth part of all gold and ſilver ore found therein, with power to ſeize to their proper uſe all ſhips, with their merchandize, that ſhall, without leave, plant within two hundred leagues of this intended ſettlement, excepting, however, the queen's ſubjects and allies, fiſhing at Newfoundland, &c. She alſo grants free denization to the planters and their poſterity reſiding there: powers are alſo granted to the patentees for making bye-laws there, not repugnant to thoſe of England.

It is obſervable, that in this, and ſome other patents of thoſe times, there were no diſtinct place, longitude, or latitude, fixed or limited for ſuch plantation, although undoubtedly North America was the country intended.

In the next year, 1585, captain John Davis, with two barks from Dartmouth, firſt ſailed into the ſtreights ſince called by his name, in the country called Old Greenland, and returned home the ſame year, as all others have done, without making any uſeful diſcovery. At this time we find they knew the uſe of ſomewhat like the harpoon, with which they killed a porpoiſe; but though many whales fell in their way, they knew not yet the right method of killing them.

This ſame year the gallant ſir Richard Grenville ſailed for Virginia by the old round-about courſe, above deſcribed, with ſeven ſhips, laden with arms, ammunition, and proviſions, and with ſettlers for planting a colony. He began with planting at Roanoke Iſland, lying about five leagues from the continent, in eighty-ſix degrees north latitude. There he left one hundred and eight men: it is a truly melancholy conſideration, that thoſe poor creatures were left to ſhift for themſelves in ſo wild a country, for above a year; who, ſo eager to diſcover gold and ſilver mines (now never like to be found there), whilſt they neglected to prepare their proviſions in due ſeaſon, and going up the country in queſt of thoſe mines (for golden dreams were then univerſal), moſt of them were either deſtroyed by the natives, or periſhed for want; and the few who ſurvived were taken up by ſir Francis Drake, coming now again upon the coaſt from harraſſing the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, who took them all home with him, even although they had ſown corn there, which was very near ripe, ſufficient for two years ſuſtenance;

ſuſtenance; and they were but juſt gone, when a ſhip, fitted out at the ſole expence of ſir Walter Raleigh, arrived there with all ſorts of conveniences, as did ſir Richard Grenville ſoon after, with three other ſhips, bringing a farther ſupply: but finding the places quite deſolate where the Engliſh planters had ſettled, they all returned home. In thoſe accounts there appears to be ſome confuſion, with reſpect as well to the identical year, as to the names of perſons engaged therein, which is owing to the inaccuracy of writers and tranſcribers in thoſe days, which, however is of very little conſequence at preſent.

Sir Walter Raleigh had his mind ſo intenſely ſet upon a plantation in North America, that he again ſent out three ſhips, with an hundred and fifty perſons of both ſexes. Theſe planters Raleigh's ſuperintendant ſettled in the iſle of Roanoke, where he found the ſecond colony had been deſtroyed by the natives. Here he rebuilt the fort and houſes, calling it the city of Raleigh in Virginia: he left one hundred and fifteen men in this new ſettlement, and returned home, where he remained three years before he could obtain the neceſſary ſupplies, which he had promiſed to bring in the year after he had left the colony, where he arrived in 1590, with theſe ſupplies both of men and ſtores, in three ſhips. It ſeems, ſuch of the colony as had remained alive had removed to a place on the continent called Croatoan, that word being carved upon the trees; to this place they intended to ſail in ſearch of the colony, but a ſtorm unfortunately ariſing, the ſhips loſt their anchors and cables, and proviſions alſo failing, they agreed to return home, leaving that miſerable colony to periſh, to the ſhame of that age; for although Raleigh was in trouble about this time, yet ſurely the queen and nation ought to have ſhewn ſome compaſſion to the poor people left in a wilderneſs amongſt ſavages.

Thus was this ſcheme of a plantation in Virginia quite laid aſide during all the reſt of queen Elizabeth's reign, and all the great expence of Raleigh and the other adventurers utterly thrown away, beſides the loſs of many mens lives.

It was in the year 1591 that the firſt voyage from England to Eaſt India was undertaken with three ſhips; but it was rather a privateering adventure, than a proper mercantile voyage, for they took ſeveral ſhips in their way to India. They had loſt ſo many men by ſickneſs near the cape of Good Hope, that they were obliged to ſend one of their ſhips home, and proceeded with only two to India: moreover, in a ſtorm beyond the Cape they loſt company with captain Raymond in the principal ſhip, which was never heard of more; ſo that only captain Lancaſter's ſhip arrived in India, which alſo met with many grievous misfortunes; and, on her return, ſailing to the Weſt Indies, whilſt the captain and the reſt of the men went on ſhore to ſeek proviſions on an uninhabited iſland, ſix of the ſailors ran away with the ſhip; and at the end of three years this unfortunate officer was brought home, ſeveral of his men having periſhed for want at that place.

Some Engliſh ſhips now made a voyage to Cape Breton, at the entrance of the Bay of St. Laurence, in North America, ſome for morſe-fiſhing and others for whale-fiſhing (ſays Hakluyt), which is the firſt mention we find of the latter fiſhery by any Engliſh; and although they met with no whales there, they found on an iſland eight hundred whale-fins, where a Biſcay ſhip had been loſt three years before. This too is the firſt mention of whale fins or whalebone by the Engliſh. How the ladies ſtays were made before this commodious material in them was diſcovered, does not appear; probably ſlit pieces of cane, or of ſome other tough and pliant wood, might have been in uſe before.

By the trade to Archangel the Engliſh became well acquainted with the northern ſeas at this time, where alſo they at firſt carried on a great fiſhing, or hunting rather, for morſes (as the Ruſſians call them, the Engliſh call them ſea-horſes, and the Dutch and French, ſea-cows) on Cherry Iſland, beyond the North Cape, ſo called from alderman Cherry, but called by the Dutch Bear Iſland: but it ſeems thoſe amphibious animals became ſo ſhy, that the moment they ſaw any man, they ran into the ſea. The Engliſh thereupon fell into the whale-fiſhery, though not quite ſo early as this time.

Grotius tells us, that the Hollanders, about this time built two thouſand ſhips every year; a thing almoſt incredible, conſidering their new exiſtence as an independent ſtate, did it not proceed from ſo illuſtrious and reſpectable an author, and their own countryman.

Our own Turkey merchants firſt, and the Dutch Eaſt India company next (for they had got the ſtart of us in the Eaſt India trade) keeping up the price of pepper and other ſpices to a high rate, we being at war with Spain, and ſo could not get ſpices from Liſbon at firſt-hand, queen Elizabeth now determined to enter her people directly on a commerce to Eaſt India.

Accordingly, on the thirty-firſt of December, 1600, ſhe granted a charter to George, earl of Cumberland, and two hundred and fifteen knights, aldermen, and merchants, "that, at their own coſts and charges they may ſet forth one or more voyages to the Eaſt Indians, in the countries and parts of Aſia and Africa, and to the iſlands thereabout, divers of which countries, iſlands, &c. have long ſince been diſcovered by others of our ſubjects; to be one body politic and corporate, by the name of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading to the Eaſt Indies: to have ſucceſſion: to purchaſe lands (without limitation): to have one governor, and twenty-four perſons, to be elected annually, who ſhall be called Committees, jointly to have the direction of the voyages, the proviſion of the ſhipping, and the management of all other things belonging to the ſaid company. Sir Thomas Smith, alderman of London, was to be the firſt governor: and a deputy-governor to be elected in a general court: both the governors, and all the committees to take the oath of fidelity; as alſo every member ſhall take an oath, before being admitted to traffic as a freeman of this company. The company, their ſons (at twenty-one years of age), their apprentices, ſervants, and factors, in India or elſewhere, may, for fifteen years, from Chriſtmas laſt, freely and ſolely trade (by ſuch ways and paſſages as are already found out, or which ſhall hereafter be diſcovered) into the countries and ports of Aſia and Africa, and into and from all the iſlands, ports, towns, and places of Aſia, Africa, and America, or any of them, beyond Cape Bona Eſperanza to the Streights of Magellan, where any traffic of merchandize

may

may be uſed, and to and from every of them, in ſuch manner as ſhall from time to time be limited and agreed on, at any general court of the company; any ſtatute, uſage, diverſity of religion or faith, or any other matter to the contrary notwithſtanding, ſo as it be not any country already poſſeſſed by any Chriſtian potentate in amity with her majeſty, who ſhall declare the ſame to be againſt his or their good liking. Either the governor or deputy governor muſt always be one in the general aſſemblies, when they may make all reaſonable conſtitutions, &c. agreeable to the laws of England, for their good government, by plurality of voices; and may puniſh, by fines and impriſonment, the offenders againſt their laws. The queen grants the company an exemption from paying any cuſtoms for the firſt four voyages; and for the cuſtoms which ſhall afterwards be payable for merchandize from India, the company ſhall be allowed to give their bonds, payable one half in ſix months and the other half in ſix months after: for merchandize loſt at ſea, outward-bound, the cuſtoms ſhall be allowed to the company out of the next cargo ſhipped off. Indian merchandize that ſhall have paid the cuſtoms, may, at the end of thirteen months, be re-exported by any ſubjects, without paying for their cuſtoms. The company may export, in their firſt voyage, now preparing, thirty thouſand pounds in foreign coin, or bullion, ſo that at leaſt ſix thouſand pounds thereof be firſt coined in the queen's mint; and the like for the ſubſequent voyages; provided the company firſt import at leaſt ſo much foreign coin or bullion, in gold or ſilver, into this realm, of which ſix thouſand pounds ſhall be coined as aforeſaid. The company may ſend yearly to Eaſt India ſix good ſhips and ſix pinnaces, with five hundred mariners, unleſs the navy-royal goes forth. None of the queen's ſubjects, but the company, their ſervants, or aſſigns, ſhall reſort to India, without being licenced by the company, upon pain of forfeiting ſhips and cargoes, with impriſonment till the offenders give one thouſand pounds bond to the company not to trade thither again. Nevertheleſs, for the encouragement of merchants ſtrangers, and others, to bring in commodities to the realm, the queen gives power to the company to grant licences to trade to Eaſt India; and ſhe promiſes not to grant leave to any others to trade thither, during the company's term, without their conſent. The majority of any general meeting of the company may admit apprentices, ſervants, factors, &c. to the fellowſhip or freedom of the ſaid company. The ſilver to be exported ſhall only be ſhipped at the ports of London, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, and ſhall be duly entered by the cuſtom-houſe officers, without paying any cuſtom for the ſame. Gold and ſilver, imported by the company, ſhall be entered before the landing of the ſame. Provided, that, in caſe this charter ſhall hereafter appear not to be profitable to the crown and realm, then, upon two years notice to the company, their charter ſhall ceaſe and determine: but if otherwiſe, then the queen promiſes, at the end of the ſaid fifteen years, upon the company's ſuit, to grant them a new charter for fifteen years longer."

This is the very ſame Eaſt India company which, through many various viciſſitudes, exiſted under the ſame denomination until the year 1708, when it was abſorbed by the preſent United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies. The original ſhares ſubſcribed were fifty pounds each.

To cloſe this account of the riſe and firſt proceedings of our Eaſt India company, we ſhall remark, that the company's ſhips in their homeward bound paſſage took poſſeſſion of the iſland of St. Helena, then uninhabited; though, according to the cuſtom of the Portugueſe, well ſtocked with goats, hogs, and poultry, that they might be ſupplied therewith when obliged at any time to ſtop there. Here our Eaſt India company planted and fortified, and held it till the year 1673, as will be ſhewn in the courſe of this hiſtory. This iſland is all a high rock, whoſe ſurface is covered with about twelve inches of earth. As the winds blow conſtantly at ſouth-eaſt, from the Cape of Good Hope to this iſland (which is about twenty-two miles in circuit), it is ſailed in about three weeks, without handing the ſails, and the moderate gale renders the voyage very pleaſant. On the contrary, it is extremely difficult to find this iſland in ſailing from Europe, becauſe of the ſaid conſtant ſouth-eaſt wind; for which reaſon, when a ſhip is ſent from England thither, they are obliged to ſail directly to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence take their courſe to St. Helena, as already deſcribed. The great and only benefit our ſhipping receive from this iſland, is the freſh water and proviſions they there meet with in their return from India, whereby above two hundred families are there ſupported and employed.

The very laſt day of the XVIth century having thus given birth and form to the firſt Engliſh Eaſt India company, the members thereof immediately raiſed ſeventy-two thouſand pounds, though not in one joint-ſtock, or common capital, as in ſucceeding times, there having been no joint-ſtock in this company till the year 1613. They this year, 1601, ſent out their firſt fleet for India, commanded in chief by captain James Lancaſter, having one ſhip of ſix hundred tons, one of three hundred tons, two of two hundred each, and one of one hundred and thirty, as victualler to the whole fleet, carrying four hundred and eighty men and twenty ſeven thouſand pounds in money and goods, the remainder of the ſaid ſeventy-two thouſand pounds being entirely expended in the purchaſe of thoſe ſhips, and for artillery, ammunition, proviſions, &c. But queen Elizabeth did not live to ſee the return of this voyage. At Acheen, in the iſland of Sumatra, they loaded pepper for ſome of their ſhips, but not meeting with a ſufficiency, and ſailing from thence for the Streights of Malacca, they completed their lading by the capture of a Portugueſe ſhip of nine hundred tons, laden with callicoes and other goods. Sailing thence to Bantam, they delivered queen Elizabeth's letter and preſents to the king, as they had before done to the king of Acheen; and from both thoſe kings they received letters and preſents for queen Elizabeth; they alſo obtained privileges for the company from thoſe monarchs. Having ſettled factories at Bantam, they ſailed homewards, and arrived in the Downs in September, 1603, having proſperouſly made their firſt voyage in two years and ſeven months.

In the year 1601, we have a ſtatute of the forty-third of queen Elizabeth (cap. xii.) for awarding commiſſioners to hear and determine policies of aſſurances made among merchants, in the preamble

of which ſtatute are the following words: "Whereas it hath been, time out of mind, an uſage amongſt merchants, both of this realm and of foreign nations, when they make any great adventure (eſpecially into remote parts, to give ſome conſideration of money to other perſons (which is commonly in no ſmall number) to have from them aſſurance made of their goods, merchandizes, ſhips, and things adventured, or ſome parts thereof, at ſuch rates, and in ſuch ſort as the party aſſurers and party aſſured can agree, which courſe of dealing is commonly termed a Policy of Aſſurance; by means of which it cometh to paſs, upon the loſs or periſhing of any ſhip, there followeth not the undoing of any man, but the loſs lighteth rather eaſily upon many, than heavily upon few, and rather upon them that adventure not, than upon thoſe that adventure; whereby all merchants, eſpecially of the younger ſort, are allured to venture more willingly, and more freely: and whereas heretofore ſuch aſſurers have uſed to ſtand ſo juſtly and preciſely on their credit, as few or no controverſies have ariſen thereupon; and if any have grown, the ſame have, from time to time, been ended and ordered by certain grave and diſcreet merchants, appointed by the lord-mayor of London; until of late years, that divers perſons have withdrawn themſelves from that arbitrary courſe, and have ſought to draw the parties aſſured to ſeek their moneys in her majeſty's courts, to their great charges and delay. For remedy whereof, it is now enacted, that the lord-chancellor (or keeper) do award one general or ſtanding yearly commiſſion for the determining of cauſes on policies of aſſurance, ſuch as now are, or hereafter ſhall be entered within the office of aſſurance within the city of London, this commiſſion to conſiſt of the judge of the admiralty, the recorder of London, two doctors of the civil law, two common lawyers, and eight diſcreet merchants, or to any five of them: which commiſſion ſhall have authority to determine all cauſes concerning policies of aſſurance, in a ſummary way; who ſhall ſummon the parties, examine witneſſes upon oath, and impriſon diſobeyers of their decrees. They ſhall meet weekly at the office of aſſurance, on the weſt ſide of the Royal Exchange, for the execution of their commiſſion, without fee or reward. And any ſuch as may think themſelves aggrieved by their determinations, may, in two months, exhibit his bill in Chancery, for a re-examination of ſuch decree; provided the complainant do firſt lay down to the ſaid commiſſioners the ſum awarded; and that the lord-chancellor, or keeper, may either reverſe or confirm the firſt decree, according to equity. Laſtly, no commiſſioner ſhall be an aſſurer, or aſſured."

This law ſufficiently demonſtrates, that at this time there was a great increaſe of foreign commerce in England.

Aſſurance, or inſurance, of ſhips and merchandize on the ſeas, is of great antiquity, even as far back as the reign of the emperor Claudius Cæſar.

The ſea-laws of Oleron, as far back as the year 1194, treat of it.

It ſeems to have been in uſe in England upon the revival of commerce, ſomewhat earlier than on the continent; and Antwerp, though in its meridian glory, learned it from England: "whereas (ſays Molineux's Lex Mercatoria, the meetings of merchants in London were held in Lombard-ſtreet (ſo called becauſe certain nations of Lombardy kept there a pawn-houſe, or Lombard, long before the Royal Exchange was built), all the policies of aſſurance at Antwerp, which then were, and now (1622) yet are made, do make mention, that it ſhall be in all things concerning the ſaid aſſurances, as was accuſtomed to be done in Lombard-ſtreet in London; which is imitated alſo in other places of the Low Countries."

As the gradual increaſe of the ſuburbs of London does in great meaſure keep pace with the gradual increaſe of the general commerce of England, and as it is, moreover, a curious and entertaining part of hiſtory, to mark the gradual advances of both, I therefore have no need of an apology for laying before my readers whatever falls in my way of that kind, during the period now before us.

We find by an act of the fourteenth and fifteenth of Henry VIII. (cap. ii.) for limiting foreign artizans as to their journeymen and apprentices, that the juriſdiction of the London corporations was to extend two miles from the city, viz. within the town of Weſtminſter, the pariſh of St. Martin in the Fields, and of Our Lady in the Strand, St. Clement Danes without Temple-bar, St. Giles in the Fields, St. Andrew in Holborn, the town and borough of Southwark, Shoreditch, White-chapel pariſh, St. John's ſtreet (i. e. Clerkenwell), and Clerkenwell pariſh, St. Botolph without Aldgate, St. Catherine's (near the Tower of London), and Bermondſey-ſtreet." This is an authentic view of the ſeveral ſuburbs of London in the year 1524. Nevertheleſs we are not to imagine that all thoſe ſuburbs were contiguous to each other, or joined, as at preſent to the great contiguity; for there were then, and long after, ſundry large breaks, or interruptions, where no buildings were; not only the ſtreet (now ſo well built) called the Strand, then chiefly taken up with the capital dwellings of the nobility, with their large adjoining gardens, but alſo a great part of St. Martin's pariſh, were ſtill literally in the Fields: the like may be ſaid of St. Giles in the Fields (then ſtyled the town of St. Giles), and of the upper part of St. Andrew's in Holborn, much of all which, and alſo of Weſtminſter, Clerkenwell, Shoreditch, White chapel, and Southwark, was literally Fields, even ſo late as the reign of queen Elizabeth, as appears by a map of London and its ſuburbs, ſtill extant, firſt publiſhed in the year 1560.

By a ſtatute 24 Henry VIII. the ſtreetway between Charing-croſs and Strand-croſs (i. e. that is near where Somerſet-houſe is now ſituated) in the ſuburbs of London, was directed "to be ſufficiently paved and maintained, at the charge of the owners of the land adjoining." This ſhews that the Strand was not yet built into a continued ſtreet.

In the following year, 1534, the high-ſtreet between Holborn-bridge and Holborn-bars, at the weſt end thereof, was directed to be paved; as were alſo the ſtreets of Southwark; and that every one ſhould maintain the ſaid pavements before his own ground, or forfeit to the king ſix pence for every yard ſquare.

In the thirty-ſecond of the ſaid king's reign, viz. anno 1541, the following ſtreets or ways in London were ordered to be paved, viz. 1. The ſtreet leading from Aldgate to White-chapel church: 2. the upper part of the lane called Chancery-lane: 3.

the way leading from Holborn-bars, weſtward, towards St. Giles in the Fields, as far as any habitation is on both ſides of the ſaid ſtreet: 4. Gray's Inn lane: 5. Shoe-lane: and, 6. Feuter, now called Fetter-lane; the two laſt being thoroughfares and paſſages from Fleet-ſtreet into Holborn." The part of Chancery-lane now to be paved is thus deſcribed, viz. "from the bars beſide the Rolls, lately ſet up by the lord privy-ſeal, into the ſaid highway in Holborn." Theſe paſſages ſhew the age of the Rolls-office in Chancery-lane; and alſo that all Holborn, above the city-bars, remained unpaved till now; nor was it at this time all built on both ſides (nor a conſiderable time later) as appears by the map before mentioned, drawn in queen Elizabeth's reign: all theſe ſix ways now directed to be paved, are therein deſcribed as "very foul, and full of pits and ſloughs, very perilous and noyous (noiſome) as well for all the king's ſubjects on horſeback as on foot and with carriages." Yet three of theſe, viz. Shoe-lane, Fetter-lane, and Chancery-lane, are now in the very center of the preſent immenſe contiguity; and all the reſt are likewiſe well built and inhabited. So vaſt is the increaſe and improvement of London ſince thoſe times. By a ſtatute of 34 and 35 Henry VIII. cap. xii. the ſtreets named White-croſs-ſtreet, Chiſwel-ſtreet leading from White-croſs-ſtreet into the highway leading to Moor-gate; the lane called Golding-lane, and ſtreet called Grub-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St. Giles without Cripple-gate; the ſtreet called Goſwell-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St. Botolph without Alderſgate; Long-lane, in the pariſh of St. Botolph aforeſaid and of St. Sepulchre without Newgate; the ſtreet called St. John's-ſtreet, leading from the Bars of Smithfield up to the Pound at the corner of the wall extending along the high way to Iſlington; and alſo the ſtreet leading from the ſaid Bars to Cow-croſs: the lane called Water-lane, in Fleet-ſtreet, leading down to the Thames; the way leading without Temple-bar, weſtward, by and unto St. Clement's Inn gates and New Inn gates to Drury-place, in the county of Middleſex (this ſhews that this way was not built on); and alſo one little lane ſtretching from the ſaid way to the ſign of the Bell at Drury-lane end; and the common way leading through a certain place called Petit France, from the bars at the weſt end of Tothill-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, unto the uttermoſt part of the weſt end of the ſaid place called Petit France: the ſtreet or highway leading from Biſhopſgate-ſtreet to and above Shoreditch-church; and the bridge called Strand-bridge, and the way leading from the ſaid bridge towards Temple-bar, and the lane called Foskue-lane from the garden and tenement of the biſhop of Lichfield, and the garden and tenement called the Bell and Proctors, down to Stand-bridge (thoſe names are now unknown), be very foul and full of pits and ſloughs, very perilous and noyous, and very neceſſary to be kept clear, for the avoiding of corrupt ſavours, and avoiding of peſtilence: for the amendment and reformation whereof, all who have any lands or tenements adjoining to the aforeſaid ſtreets, lanes, and ways, unto the midſt of them, in length and breadth as his land and tenement do lie or extend, in like manner and form as the ſtreets in the city of London be paved, with cauſeys or channels in the midſt of the ſame ſtreets, and ſhall yearly maintain the ſame."

James Howel, in his Londinopolis, publiſhed in folio, anno 1657, gives us many particulars of the vaſt increaſe of the ſuburbs of London towards the cloſe of queen Elizabeth's reign, which more plainly points out the vaſt increaſe of England's commerce, than a whole volume of ſpeculative reaſoning could do alone. It was not material to make different ſections thereof, and therefore we have brought them altogether, whether a little before or after this year.

"It ſeems, that about this time the ground called Spital-fields, began gradually to be built upon for weavers; as had alſo Hog-lane, in that part which had (within ſixty years from the date of his ſaid book) had fair rows of elm-trees all along, now turned into houſes on both ſides, from Houndſditch to White-chapel church.

"As to Wapping (ſays Howel), it is yet within the memory of man, that there was never a houſe from St. Catherine's to Wapping: but now (i. e. anno 1657) there is a continued ſtreet towards a mile from the Tower, all along the river, almoſt as far as Radcliffe; which proceeded from the increaſe of navigation, mariners, and traffick." This ſhews that Wapping was originally a village, or place detached from London, though now part of the great contiguity thereof. "Radcliffe alſo (continues he) is much increaſed in buildings, and alſo Nightingale-lane.

"Northward, London's ſuburbs have been leſs increaſed than on the eaſt and weſt ſides; yet there was an increaſe, about this time, on that ſide alſo. Where the buildings on the weſt ſide of Smithfield ſtand, was formerly a very large pond of water; and where the place called the Sheep-pens is, was a field with growing elms, and the place of execution for criminals. Afterwards (in king Henry VI's reign) they began to build the ſpace between the ſaid pond and river of Wells (now Turnmill-brook) which runs into Fleet-ditch; and afterwards that pond was drained, and built upon, and ſo down that ſtreet now called Cow-lane; and alſo Chick-lane and Hoſier-lane, &c. So that the buildings there are ſo increaſed, that now remaineth not one tree there."

Some other additions were made about Clerkenwell, about or near this time, where the fields, gardens, and avenues of the great priory of St. John of Jeruſalem, and alſo the convent on the north ſide of Clerkenwell-green, ſtood.

Weſtward, without Newgate, the great ſtreet named Holborn, and its contiguity, have been gradually built quite up to the village of St. Giles in the Fields: but as the greateſt increaſe thereabout was chiefly in the next century, we muſt refer thereto.

From the year 1512, the fourth of Henry VIII. we may properly date the commencement of what may be called an Engliſh royal navy. i. e. a number of ſtout ſhips of war, actually belonging to, and permanently kept on foot by, the Engliſh crown, for national defence, king Henry VIII. being the firſt Engliſh monarch who effectually purſued this plan, and for that end eſtabliſhed a royal navy-office, with commiſſioners, &c. nearly as at preſent. He muſt indeed be allowed (amidſt all his wild diſſipations) to have employed great ſums of money on his marine affairs, as well for the conſtruction of ſhips for war, as of dock-yards, wharfs, ſtore-houſes, &c. Before his time there was no fixed per-

manent royal navy; but, on ordinary occaſions, the Cinque Ports (as already fully ſeen) ſupplied the crown with a determined number of ſorry ſhips as they had in thoſe old times; and on great emergencies we alſo have ſeen that all the maritime towns of the kingdom were bound, or reaſonable notice to ſend their quota of ſhips and mariners, for a determined time; commanded either by the king or his admiral; ſuch as was the fleet of king Edward III. at the ſiege of Calais, anno 1347, and other capital expeditions.

Moreover (biſhop Gibſon, in his Additions to Camden's Britannia) obſerves that king Henry VIII. in the ſaid fourth year of his reign, for the advancement and benefit of navigation and commerce, erected a corporation for the buſineſs of examining, licencing, and regulating of pilots; for ordering and erecting of beacons, light-houſes, buoys, &c. which is ſtyled the Corporation of the Trinity-houſe of Deptford Strand, and has proved of great benefit for accompliſhing the ends of its founder. Another ſociety, for the like good purpoſes, he alſo erected at Hull, by the name of the Trinity-houſe at Hull; and alſo another at Newcaſtle upon Tyne (anno 1537): "Which three eſtabliſhments (ſays Hakluyt) were in imitation of that which the emperor Charles V. had erected at Seville, in Spain; who, obſerving the many ſhipwrecks in voyages to and from the Weſt Indies, occaſioned by the ignorance of ſeamen, eſtabliſhed, at the Contraction-houſe, lectures upon navigation; and a pilot major, for the examination of other pilots and mariners: he alſo directed books to be publiſhed on that ſubject, for the uſe of his mariners." The king, by his charter, confirmed to the Deptford Trinity-houſe ſociety, all the ancient rights, privileges, &c. of the ſhipmen and mariners of England, and their ſeveral poſſeſſions at Deptford: whereby it appears plainly, that they had been a ſociety long before, though nowhere recorded how long. This corporation (whoſe powers, &c. have been ſince confirmed and augmented by ſucceeding kings) have alſo the power of appointing pilots for the king's ſhips, and for examining and fixing their wages, and certifying their qualifications, and thoſe of the maſters of the ſhips of war; alſo of clearing and deepening the Thames by ballaſt hoys, with which balaſt they ſupply the ſhipping. They have alſo the examination of the forty mathematical boys of Chriſt's Hoſpital. They have likewiſe power to hear and determine complaints of officers and ſailors in the merchants ſervice: ſo that this corporation more eſpecially is eminently of great utility to the nation.

Henry alſo made Deptford, near London, a magazine to the royal navy, which has gradually increaſed to the flouriſhing ſtate we now ſee it in. And, conſidering how far the river of Thames was expoſed to inſults from foreign enemies, he cauſed a fortification to be erected at Graveſend, and another oppoſite to it on the Eſſex ſhore, where Tilbury fort now ſtands. And having loſt his fine ſhip Regent, of one thouſand tons, he cauſed another to be built; ſuch a one (ſays Hall) as had never been ſeen in England, and named it the Henry Grace de Dieu.

We have in a treaty of peace between Henry VIII. and Lewis XII. of France, made anno 1514, a recital of implements for a naval war, ſuch as cannon, gunpowder, ſtones (for they had not yet the uſe of iron bullets), darts, &c. And in the ſame year the Chronicon Pretioſum makes a maſter ſhipwright's daily pay, with his diet, five pence, and without diet ſeven pence per diem; an hewer, with diet four pence, without diet ſix pence; and an able clencher the ſame. Note, that living was then twice as cheap as in our days.

In the year 1523, according to lord Herbert's Hiſtory of Henry VIII. in the attempts of the Engliſh and French courts to gain Scotland to their reſpective intereſts, at the death of king James V. the Engliſh miniſters, among other arguments, aſſerted "that the Engliſh were maſters of the ſeas, and thereby were able to ſtop and interclude all ſuccour that ſhould come to them (the Scots) from any other place." And as in the replication of the partizans of France that aſſertion is not contradicted, the point ſeems to have been admitted.

The reigns of Edward VI. and Mary furniſh no improvements in navigation worthy our notice; but Elizabeth, very early in her reign, put naval affairs upon a better footing than they had been under her predeceſſor, both by building ſome ſhips of her own, and by encouraging the merchants to build large trading veſſels, which on occaſion, were converted into ſhips of war. In 1582, the ſeamen of England were computed at fourteen thouſand two hundred and ninety-five, and the number of veſſels twelve-hundred and thirty-two, of which there were not above two hundred and ſeventeen above eighty tons. Monſon computes that, though the navigation decreaſed in the firſt year of James I. by the practices of the merchants, who carried on their trade in foreign bottoms, yet before 1640, the number of ſeamen was treble in England.

The navy which the queen left at her deceaſe appears conſiderable, when we conſider only the number of veſſels, which were forty-two; but when we reflect, that none of theſe ſhips carried above forty guns, that four only came up to that number, that there were but two ſhips of a thouſand tons, and twenty-three below five hundred, ſome of fifty, and ſome even of twenty tons; that the whole number of guns belonging to the fleet were ſeven hundred and ſeventy-four; we muſt entertain a very contemptible idea of the Engliſh navy, compared with the force it hath now attained. In the year 1588 there were not above five veſſels equipped by the noblemen and ſea-ports, which exceeded two hundred tons.

In this famous year (1588) what is called the Cheſt at Chatham was firſt erected, being a contribution for the benefit and relief of maimed and ſuperannuated Engliſh mariners (out of which penſions are paid to ſuch for their lives) by the advice of ſir Francis Drake, ſir John Hawkins, &c. It was firſt only a voluntary monthly contribution of the mariners out of their pay, for the ſuccour of their then wounded brethren, but was afterwards made perpetual by queen Elizabeth. By an act of the rump-parliament, anno 1649 (cap. xxiv.) for aboliſhing deans and chapters, and of their lands, we find this cheſt had been uſually kept at what is called the Hill Houſe, at Chatham, which, with its gardens, &c. belonged to the dean and chapter of Rocheſter. Until the foundation of Greenwich hoſpital by king William III. this was the only charity of that kind for diſtreſſed ſailors.

PUBLIC

PUBLIC REVENUE.

It is difficult to compute exactly queen Elizabeth's ordinary revenue, but it certainly fell much ſhort of five thouſand pounds a year. In 1590 ſhe raiſed the cuſtoms from fourteen thouſand pounds a year to fifty thouſand pounds, and obliged ſir Thomas Smith, who had farmed them, to refund ſome of his former profits. This improvement of the revenue was owing to the ſuggeſtions of one Caemarden, and was extremely oppoſed by Burleigh, Leiceſter, and Walſingham: but the queen's perſeverance overcame all their oppoſition. The great undertakings which ſhe executed with ſo narrow a revenue, and with ſuch ſmall ſupplies from her people, prove the mighty effects of prudence and œconomy. She received from the parliament, during her whole reign, only twenty ſubſidies and thirty-nine fifteenths. It is not eaſy to compute the amount of thoſe ſupplies, becauſe the value of a ſubſidy was continually falling; and in the end of her reign it amounted only to eighty thouſand pounds, which in the beginning had been an hundred and twenty thouſand. If we ſuppoſe that the whole ſupplies granted to Elizabeth, during a reign of forty-five years, amounted to three millions, we ſhall not probably be much wide of the truth. This ſum makes only ſixty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds a year; and it is ſuppriſing that while the queen's demands were ſo moderate, and her expences ſo well regulated, ſhe ſhould ever have found any difficulty of getting a ſupply from the parliament, or be reduced to make ſale of the crown-lands; but ſuch was the extreme, I had almoſt ſaid abſurd, parſimony of the parliaments during that period; they valued nothing in compariſon of their money. The members had no connection with the court, and the very idea which they conceived of the truſt committed to them, was to refuſe the demands of the crown, and to grant as few ſupplies as poſſible. The crown, on the other hand, conſidered the parliament in no other light than a means of ſupply. Queen Elizabeth made a merit to her people of ſeldom aſſembling parliaments: no redreſs of grievances was expected from theſe aſſemblies; they were ſuppoſed to meet for no other purpoſe than to impoſe taxes.

Before queen Elizabeth's reign, the Engliſh princes had always recourſe to the city of Antwerp for voluntary loans; and their credit was ſo low, that beſides the exorbitant intereſt of ten or twelve per cent. they were obliged to make the city of London join in the ſecurity. Sir Thomas Greſham, that great and enterprizing merchant, one of the chief ornaments of this reign, engaged the company of Merchant-adventurers to grant the queen a loan; and as the money was regularly paid, her credit by degrees eſtabliſhed itſelf in the city, and ſhe ſhook off this dependence on foreigners.

In 1559, the queen employed Greſham to borrow two hundred thouſand pounds at Antwerp, in order to enable her to reform the coinage, which was at that time extremely debaſed. She was ſo impolitic as to make herſelf an innovation in the coin, by dividing a pound of ſilver into ſixty-two ſhillings, inſtead of ſixty, the former ſtandard. This is the laſt time that the coin has been tampered with in England.

The ſplendor of a court was, during this age, a great part of the public charge; and as Elizabeth was a ſingle woman, and expenſive in no ſpecies of magnificence, except cloaths, this circumſtance enabled her to perform great things by her narrow revenue. She is ſaid to have paid four millions of debt left on the crown by her father, brother, and ſiſter; an incredible ſum for that age*. The ſtates of the United Provinces, at the time of her deceaſe, owed her about eight hundred thouſand pounds; and the king of France four hundred and fifty thouſand: though that prince was extremely frugal, and, after the peace of Vervins, was continually amaſſing treaſure, the queen never could, by the moſt preſſing remonſtrances, prevail on him to make payment of thoſe ſums which ſhe had ſo generouſly advanced him during his greateſt diſtreſſes; one payment of twenty thouſand crowns, and another of fifty thouſand, were all ſhe could obtain by the ſtrongeſt repreſentations ſhe could make of the difficulties to which the rebellion in Ireland had reduced her. The queen expended in the war with Spain, between the years 1589 and 1593, the ſum of one million three hundred thouſand pounds, beſides the double ſubſidy, amounting to two hundred and eighty thouſand pounds, granted to her by parliament. In the year 1599, ſhe ſpent ſix hundred thouſand pounds in ſix months, in the ſervice of Ireland. Sir Robert Cecil affirmed, that in the ſpace of ten years Ireland coſt her three millions four hundred thouſand pounds. She made the earl of Eſſex a preſent of thirty thouſand pounds, upon his departure to take upon him the government of that kingdom. Lord Burleigh computed, that the value of the gifts conferred on that favourite, amounted to three hundred thouſand pounds; a proof of her ſtrong affection to him. It was a common ſaying during this reign, that the queen paid bountifully, though ſhe rewarded ſparingly.

* D'Ewes, p. 473. I think it is impoſſible to reconcile this account of the public debts with that given by Strype, Eccleſ Mem. vol. ii. p. 344. that in the year 1553, the crown owed above three hundred thouſand pounds. I own that this laſt ſum appears a great deal more likely. The whole revenue of queen Elizabeth would not in ten years have paid four millions. Hume's Hiſtory of the Tudors, vol. ii. p. 729.

An Hiſtorical Deduction of the VALUE of our ENGLISH SILVER and GOLD COIN, but particularly thoſe of the former, from the CONQUEST. Extracted from Mr. Anderſon, Biſhop Fleetwood, and others; together with ſome Obſervations on the Preſent State of our SILVER MONEY.

WE ſhall cloſe our remarks upon this period with a view of the ſtate of our coinage, from the acceſſion of William the Norman to that of Elizabeth incluſive, when the value of our money was nearly ſettled on the ſame footing as at preſent. This is a matter very neceſſary to be properly underſtood, for by this alone we ſhall be enabled to form a ſuitable judgment of the true rate in cheapneſs of proviſions and all other neceſſaries of life through their different variations and periods, the pay of artificers, labourers, ſoldiers, ſailors, &c. a ſubject frequently brought into converſation, and as frequently miſunderſtood.

The ancient Britons, when firſt invaded by the Romans, had no other kind of money but iron and tin plates and rings (copper not being then, nor long after, found in our iſland); theſe might well enough anſwer, with barter, the purpoſes of the inconſiderable tranſactions in thoſe rude times, when they had neither arts nor manufactures of any kind. The neceſſity, however, of an univerſal medium in commerce, which we call Money, was in much earlier times diſcovered in the more eaſtern parts of the world, and both gold and ſilver money were thence ſoon after introduced into Carthage and Greece; from Greece it was brought to Rome, and thence gradually weſtward into all the Roman provinces.

Silver, on account of its cleanneſs and moderate plenty, was, by the general conſent of all civilized nations, deemed the moſt proper for an univerſal medium of commerce, though at firſt, and for many ages, by weight only, till at length, for greater convenience, princes and ſtates fell upon the expedient of coins, by ſtamping pieces of the metal of a determined weight and fineneſs, to paſs current by their authority.

Gold had, indeed, all the properties of ſilver for ſuch a general medium, even in a higher degree; it was leſs diminiſhable by fire, more ductile, more beautiful; but its much greater ſcarcity, more eſpecially in Europe, rendered it unfit for an univerſal medium of commerce.

On the other hand, copper, by reaſon of its fouler and baſer nature, and its great plenty, could not be ſo well uſed in large tranſactions, though extremely uſeful in ſmall ones.

Whilſt the Romans held Britain, they coined here gold, ſilver, and copper; of all which coins, as well as of thoſe brought from Rome itſelf, many have been dug up, in various parts of this iſland.

When the Saxons firſt conquered a part of England, in the middle of the Vth century, they were little better than ſavages, and probably had no ſort of coins in their own country of Germany; but when they became more civilized, they coined ſilver money, of which ſome pieces are ſtill to be found in the cabinets of the curious.

As far as certainly appears, the largeſt ſilver coin in England, not only before, but for ſome centuries after the Norman ingreſſion, was denominated a Penny; which, till the reign of king Edward III. contained as much ſilver as about three pence of our money; and as this penny was, in their manner of coining, cut almoſt through croſswiſe, it could with eaſe be divided into half-pence and farthings, or fourthlings. Thus in England, from the time of our firſt Norman king, William I. called the Conqueror, the ſilver coins were thrice the value of the modern, till the eighteenth year of king Edward III. A. D. 1344; and from thence to the time of king Henry VIII. it was not only farther leſſened, but in his reign, and in the firſt five years of his ſon, Edward VI. ſhamefully debaſed; but in the laſt year of that hopeful young monarch its purity was reſtored, and its weight reduced to the ſtate it is in at this preſent time. But to be more particular:

From the before-mentioned year, 1344, to the eighth year of Henry V. anno 1420, the Engliſh ſilver penny, on an average, weighed very near two pence half-penny of our money.

From the ninth year of Henry V. anno 1421, to the firſt year of Henry VIII. anno 1509, the ſilver penny, on an average, was worth near two pence of our modern money.

From the ſecond year of king Henry VIII. anno 1510, to his thirty-third year, anno 1542, a pound of fine ſilver was coined into forty-five ſhillings, being three ſhillings and nine pence per ounce; ſo that their nine pence was equal to our ſhilling. But,

In the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth years of Henry VIII, annis 1543, 1544, the ſilver coin began to be debaſed to ten ounces of fine ſilver and two ounces allay per pound, troy weight, out of which pound they coined forty-eight ſhillings; yet ſtill four pence of their coin was equal to five pence of our money.

But in the following year, 1545, that king ſuffered his ſilver coin to be debaſed ſo far as to ſix ounces fine and ſix ounces allay, in ſuch ſort that eight pence of their money was but equal to five pence of our's.

And in the three following years, 1546, 1547, 1548, the coin was ſtill farther debaſed to four ounces fine and eight ounces allay, and they coined forty-eight ſhillings of this baſe metal in the pound; ſo that their ſhilling, or twelve pence, was worth but five pence of our modern money, whereby they made the people pay after the rate of twelve ſhillings for an ounce of pure ſilver.

In the third year of Edward VI. anno 1549, the coin was brought back to the fineneſs of the year 1545, viz. ſix ounces fine and ſix ounces allay, ſo that their eight pence (as above) was equal to our five pence.

Yet they ſtill remained infatuated, as if foreigners as well as our own people would, in bills of exchange, and other money tranſactions with us,

put any greater value on our ſaid coins than they actually contained of fine ſilver; for out of a pound of ſilver of the laſt-named fineneſs, they coined ſeventy-two ſhillings in the year 1550; whereby an ounce of fine ſilver was valued at twelve of their ſhillings, as in the years 1546, 1547, and 1548.

And, moſt ſcandalouſly for the nation (ſays biſhop Fleetwood, in his Chronicon Pretioſum) in the fifth year of king Edward VI. anno 1551, the ſilver coin was debaſed ſo low as three ounces fine and nine ounces allay; and out of a pound thereof they coined ſeventy-two ſhillings of their coin per ounce: ſo that twelve pence of their money was not worth three pence of our's.

In the following year, 1552, Edward's miniſters at length ſaw this their great error: wherefore they now reſtored the fineneſs of the ſilver coin to eleven ounces and one penny-weight fine, and coined ſixty ſhillings out of the pound; nearly the ſame as in our days.

In the firſt year of queen Mary, anno 1553, they coined a pound of ſilver into ſixty ſhillings, and a pound of gold into thirty-ſix pounds in ſilver, being ſovereigns, of thirty ſhillings; and angels, of ten ſhillings; alſo half-ſovereigns and half-angels: and ſo it continued to the ſecond year of queen Elizabeth, when that princeſs coined ſixty ſhillings out of a pound of ſilver, of eleven ounces and two penny-weight fine; and thus it has continued till now (i. e. 1706, when the biſhop wrote.) So that the variation of the value of our ſilver coin, from the year 1552, down to the preſent time, has been ſo inconſiderable as not to be worth regarding.

In the laſt year of king Edward VI. anno 1553, ſilver crowns, half-crowns, ſhillings, and ſix-pences, were firſt coined in England (excepting only ſome few ſhillings which had been coined in 1504.) "I have weighed thoſe crowns (ſays biſhop Fleetwood) and found them of the ſame weight, and much the ſame fineneſs, as our's."

In the year 1561, queen Elizabeth coined ſix-pences, four-pences, three-pences, two-pences, pennies, three-farthings, and half-pence, all of ſilver (for there were then no national copper coins.) She at the ſame time called in all the baſe coin, and ſet our coin on the noble footing it now ſtands. There have been no ſilver farthings coined ſince the thirty-ſixth year of Henry VIII. which were very bad, or otherwiſe they muſt have been too ſmall for currency.

	l.	s.	d.
Queen Elizabeth coined in her whole reign, viz. from 1558 to 1602, in ſterling ſilver money, ...	4,632,932	3	$2\frac{1}{2}$
And in baſe money for Ireland (of three ounces fine)	85,646	19	$5\frac{3}{4}$
	4,718,579	2	$8\frac{1}{4}$
And in gold	795,138	8	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Total of ſilver and gold	5,513,717	11	$0\frac{3}{4}$

In king Charles the IId's reign, when milled money came firſt in uſe amongſt us, and at which time I ſuppoſe ſtandard ſilver all over Europe to be at or near five ſhillings and two pence per ounce, it was thought neceſſary to encourage the ſubject to bring his ſilver to the mint, that the coinage, which before was paid for, ſhould be free (the crown being reimburſed that expence by a duty on foreign ſpirits), and to bring it as near as poſſible to that price of five ſhillings and two pence per ounce, the following prices, and the following weights, were what was to be returned them in lieu.

For every twelve ounces of ſilver, allowed by the aſſay-maſter of the mint, to contain twelve ounces two penny weights of fine ſilver and eighteen penny weights of baſe metal (or allay) and called ſtandard; if in ſixpences, one hundred and twenty-four of one penny-weight, twenty-two grains one half, each, (abating ſix grains upon the whole) which is the twelve ounces, and at five ſhillings per ounce, comes to the ſame at the tale, viz. three pounds two ſhillings.

If in ſhillings, ſixty-two of three penny-weights twenty-one grains each, (abating ſix grains upon the whole) which is the twelve ounces, and at five ſhillings and two pence per ounce, comes to the ſame at the tale, viz three pounds two ſhillings.

If in half crowns, they had of them, at nine penny-weights fifteen grains one half, and ſhillings, &c. to make them up (for no certain number will weigh the twelve ounces), in the ſame proportion.

If in crowns alſo the ſame, nineteen penny-weights ſeven grains each, and in the ſame proportion.

This was executing the thing in as equal a proportion as human foreſight could well diſtribute it; for years ſo it continued, and our coin anſwered the purpoſe intended; but as commerce extended her wings, and as ſilver became a main article in one of her very extenſive flights, its value increaſed; yet we attended not to it; we ſtill continued, and do ſtill, to coin ſilver after the above rate. A nation ſo great in commerce and calculation to continue this error, nothing but the characteriſtic we are by foreigners ſtamped with, of mixing the greateſt abſurdities with the greateſt good ſenſe, can account for it. It is very clear from the above, that five ſhillings and two pence per ounce is the price our ſilver is coined at; which ſilver, to melt for theſe thirty years, except upon very particular occaſions, hath been worth from five ſhillings and four pence, to five ſhillings and nine pence, to carry to India, or to work up into utenſils, and the laſt fifteen years nearer the latter than the former. Surely could we, from the ſame circumſtance, get at our neighbours ſilver to go to the market, at five ſhillings and two pence, inſtead of five ſhillings and four pence, five ſhillings and ſix pence, and five and ninepence per ounce, we ſhould not miſs the opportunity; and we have the greateſt reaſon in the world, ſupported by our coin's diſappearing, to aſſert we have not.

The conſideration of this led a gentleman, who appeared to be perfectly maſter of his ſubject, to propoſe in the public papers, ſome few years ago, that, for the future, the ſubject ſhould receive from the mint, for every twelve ounces of ſtandard, one hundred and thirty-two ſix-pences of one penny-weight nineteen grains $\frac{3}{11}$ each, which is the twelve ounces, and at five ſhillings and ſix pence per ounce comes to the ſame as by tale, three pounds ſix ſhillings.

Sixty-ſix ſhillings of three penny-weights fifteen grains $\frac{9}{11}$ each, which is the twelve ounces, and at five ſhillings and ſix pence per ounces comes to the ſame as by tale, three pounds ſix ſhillings.

Crowns

Crowns and half crowns in proportion; the firſt eighteen penny-weights four grains $\frac{24}{66}$ each; the other nine penny-weights two grains $\frac{12}{33}$ each.

Which, if carried into execution, would bid fair to ſecure coin for our uſe at all times, for what ſhall be melted down above five ſhillings and ſix pence per ounce, would be recoined when ſilver is below; but we muſt guard againſt the ill uſe that may be made by perſons coining large quantities, if ſilver ſhould be under five ſhillings and ſix pence per ounce; to do which it need only be enacted, that no perſon ſhould be obliged to take in payment above ten pounds in ſilver.

With reſpect to our gold coins, the ſtandard of them in ancient times was twenty-three carats and three grains and an half of fine gold, and half a grain of allay (the allay being either ſilver or copper); the pound of gold being divided into twenty-four carats, and each carat into four grains.

The proportional values of gold and ſilver, in England, have always kept pace pretty nearly with each other; for the pound of gold, which in the year 1344, when gold was firſt coined in this kingdom, was worth thirteen, fourteen, to fifteen pounds in ſilver, is by degrees riſen to forty-four pounds ten ſhillings, and the gold at preſent not ſo fine as then: now as a ſilver penny was then worth our three-pence, and twenty ſhillings then were worth ſixty ſhillings, therefore gold and ſilver have kept pretty near the ſame proportion to each other. But as ſilver has always been more current in buying and ſelling than gold, becauſe always more plenty and eaſy to come at, ſo the quantity of coin in our ounce of ſilver is more immediately for our purpoſe in eſtimating the different rates of living, than is that of gold coin.

The preſent proportion of gold to ſilver was not exactly effected till the reign of king James I. when a pound weight of gold was coined into forty-four pounds ten ſhillings by tale, viz. into pieces of five pounds value, of two pounds one ſhilling, and of ten ſhillings: and the pound weight of ſilver was coined into ſixty-two ſhillings, viz. into pieces of five ſhillings, two ſhillings and ſix pence, one ſhilling, ſix pence, four pence, two pence, and one penny.

Whereas we meet with obolus, farthing, or farling of gold, in our old hiſtories, it has always a reference to the integer, or higher denomination of ſome gold coin, as an angel, a noble, &c. ſo when, in the reign of king Edward III. nobles, oboluſes (or half-pence), and farthings of gold were coined, the obolus is here half a noble, and the farthing a quarter of a noble; and the like of other gold coins. Crowns of gold are of great antiquity. There never were any ſilver coins named nobles or angels, florins nor ryals (or royals) ſovereigns nor units, Britain-crowns, thiſtle-crowns, nor double crowns (the three laſt coined by king James I.) pieces of three ſhillings and four pence, coined by king Henry VIII. &c. all theſe being always gold: yet no gold coins older than Edward III's reign can be found now, excepting ſome very rare as far back as Edward III. though, from the minuteneſs of the then ſilver coins, it is highly probable that moſt of the great payments were made in gold. As for the bezant, ſuppoſed to be ſo named from Byzantium, or Conſtantinople, the value of it was forgot, even in king Richard III's time; and biſhop Fleetwood thinks it never was an Engliſh coin.

Emperors of Germany. A. D	Kings of England. A. D.	Kings of France. A. D.	K. of Scotland. D	KINGS of DENMARK and NORWAY. A. D.	Kings of Sweden. A. D.	Kings of Spain. A. D.	Kings of Portugal. A D.	Kings of Poland. A. D.	Popes Exaltation. A. D.
					CHRISTIAN II. (the Tyrant) 1520				
							JOHN III. 1521		ADRIAN VI. (Florentius Boyens of Utrecht) preceptor to the emperor Charles V. 1521
				FREDERICK I. 1524 CHRISTIAN III. 1534					PAUL III. (Farnese) 1534 Gave the duchies of Parma and Placentia to his baſtards.
	EDWARD VI. 1546	HENRY II. 1547	Q. MARY 1542					SIGISMUND II. his ſon (ſurnamed Auguſtus) in whom ended the race of Jagello, 1548	
									JULIUS III. (Ghiocci) 1550 He made a cardinal of his ape-keeper, called from thence cardinal Simia.
	Q. MARY I. 1553					PHILIP II. his ſon 1555 and k. of Portugal 1580			MARCELLUS II. (Corvini) wore the papal crown but twelve days, 1555
					GUSTAVUS Ericſon, or Vaſa, (who entirely ſeparated the kingd. of Sweden from the union made by Margaret and Hacquin.)				PAUL IV. (Caraffa) elected after eighty years of age, 1555
FERDINAND I. br. to Charles V. 1558	Q. ELIZABETH 1558 to 1603						SEBASTIAN I. (killed by the Moors) 1557		
		FRANCIS II. 1559 CHARLES IX. 1560		FREDERICK II. 1559	ERIC XIV. 1560				PAUL V. (Medequino) 1559 PIUS V. (Gifleri Dominicano) 1566 He had great quarrels with Q. Eliz. of Engl.
MAXIMILIAN II. ſon of Ferdinand 1564									
			JAMES VI. 1567 to 1603 when he ſucceeded to the throne of England, and thus united the two crowns.						

JOHN III. 1568

HENRY of France, who was elected in 1572

GREGORY XIII. (Buoncompagno 1572
The firſt year of his pontificate is famous for the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, for which rejoicings were made at Rome.

RODOLPH II. his ſon 1576 to 1603 and beyond.

HENRY III. 1574

STEPHEN Batori 1574

HENRY (the cardinal) 1578

PHILIP II. (king of Spain) 1580

SIXTUS V. ſon of a poor huſbandman, called Peretti 1585

SIGISMUND (k. of Sweden) 1586 to 1603 and beyond.

CHRISTIAN IV. 1588 to 1603 and beyond.

HENRY IV. 1589 to 1603 and beyond.

URBAN VII. (Caſtagna) 1590

GREGORY XIV. (Sfondrati) 1590

INNOCENT IX. (Santiquatro) 1591

CLEMENT VIII. (Aldobrandino) 1592 to 1603 and beyond.

SIGISMUND (and k. of Poland) 1594 to 1603 and beyond.

PHILIP III. his ſon, and k. of Portugal 1598 to 1603 and beyond.

PHILIP III. (k. of Spain) 1598 to 1603 and beyond.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM

The Union of the Two Crowns of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND, under JAMES I. to the Reſtoration of King CHARLES II.

PART X.

JAMES I. The firſt King of ENGLAND of the Houſe of STUART*. A. D. 1603.

THE line of Henry VIII. of the houſe of Tudor, being extinct in Elizabeth, the crown of England devolved, of indiſputable right, to James VI. of Scotland, as the next lineal heir †, and he was accordingly proclaimed at the gates of Whitehall, and at the Croſs of Cheapſide, by ſecretary Cecil and the lord-mayor, with the uſual pomp and ceremony.

I ſhall not take up the reader's time with enumerating the minute deſcriptions which other writers have given of the univerſal acclamations which reſounded from all quarters upon the proclamation of James, the quick diſpatch which was made to inform him of his good fortune, the dutiful letters he received, the affectionate ones he returned, his magnificent progreſs to England, his behaviour to his new ſubjects on his firſt entering amongſt them, nor the frantic joy with which the giddy mulitude hailed their new ſovereign: it is ſufficient to ſay, that while he was upon the road he ordered the earl of Southampton, and the other priſoners on the account of Eſſex, to be ſet at liberty; and the funeral rites of Elizabeth were performed in a moſt ſumptuous manner: the earl of Northumberland, with the lords Thomas and Henry Howard, and the lord Montjoy, were made privy-counſellors, notwithſtanding their lying under the ſuſpicion of popery, on account of their family-ſufferings for the king's mother; the lord Egerton was at the ſame time created baron of Elleſmere. The king's gratitude to the Howard family, who, for the ſake of the queen his mother, were in diſgrace in the late reign, did not ſtop there; the lord Thomas was made earl of Suffolk, and then lord-treaſurer; and the lord Henry was created, ſome years after, earl of Northampton: moreover, Philip, earl of Arundel, the late duke of Norfolk's eldeſt ſon, having loſt his title by his condemnation, though Elizabeth gave him his life, the king created his ſon

* The ſurname of Stuart had no ignoble original. Bancho, a lord of eminency in Scotland, while Edward the Confeſſor governed in England, is ſaid to have been their anceſtor. This nobleman was murdered by the tyrant Macbeth; but his ſon Fleance eſcaped, and lived for ſome time in exile in Wales, where he married the daughter of one of its petty princes. His ſon Walter reſided ſome time at the court of Edward the Confeſſor; and afterwards going over to France, he is ſaid to have ſerved under William the Norman, at the battle of Haſtings. After various adventures, he came to Scotland, where his own and his anceſtors merits procured him an honourable eſtabliſhment, and he was made hereditary great high-ſteward of Scotland. From this office he and his poſterity, as uſual, took their name, which originally ſignifies the Ward or Guardian of an Houſe.

† James IV. king of Scotland, married Margaret, eldeſt daughter of Henry VII. king of England, by whom he had James V. who had only one child, Mary, queen of Scots, who had only one ſon, James VI. who, from James IV. had an undoubted right to the kingdom of Scotland, and from Margaret, king Henry VII's daughter (the male line being utterly extinct), an unqueſtionable title to the crown of England. Carte.

Thomas

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History of England
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JAMES I.

BRITISH
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Thomas earl of Arundel and Surry ‡. Thus the king's regard for the duke of Norfolk's family plainly ſhewed what he thought of Elizabeth's treatment of that nobleman and his houſe. It was not in this alone that he expreſſed his reſentment againſt the late queen: upon all occaſions he pretended to ſhew it was only out of policy that he had, whilſt ſhe lived, concealed his averſion for her. The moſt notable mark he gave of it, was that he neither went into mourning himſelf, nor would admit any perſon to his preſence in a mourning habit.

On the ſeventh of May, James, after creating a multitude of knights, was received in London; and on the twentieth he created Cecil lord Cecil of Eſſenden, ſir Robert Sidney lord Sidney of Penſhurſt, ſir William Knowles lord Knowles of Grays, and ſir Edward Wotton lord Wotton of Morley. This conduct, ſo much the reverſe of Elizabeth's frugality as to titles of honour, ſeems to have been owing to the grateful ſenſe James had of the affection diſcovered towards his perſon and right by his new ſubjects.

Theſe promotions were preparatory to the coronation, which was celebrated at Weſtminſter abbey on Monday the twenty-fifth of July, being St. James's day, Whitgift, archbiſhop of Canterbury, performing the cermonies of crowning and anointing both the king and queen; the earl of Nottingham being conſtituted the lord high-ſteward, and the earl of Worceſter made earl-marſhal, for that day's ſolemnity. The plague raging at this time in London with ſo much fury that thirty thouſand perſons died of it within the year; there was no cavalcade from the Tower through the city to the palace of Weſtminſter, as had been uſual, the day before the coronation; and a proclamation was publiſhed, forbidding all perſons, except the lord-mayor, aldermen, and twelve citizens (who came in the mayor's barge by water) to reſort thither, for fear of ſpreading the infection. To avoid the diſtemper, the king, after knighting all the aldermen, the next morning removed with his court to Wincheſter.

The public rejoicings were, however, ſomewhat damped by the gifts and dignities which were now laviſhed upon ſwarms of Scots, who had attended their ſovereign to his new kingdom, in order to feed upon the fat of a land, ſo much more fertile and grateful than their own: the duke of Lenox, the earl of Marr, the lord Hume, the lord Kinloſs, ſir George Hume, and ſecretary Elphinſton, were immediately admitted into the privy-council; ſir George Hume was created earl of Dunbar; Hay was dignified firſt with the title of viſcount Doncaſter, then earl of Carliſle; and Ramſey was promoted to the earldom of Holderneſſe.

It muſt be confeſſed, however, in juſtice to James, that he left almoſt all the chief offices in the hands of Elizabeth's miniſters, and committed the management of political affairs, both foreign and domeſtic, to his Engliſh ſubjects. Among theſe ſecretary Cecil, ſon to the famous Burleigh, created lord Eſſenden, was retained by him as his prime miniſter and chief counſellor, to the no ſmall ſurprize of all parties, who thought that his name and family muſt naturally be odious to James, on account of the great hand his father had in the execution of queen Mary, and that he himſelf had been deeply engaged againſt the earl of Eſſex, whom James had been often heard to declare he conſidered as a martyr to the Scottiſh ſucceſſion: but the truth is, that Cecil, who poſſeſſed all the art and cunning of a courtier, as well as many of the qualities of a ſtateſman, had wiſely reſolved, on the firſt approach of Elizabeth's diſſolution, to reconcile himſelf to James, without the knowlege of either the queen or her miniſters, and for this purpoſe had kept up a ſecret correſpondence with the Scottiſh monarch, during ſeveral months, in which he fully informed him of the private as well as public diſpoſition of the people of England in regard to his ſucceſſion; the conſequence of this was, that James, on his arrival at York, honoured Cecil with a moſt gracious reception, and created him a baron; and this cunning politician ſoon gained an aſcendancy over the ſpirit of James, who, with very little experience or judgment, and an infinite conceit of his own abilities and penetration, laid himſelf entirely open to the arts of adulation. Thus much, however, by way of introduction.

The eyes of all the potentates of Europe were fixed in anxious expectation upon James, from the firſt inſtant of his aſcending the throne of England; they ſaw in him the ſon of a mother who died a martyr to the cauſe of popery, which raiſed vaſt hopes in the profeſſors of that religion, and equal apprehenſions in thoſe of the proteſtant communion; and ambaſſadors from almoſt all the princes and ſtates concerned, ſoon appeared at the Engliſh court, in order to felicitate the king on his new-acquired dignity, and to conclude with him new treaties and alliances: beſides envoys from Venice, Denmark, and the Palatinate, Henry Frederick of Naſſau, aſſiſted by the famous penſionary Barnevelt, repreſented the ſtates of the United Provinces, Aremberg was ſent by the archduke Albert, and Taxis was expected in a little time from Spain.

Henry IV. of France could not, without vaſt concern, reflect that James, in one part of his life, had been already tampering with Spain; he thought he had every thing to dread from ſuch an union, eſpecially if James ſhould happen to diſcover an enterprizing genius. Though there was

‡ To avoid confuſion, it will be proper to continue the account of the numerous family of Howard. Thomas Howard, the third duke of Norfolk, married, firſt, Anne, daughter to king Edward IV. by whom he had Thomas, who died young: his ſecond wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, by whom he had Henry, earl of Arundel, beheaded 13 Henry VIII. and Thomas, created viſcount Howard of Binden, 1. Eliz. The ſaid Henry married Frances, daughter of John de Vere, earl of Oxford, and by her had Thomas the fourth duke of Norfolk (reſtored 1 Mary, and beheaded for attempting to marry Mary, queen of Scots), and Henry, made earl of Northampton, 1 James I. The laſt mentioned Thomas had two wives: 1. Mary, daughter and coheir of Henry, earl of Arundel; who was mother of Philip, earl of Arundel: 2. Margaret, daughter of Thomas lord Audley, and mother of Thomas, created earl of Suffolk 1 James I. and of William, made lord Howard of Naworth-caſtle, 1 James I. The aforeſaid Philip, earl of Arundel, had a ſon, named Thomas, who was reſtored 1 James I. This Thomas was father, 1ſt of Henry; 2dly of William, created viſcount Stafford in 1640. The laſt Thomas was father of Thomas, the fifth duke of Norfolk, 13 Car. II. and of Henry, created earl of Norwich in 1683. The before-mentioned Thomas, earl of Suffolk, had ſeven ſons: 1. Theophilus, who ſucceeded him; 2. Thomas, created earl of Berkſhire, 1629. 7. Edward, made lord Howard of Eſcrick, 1629. The above-ſaid William lord Howard of Naworth-caſtle, was father of Philip; and he of William, who was father of Charles, created earl of Carliſle, 1661. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii.

little likelihood of this, yet Henry, conſcious how much he had provoked him, could not be very eaſy till he had founded his intentions, and charged the marquis de Roſné, afterwards duke of Sully, the beſt political head of the French court, with that commiſſion. This miniſter propoſed, in his maſter's name, a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the Northern crowns, in order to invade the Auſtrian dominions on every ſide, and humble the exorbitant power of that ambitious family; but the genius of the Engliſh king was little adapted to ſuch vaſt enterprizes: the love of peace was his ruling paſſion; and Roſné found James to be maſter of ſo much diſſimulation, that all his addreſs could not ſift out his real intentions, nor bring him to make any declaration farther than in general terms, of his deſign to live in friendſhip with France; and upon the whole the marquis thought that Cecil ſeemed rather diſpoſed to a peace between England and Spain. At laſt, after numberleſs evaſions on the part of James and his miniſters, a ſolemn conference was held upon the ſtate of affairs, when it was agreed, that the two kings ſhould permit the Dutch to levy forces in their reſpective dominions, and ſhould privately ſupply that republic with the ſum of one million four hundred thouſand livres a year, for the maintenance of their forces; that the whole ſum ſhould be advanced by the king of France, but that the third part ſhould be deducted for a debt due by him to Elizabeth; and if the Spaniards attacked either of the princes, they engaged to aſſiſt each other, Henry with a force of ten thouſand, James with that of ſix thouſand men.

The court of France thought that it had gained a great point in bringing James to ſign this treaty; but a very extraordinary diſcovery that was made, or pretended to be made, in England about this time, did not perhaps a little influence the councils of James on this occaſion. The king, on his arrival in England, had given a very cold reception to Raleigh, Cobham, with all the other enemies of Eſſex, Cecil excepted; and they were imprudent enough to give their enemies an handle, by keeping ſuſpicious company: while, amidſt the moſt profound tranquility, both foreign and domeſtic, the nation was alarmed with a diſcovery of a plot to overturn the government, and to place upon the throne the lady Arabella Stuart, a near kinſwoman of the king, deſcended equally with him from Henry VII. who had been for ſome time a cloſe ſtate-priſoner in the Tower; and ſir Walter Raleigh, with his friends the lords Cobham and Grey, ſir Griffith Markham, ſir Edward Parham, ſir George Brooke, brother to lord Cobham, Bartholomew Brookſby, and Anthony Coppely, with two prieſts, William Watſon and William Clarke, were ſent to priſon. Every thing remains ſtill myſterious in this conſpiracy: though nothing could be more ridiculous than that Raleigh, who had ever diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a kind of enthuſiaſm againſt Spain, ſhould mingle his treaſons with thoſe of the papiſts, yet it is certain, that, beſides the general charge, another was brought againſt him and Cobham in particular, for the tolerating popery by the help of ſix hundred thouſand crowns, which were to be paid to the duke of Aremberg, and diſtributed among the diſaffected in England. The account of the trial, as it is come to our hands, is very imperfect and confuſed; the two prieſts and Brooke, however, were executed, but without confeſſing themſelves guilty of any actual treaſon: Watſon indeed, an ignorant pragmatical prieſt, acknowleged that he had given it as his opinion, that, as the king was not yet crowned, any attempt upon his perſon could not be properly deemed treaſon; but nothing appears to have gone farther amongſt the pretended conſpirators than table-talking, though ſuch as certainly could not be defended.

On the ſeventeenth of November Raleigh was tried before commiſſioners of Oyer and Terminer, without having any witneſſes brought to confront him, though he earneſtly requeſted that privilege, allowed by the law. One Dyer, indeed, was brought to ſwear, that he heard a gentleman at Liſbon ſay, that don Raleigh and don Cobham would cut the king's throat before his coronation: and, to the reproach of all law and juſtice, ſir Edward Coke, the attorney-general, laid very great ſtreſs upon this ridiculous evidence; and in the end the confeſſion of Cobham was the only evidence, weak as it was, that bore hard againſt him. That nobleman had been weak enough to let himſelf be tricked into the confeſſion to ſave his own life; but, after he was thrown into the Tower, being ſeized with a violent fit of ſickneſs, he ſolemnly retracted all he had ſaid; nevertheleſs Raleigh was found guilty by his jury, upon which he had ſentence of death paſſed upon him as a traitor, as had likewiſe Cobham, on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month by his peers, the lord-chancellor Elleſmere ſitting as lord high-ſteward. In a few days after, the lord Grey and Markham had the ſame judgment paſſed on them. James ſigned warrants for the execution of the two lords and ſir Griffith Markham, and publicly ſent them to the ſheriff of Wincheſter: at the ſame time he privately ſent, by one of his Scottiſh domeſtics, a warrant, written all with his own hand, directed to the ſheriff likewiſe, ſuperſeding the execution. His laſt warrant was not produced till the two lords and the knight were actually making ready for the ſtroke. This arrant piece of king-craft in James was far from anſwering his expectations: it is plain he had been made to expect the priſoners, in their laſt moments, would have enhanced the value of his unexpected clemency, and perhaps have brought more confiſcations into his coffers; but no ſuch diſcovery having been made, the public was thrown into greater doubts than ever as to the truth of the conſpiracy; and James afterwards acted as if he had repented of his mercy; for he ſuffered ſir Griffith Markham to periſh abroad in obſcurity and oblivion; the lord Grey died in the Tower; and the lord Cobham periſhed through hunger, cold, and filth, in a garret in the Minories, to which he was forced to aſcend by a ladder, and even for that he was indebted to the gratitude of an old woman. The natural reflection that is to be made upon this ſcene of blood and myſtery, is, that the whole was a contrivance of Cecil, and the Spaniſh faction, to get rid of his and their moſt formidable enemies.

The papiſts, upon the acceſſion of James to the crown of England, found themſelves miſerably deceived; for he gave them plainly enough to underſtand that he was determined to maintain religion

as it had been left by Elizabeth. The puritans, encouraged by this, and by ſome doubts concerning the worſhip of the church of England, which James, perhaps only to ſhew his polemical accompliſhments, had thrown out, applied for favour and indulgence, and James appointed a diſputation between the heads of both parties, in which he was to ſit umpire. The diſputation was held at Hampton-court, and the managers for the church were, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of London, Durham, Wincheſter, Worceſter, St. David's, Chicheſter, Carliſle, and Peterborough, the dean of the chapel, the deans of Weſtminſter, Chriſt-church, St. Paul's, Worceſter, Saliſbury, Cheſter, and Windſor; to theſe muſt be added Dr. King archdeacon of Nottingham, and Dr. Field afterwards archdeacon of Gloceſter. Thoſe for the nonconformiſts were, Dr. John Reynolds and Dr. Thomas Sparks, of Oxford; Mr. Chaderton and Mr. Knewſtubbs, of Cambridge.

In the courſe of this conference, which was opened on the fourteenth of January, 1604, James, in his capacity of præſes, ſhewed uncommon talents at diſputation; and it may be ſaid with juſtice, that his merits would have been great, had a college, inſtead of a kingdom, been his province of government. Upon the whole, the reader may eaſily gueſs the nonconformiſts, on this occaſion, were as much worſted in the diſpute as the proteſtants had been under Mary, or the papiſts under Elizabeth: the king's opinion and deciſion went clearly againſt them; if they did not conform, he threatened to uſe more forcible arguments than diſputation; and he cloſed up the whole with the grave aphoriſm of "No biſhop, no king."

It being thus reſolved to treat the puritans with the utmoſt ſeverity, it was neceſſary to proceed in ſome ſort againſt the papiſts; accordingly a proclamation was publiſhed on the twenty-ſecond of February, commanding all Jeſuits, and other papiſts having any orders from foreign powers, to depart the kingdom on or before the nineteenth of March. But this proclamation was ſo worded, that the king was extremely deſirous to ſhew he did not baniſh the Jeſuits in hatred to the catholic religion in general, but only on account of their attachment to the pope's unlimited power over crowned heads: as to the other doctrines, he was willing to allow his popiſh ſubjects to believe what they pleaſed, which gave occaſion to ſuſpect him to be inclined to the Roman catholic religion; and biſhop Burnet ſays, that, from the year 1606, he was always writing and talking againſt popery, though he acted for it. But what made James more ſuſpected by the zealous proteſtants, was the great partiality he ſhewed in his proceedings againſt the puritans; for, in his proclamation againſt them, he paid no regard to the tender conſciences of ſuch as could not comply with the doctrines of the church of England, but in the whole condemned them as a ſet of obſtinate people deſerving no favour.

Theſe proclamations were followed by a great many more againſt certain monopolies, protections, ſalt-petre men, and againſt ſome other grievances complained of by the people, hoping to gain the concurrence of the public to eſtabliſh thoſe royal mandates as ſo many laws, and ſo to enable him to govern without a parliament; and though he did ſubmit to call one, to meet him at Weſtminſter, on the nineteenth of March, 1604, he words the writs, and proclamation for ſummoning the ſame, in ſuch terms of command, and under ſuch reſtrictions, that he reſerved the power of rejecting all thoſe who did not come ready to ſubmit to his will and direction; as moſt plainly appears in the words themſelves, where it is ſaid:

"We notify by theſe preſents, that all returns and certificates of knights, citizens, and burgeſſes, ought and are to be brought to the Chancery, and there to be filed on record; and if any ſhould be found to be made contrary to this proclamation, the ſame is to be rejected as unlawful and inſufficient, and the city or borough to be fined for the ſame: if it be found that they have committed any groſs or wilful default and contempt in their election, return, or certificate, than their liberties, according to the law, are to be ſeized into our hands as forfeited. And if any perſon take upon him the place of a knight, citizen, or burgeſs, not being duly elected, returned, and ſworn, according to the laws and ſtatutes in that behalf provided, and according to the purport, effect, and true meaning of this our proclamation, then every perſon ſo offending to be fined and impriſoned for the ſame." By which the king aſſumed the power to judge the validity of all elections, and demanded the ſame ſubmiſſion to his own proclamations as to any of the laws of the land.

James opened this his firſt parliament by the moſt extraordinary ſpeech that ever was pronounced from a throne: it contained excellent matter, but is blameable for its vanity, its prolixity, and many improprieties. His general propoſitions, however, are very juſt; and the following noble paſſage demands the admiration and praiſe of every lover of Engliſh liberty, and contains a glorious leſſon for a crowned head. "When, (ſays he,) I have done all that I can for you, I do nothing but that which I am bound to do, and am accountable to God, ſhould I do the contrary; for I acknowlege, that the greateſt and moſt eſſential difference between a rightful king and an uſurping tyrant, is this; that whereas the proud and ambitious tyrant doth think, that his kingdom and people are only ordained for the gratification of his deſires and unreaſonable appetites; the righteous and juſt king doth, on the contrary, acknowlege, that he himſelf is only ordained for promoting the wealth and proſperity of his people, and that his greateſt and principal happineſs muſt conſiſt in their proſperity. If you be rich, I cannot be poor; if you be happy, I cannot be unfortunate: and I proteſt, that your welfare ſhall be the conſtant object of my ſtudy and attention. That I am a ſervant is moſt true; and that as I am head and and governor of all the people in my dominions, conſidering them in number, and in different ranks; ſo if we will take the people as one body and maſs, then, as the head is ordained for the body, and not the body for the head, ſo muſt a righteous king acknowlege himſelf to be ordained for the people, and not his people for him: for although a king and people be relative, yet can he be no king if he want people and ſubjects. But there be many people in the world, that want a king: wherefore I will never be aſhamed to confeſs it my principal honour to be the great ſervant of the commonwealth, and ever think the proſperity there-

thereof to be my greateſt felicity, as I have already obſerved*." The reſt of this ſpeech was calculated to perſuade a union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; and he took occaſion to compliment the Roman catholics, by owning the church of Rome for the mother-church, "although defiled with ſome deformities and corruptions:" he even offered to meet them half way in their doctrines, &c. and dropped ſome ſevere expreſſions againſt the puritans, which rendered that ſect and their friends very diffident of his intentions all the ſubſequent part of his reign.

This ſpeech was ſo far from meeting with the general applauſe he expected, that it drew upon him the ill-will of all but the moſt zealous partizans of the church of England, whoſe chief point was to ruin the puritans. The nobility and gentry could not bear the diſappointments they met with in the numerous advancements of the Scots to places of honour and profit, and to titles and dignities, which the Engliſh expected as their birth-right; the preſbyterians were enraged to hear the king profeſs himſelf their open enemy; and all the proteſtants in general were grieved at the advances he made to the papiſts.

This laid the foundation of all the misfortunes experienced by the eſtabliſhed church afterwards; and ſo far contributed to the preſent diſlike to his majeſty, that the parliament could not be perſuaded to agree to his favourite ſcheme of uniting the two kingdoms, though he had ordered himſelf to be proclaimed king of Great Britain, and quartered the croſs of St. Andrew with that of St. George in the Engliſh flag.

The caſe of ſir Francis Goodwin was another cauſe of diſcontent to the people; for he being declared duly elected knight of the ſhire for the county of Bucks by the committee of elections, after a full hearing on a petition of ſir John Forteſcue, the king commanded the commons to proceed to re-conſider the caſe, and to have a conference with the judges, after they had refuſed to confer with the lords thereupon; which in all probability muſt have ended in a quarrel between the king and his commons, had not Goodwin's moderation diſengaged him with honour in ſo nice an affair, and convinced him of what little ſignification that clauſe in his proclamation was, by which he intended to be maſter of the elections; and which convinced the parliament of the neceſſity of obviating ſuch pernicious incidents for the future. Wherefore they addreſſed his majeſty, on the fifteenth of June, and amongſt other grievances, took occaſion to repreſent their privileges, of which they ſuppoſed him not yet fully informed. But this ſo diſpleaſed the king, that he prorogued the parliament, on the ſeventh of July, to the ſeventh of February following, after they had granted him a large rate on tonnage and poundage, and paſſed ſeveral good acts for the peace and good government of the kingdom; ſuch as an act for the due execution of the laws againſt Jeſuits, ſeminary prieſts, and recuſants; a continuation of queen Elizabeth's vagrant-act, by which the people who go about the country to ſell glaſſes are adjudged rogues and vagabonds: an act to reſtrain the inordinate haunting and tippling in inns, alehouſes, &c. one againſt conjuration, witchcraft, and dealing with evil ſpirits; one for relief of creditors againſt bankrupts; and another againſt brokers, &c.

Soon after the prorogation of the parliament, a treaty of peace with Spain was ſet on foot at London, and the commiſſioners for the king of England were Thomas Sackville, lately created earl of Dorſet; Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham, lord high-admiral; Henry Howard, earl of Northampton; Charles Blount, earl of Devonſhire; and Robert lord Cecil, baron of Eſſenden, lately created viſcount Cranburn, and ſoon after earl of Saliſbury: on the part of the king of Spain, John de Velaſco, conſtable of Caſtile; John Baptiſta de Taxis, count de Villa Medina, the Spaniſh ambaſſador: for the archduke Albert, Charles, count d'Aremberg; John Richardot, preſident of the privy council; and Ludovic Wareiker, principal ſecretary of ſtate. On the eighteenth of Auguſt, 1604, the ſeveral articles were finally agreed upon, the moſt remarkable of which imported, "that James ſhould fix a day, before the expiration of which the ſtates of the United Provinces ſhould make peace with the archduke; and in caſe of a refuſal, the king of England ſhould deem himſelf abſolved from all engagements with that confederacy." Nevertheleſs, he never fixed the time, or withdrew his troops from their ſervice; nay he even reſtored the places they had mortgaged, for a much ſmaller ſum than that for which they were depoſited. It was after the concluſion of this treaty that the town of Oſtend capitulated, having been three years beſieged by the Spaniards, who found nothing in the place but heaps of ruins in recompence for the vaſt ſums of money and incredible numbers of lives which had been expended in the conqueſt. James, without concerning himſelf about the fate of this fortreſs, reſolved to improve his new connexion with Spain, and the earl of Nottingham, the lord high-admiral, was appointed ambaſſador extraordinary to that court, for which he took his departure, with a very numerous and magnificent retinue, while the earl of Hertford was diſpatched to Bruſſels.

At the ſame time that the above treaty was concluded, another was alſo made, relating entirely to commerce, and the king granted a monopoly of the trade with Spain and Italy to a company of merchants, excluſive of all his other ſubjects. But this was ſo generally complained of, as deſtructive to trade, that it was thought proper by the government to revoke the patent in the next ſeſſion of parliament.

The remainder of this year was ſpent at court in flatteries by thoſe who ſought for preferment, and in a laviſh diſpoſal of the royal favour to the king's minions, which bred great diſcontent in thoſe who had no ſhare in it, and thought themſelves not leſs worthy than the others who monopolized the king's graces. Queen Elizabeth took a different method, but king James did not think fit to be her imitator in this, more than in other matters. Never were honours beſtowed with leſs diſcretion and more profuſion than in this reign; accordingly they were no longer conſidered as the reward of merit, but only of adulation.

Before we conclude the year 1604, it is proper to obſerve, that his majeſty, who was a great enemy to tobacco, as appears in his writings againſt it,

‡ Journal of the Houſe of Commons, March 22, 1604.

ordered

ordered, by proclamation, dated the ſeventh of October, that, beſides the cuſtom of two pence per pound charged upon it by an act of parliament of the late reign, there ſhould be an additional duty of ſix ſhillings and eight pence on every pound imported into this realm: and as a farther token of his intention to exert his power and rule without parliaments, he, by privy-ſeal, borrowed ſeveral ſums of money from the wealthieſt citizens of London.

Cardinal d'Oſſat, the great French miniſter at Rome, died on the thirteenth of March this year, and was ſucceeded by cardinal Perron. By this time the few years of peace which France had enjoyed, had put that king and kingdom in an excellent ſituation: but there ſtill remained many great men in France who favoured the Huguenots. Though the duke of Bouillon had taken refuge at the elector Palatine's court, yet his friends were very ſtrong and numerous: the dukes de la Tremouille and Rohan were known to favour the ſame intereſt; and Pleſſis Mornay, with thoſe Huguenots who had ſtood moſt firmly to Henry, accuſed him of ingratitude to their party. All theſe conſiderations made Henry extremely ſolicitous to keep well with James, leſt he ſhould be drawn either to the Spaniſh or the Huguenot party; he was fortified in this reſolution by the marquis de Roſné.

Henry was at this time daily alarmed with diſcoveries of conſpiracies of the Spaniards againſt his perſon and government; and he had not only the good fortune to defeat and diſappoint them all, but, by a ſeaſonable mixture of ſeverity and clemency, came a to diſtinct knowlege of all the connexions between the diſaffected party and the Spaniſh ambaſſadors in France and England. The marchioneſs de Verneuil, his beloved miſtreſs, had drawn from him a promiſe of marriage in writing, which the court of Spain endeavoured to get into their hands, hoping thereby to rear up a pretender to the crown of France againſt Henry's lawful iſſue, in the ſon of poſterity of the marchioneſs; but her indiſcretion and inſolence, upon the ſtrength of this promiſe, drove the king from all his tenderneſs to her; he ſuffered her and her father, with one Morgan, who managed the correſpondence with the Spaniſh ambaſſador in England, to be arreſted, and tried them, with the count d'Auvergne, who was engaged in the ſame conſpiracy. They were found guilty: upon the ſtrength, however, of the diſcoveries which all of them, eſpecially the marchioneſs, made, the king mitigated their puniſhments, and cruſhed a conſpiracy for betraying Marſeilles. At the ſame time his miniſters at Rome became entire maſters of all the intrigues of that court, where this year three popes ſucceeded one another.

On the twenty-third of April, 1605, being St. George's day, the king kept the feaſt of the order of the Garter at Greenwich, when two new knights companions were admitted, viz. Ulric, duke of Norway, eldeſt ſon to the king of Denmark, and brother to James's queen, and Henry Howard, earl of Northampton: and upon the Saturday following, in the hall at Greenwich, being richly ornamented for the purpoſe, his majeſty created three earls, one viſcount, and four barons, namely, ſir Robert Cecil, viſcount Cranburn, he created earl of Saliſbury; Thomas Cecil, lord Burleigh, his lordſhip's eldeſt brother, earl of Exeter; and ſir Philip Herbert, younger brother to the earl of Pembroke, he created earl of Montgomery; Robert Sidney, baron of Penſhurſt, lord-chamberlain to the queen, was created viſcount Liſle; ſir John Stanhope, his vice-chamberlain, he made lord Stanhope of Harrington; ſir George Carew, vice-chamberlain to the queen, was made lord Carew of Clopton; Mr. Thomas Arundel, of Devonſhire, lord Arundel of Wardour; and Mr. William Cavendiſh, lord Cavendiſh of Hardwicke: Charles, duke of Albany, the king's ſecond ſon, then an infant of four years old, had, in the preceding year, been created duke of York with great ſolemnity, and admitted into the order of the Bath.

About this time one Thomas Douglas, a Scot, who had lately been ſent in the character of envoy from the count palatine of the Rhine, was committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower, for having counterfeited the king's privy-ſeal to divers princes of Germany; and being, upon due trial, fully convicted of the ſame, he was drawn upon a hurdle to Smithfield, and there hanged and quartered.

We are now to attend the diſcovery of a plot, the moſt daring and impious that occurs in the annals of mankind. This is no other than the Gunpowder Treaſon, by which the conſpirators propoſed to blow up the king, the royal family, and both houſes of parliament, while in full ſeſſions, and thus involve them all in utter and inevitable ruin. This moſt diabolical deſign was ſet on foot by ſeveral Roman catholics, who were enraged to hear that James was firmly reſolved to put in force the laws againſt them. Their infernal cabal conſiſted of Henry Garnet, an Engliſhman, who, about the year 1586, had been ſent over here as ſuperior of the Engliſh Jeſuits; Cateſby, an Engliſh gentleman; Teſmond, a Jeſuit; Thomas Wright; two gentlemen of the name of Winter; Thomas Piercy, a near relation of the earl of Northumberland; Guido Fawkes, a bold and enterprizing ſoldier of fortune; ſir Edward Digby; John Grant, eſq. Francis Treſham, eſq. with Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, gentlemen. Moſt of theſe were both men of birth and fortune; and Cateſby, who had a large eſtate, had already expended two thouſand pounds in ſeveral voyages to the court of Spain, in order to introduce an army of Spaniards into England, for overturning the preſent government, and reſtoring the Roman catholic religion; but, being diſappointed in his project of an invaſion, took an opportunity of diſcloſing to Piercy, who was his intimate friend, and who, in a ſudden fit of paſſion, had hinted a deſign of aſſaſſinating the king as he was riding a-hunting, a nobler and more extenſive plan of treaſon, ſuch as would include a ſure execution of vengeance, and, at one blow, conſign over to deſtruction all their enemies. Piercy approved of this project of Cateſby, and they reſolved to impart the matter to a few more, and, by degrees, to all the reſt of their cabal, every man being bound by an oath and taking the ſacrament, the moſt ſacred rite of their religion, not to diſcloſe the leaſt ſyllable of the matter, or to withdraw from the aſſociation, without conſent of all concerned. Theſe conſultations were held in the ſpring and ſummer of the year 1604, and it was towards the beginning of that year they began their operations; the manner of which, and the diſcovery, I ſhall give the reader from authentic papers of the earl of Saliſ-

bury (Cecil), with all the brevity that is conſiſtent with perſpicuity.

It had been agreed, that a few of the conſpirators ſhould run a mine below the room in which the parliament was to aſſemble, and choſe the very moment when the king delivered his ſpeech to both houſes, and then, by one blow, to cut off the king, the royal family, lords, commons, and all the other enemies of the catholic religion, in that very ſpot where that religion had been moſt oppreſſed. For this purpoſe Piercy, who was at that time a gentleman-penſioner, undertook to hire an houſe adjoining to the upper houſe of parliament, with all diligence: and the others, expecting the parliament would meet on the ſeventeenth of February following, began, on the eleventh of December, to dig in the cellar, through the wall of partition, which was three yards thick. There were ſeven in number joined in this labour: they went in by night, never after appeared in ſight, and, having provided themſelves with baked meat, had no occaſion to ſend out; and, in caſe of diſcovery, they had provided themſelves with powder, ſhot, and fire-arms, with a reſolution rather to die than yield or be taken. On Candlemas-day, 1605, they had dug ſo far through the wall, as to be able to hear a noiſe on the other ſide: upon which unexpected event, fearing a diſcovery, Guido Fawkes (who perſonated Piercy's footman) was diſpatched to know the occaſion, and returned with the favourable report, that the place from whence the noiſe came was a large cellar, under the upper-houſe of parliament, full of ſea-coal, which was now on ſale, and the cellar offered to be lett. Piercy immediately hired the cellar, and bought the remainder of the coals; then he ſent for thirty barrels of gunpowder from Holland, and landing them at Lambeth, conveyed them gradually, by night, to this cellar, covered them with ſtones, iron bars, a thouſand bullets, and five hundred faggots; all which they did at their leiſure, the parliament being farther prorogued to the third of October, and again to the fifth of November.

The conſpirators conſulted, in the next place, how they ſhould ſecure the duke of York, who was too young to be expected at the parliament-houſe; and his ſiſter, the princeſs Elizabeth, educated at lord Harrington's, in Warwickſhire. It was reſolved, that Piercy, and another gentleman, ſhould enter into the duke's chamber without ſuſpicion, and a dozen more, properly diſpoſed at ſeveral doors, and two or three on horſeback at the court-gate to receive him, ſhould carry him ſafe away as ſoon as the parliament-houſe was blown up: or, if that could not be effected, to kill him, and to declare the princeſs Elizabeth queen, having ſecured her, under colour of a hunting match that day.

Some moved for foreign aid beforehand, but were over-ruled; and it was agreed only to apply to France, Spain, and the archduke, for aſſiſtance after the plot had taken effect: they alſo reſolved to ſave the princeſs Elizabeth, and proclaim her queen, and to ſpread a report after the blow was given, that the puritans were the perpetrators of ſo inhuman an action.

Every thing being now prepared by the conſpirators, they, without the leaſt remorſe of conſcience, and with the utmoſt impatience, expected the fifth of November. But all their counſels were blaſted, and brought on their own heads, by the all-ſeeing eye of Providence: one of the conſpirators, with a deſire to ſave William Parker, lord Monteagle, ſon to lord Morley, wrote the following letter.

"My Lord,

"Out of the love I bear to ſome of your friends, I have a care for your preſervation; therefore, I adviſe you, as you tender your life, to deviſe ſome excuſe to ſhift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of this time: and think not ſlightly of this advertiſement, but retire yourſelf into your country, where you may expect the event with ſafety; for though there be no appearance of any ſtir, yet I ſay they ſhall receive a terible blow, this parliament, yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it can do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is paſt ſo ſoon (or as quickly) as you burn this letter; and I hope God will give you the grace to make good uſe of it, to whoſe holy protection I commend you."

Monteagle was for a good while at a loſs what judgment to form of this letter, and unreſolved whether he ſhould ſlight the advertiſement or not; and fancying it a trick of his enemies to frighten him into an abſence from parliament, would have taken the firſt party, had his own ſafety been only in queſtion; but apprehending the king's life might be in danger, he carried it at midnight to the earl of Saliſbury, who was full as much puzzled about the meaning of the letter, and, though he inclined to think it a wild and waggiſh contrivance to alarm Monteagle, thought proper to conſult about it with the earl of Suffolk, lord-chamberlain. The expreſſions, "that the blow ſhould come without knowing who hurt them," made them imagine that it would not be more proper than the time of parliament, nor by any other way like to be attempted than by gunpowder, while the king was ſitting in that aſſembly: the lord-chamberlain thought this the more probable, becauſe there was a great cellar under the parliament-chamber, never uſed for any thing but ſome wood or coal, belonging to Whineyard, the keeper of the palace; and having communicated the letter to the earls of Nottingham, Worceſter, and Northampton, proceeded no farther till the king came from Royſton, on the firſt of November, to Weſtminſter.

His majeſty being ſhewed the letter, and acquainted with their ſuſpicions, was of opinion that either nothing ſhould be done, or elſe enough to prevent the danger; and that a ſearch ſhould be deferred till the day deſigned for the execution of the diabolical enterprize. Thus on Monday the fourth of November, in the afternoon, the lord-chamberlain, whoſe office it was to ſee all put in readineſs for the king's coming, taking Monteagle with him, went to viſit all places about the parliament-houſe, and taking a ſlight occaſion ſo ſee the cellar, obſerved only piles of billets and faggots, but in greater number than he thought Whineyard could want for his own uſe: asking him who owned the wood, and being told it belonged to one Mr. Piercy, he began to have ſome ſuſpicions, knowing him to be a rigid papiſt, and ſo ſeldom there that he had no occaſion for ſuch a quantity of fuel; and Monteagle confirmed him therein, by taking

notice that Piercy had made him great profeſſions of friendſhip, though he was not come out of the North when the letter was received. There were no other materials viſible, yet Suffolk thought it abſolutely neceſſary to make a farther ſearch; and upon his return to the king, a reſolution was taken that it ſhould be made in ſuch a manner as ſhould be effectual, without ſcandalizing any body, or giving any alarm. Sir Thomas Knevet, ſteward of Weſtminſter, was accordingly ordered, under the pretext of ſearching for ſtolen tapeſtry hangings in that place, and other houſes thereabouts, to remove the wood and ſee if any thing was concealed underneath. This gentleman going at midnight, unlooked-for, to the cellar, met Fawkes juſt coming out of it, booted and ſpurred, with a tinder-box and three matches in his pockets, and ſeizing him without any ceremony or asking him any queſtions, cauſed him to be bound as ſoon as the removal of the wood diſcovered the barrels of gunpowder. Fawkes, an hardened and intrepid villain, made no difficulty of avowing the deſign, and that it would have been executed on the morrow. He made the ſame acknowlegement at his examination before a committee of the council; and though he did not deny having ſome aſſociates in this conſpiracy, yet no threats of torture could make him diſcover any of them, declaring "he was ready to die, and had rather ſuffer ten thouſand deaths, than willingly accuſe his maſter, or any other." It was however drawn from him by repeated examinations, and aſſurances of his maſter's being apprehended, "that whilſt he was abroad, Piercy had kept the keys of the cellar, had been in it ſince the powder had been laid there, and in effect that he was one of the principal actors in the intended tragedy." In the mean time it was found out, "that Piercy had come poſt out of the North on Saturday night, the ſecond of November, and had dined on Monday at Sion Houſe, with the earl of Northumberland; that Fawkes had met him on the road; that, after the lord-chamberlain had been that evening in the cellar, he went, about ſix o'clock to his maſter, who had fled immediately, apprehending that all was diſcovered." Saliſbury, in his account of this matter, aſcribes the thorough ſearch that was made entirely to the lord-chamberlain, owning for his own part, that though he had been ſufficiently apprized of the recuſants deſigning ſome ſtir during the parliament, yet he could not poſſibly conceive it was of ſuch a nature as had never entered before into the hearts of any conſpirators mentioned in hiſtory.

The news of the diſcovery ſpreading as quick as lightning, the conſpirators fled different ways, but moſtly into Warwickſhire, where ſir Everard Digby had appointed a hunting match, near Dunchurch, to get a number of recuſants together, ſufficient to ſeize the princeſs Elizabeth; but this deſign was prevented by her taking refuge in Coventry, and their whole party, making about one hundred horſe, retired to Holbeach, the ſeat of ſir Stephen Littleton, on the edge of Staffordſhire, having broke open ſtables and taken horſes thence, in the adjoining counties. Sir Richard Walſh, high-ſheriff of Worceſterſhire, purſuing them to Holbeach, inveſted them there, and ſummoned them to ſurrender. In preparing them for their defence, they put ſome moiſt powder before a fire to dry, and a ſpark from the coals ſetting it on fire, ſome of the conſpirators were ſo burned in their faces, thighs, and arms, that they were ſcarce capable of handling their weapons. Their caſe was deſperate, and no means of eſcape appearing, unleſs by forcing their way through the aſſailants, they made a deſperate ſally for that purpoſe: Cateſby (who firſt propoſed the manner of the plot), Piercy and the two Winters, were killed; Thomas Winter, Grant, Digby, Rookwood, and Bates, were taken and carried to London, where the firſt made a full diſcovery of the conſpiracy. Treſham, lurking in that city, and frequently moving his quarters, was apprehended not long after, and, having confeſſed the whole matter, died of the ſtranguary in the Tower. The earl of Northumberland, ſuſpected by reaſon of his being related to Thomas Piercy, was, by way of precaution, committed to the cuſtody of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, at Lambeth, and was afterwards fined thirty thouſand pounds and ſent to the Tower, for admitting Piercy into the band of penſioners without tendering him the oath of ſupremacy. Robert Winter and Littleton wandering through woods in the country, were at laſt ſeized and ſent to the Tower. Hugh Owen and Baldwin the Jeſuit being demanded of the archduke, the former was impriſoned and his papers ſeized, but, under the pretence of his being naturalized, and of the privilege of the latter's order, neither of them was ſent to England. Some eſcaped to Calais, and coming thither with others who fled only to avoid a perſecution, as they apprehended on this occaſion, were kindly received by M. de Vic, the governor; but one declaring before him, that he was not ſo much concerned at his exile, as that the powder-plot did not take effect, de Vic was ſo much incenſed at this man's glorying in ſuch an execrable iniquity, that he had like to have thrown him into the ſea. Eight of the conſpirators being tried on the twenty-ſeventh of January, and convicted, ſir Everard Digby being the only one that pleaded guilty to the indictment, though all the reſt had confeſſed their guilt before; he was executed on the thirtieth of that month, with Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates, at the weſt end of St. Paul's Church-yard; as Thomas Winter, Keyes, Rookwood, and Fawkes were in Old Palace-yard, the day following. The earls of Nottingham, Worceſter, Suffolk, Devonſhire, Northampton, and Saliſbury, were in the commiſſion for hearing their trials, and took occaſion to vindicate the king from having ever promiſed the Roman catholics a toleration for their religion, the breach whereof had been alleged as the chief ground of their diſcontent. Garnet had been mentioned in Treſham's confeſſion; and being tried on the twenty-eighth of March, "for his knowlege and concealment of the conſpiracy; for adminiſtering an oath of ſecrecy to conſpirators; for the perſuading them of the lawfulneſs of their treaſon; and for praying for the ſucceſs of the great action in hand at the beginning of the parliament," was condemned, notwithſtanding his falſe plea, of having known of the plot only in confeſſion, which he was not to reveal. The ſentence was not executed till the third of May, when, confeſſing his own guilt, and the iniquity of the enterprize, he exhorted all Roman catholics to abſtain from the like treaſonable practices. Gerard and Hall, Jeſuits, got abroad; Littleton, and others were put to death in the country. The lord Monteagle had a grant of two hundred pounds a year in land, and a penſion of five hundred pounds

for

for life, as a reward for diſcovering the letter which gave the firſt hint of the conſpiracy.

The reader will readily perceive that I have, in this account, advanced pretty far into the year 1606; but I thought it would be more ſatisfactory to preſerve the narrative of this unexampled villany and its progreſs entire to its final ſubverſion: I ſhall now reſume the thread of the hiſtory.

The ſeſſion of parliament which was fixed for the fifth of November, 1605, was poſtponed to the ninth, when the king, in an elaborate ſpeech opened it, and, as much as poſſible, endeavoured to clear the profeſſors of the catholic religion of the deteſtable principles and practices of the late conſpirators; he then very earneſtly recommended it to both houſes, that they ſhould not believe that any foreign prince was concerned in the conſpiracy, and that they ſhould reverently judge and ſpeak of them in that caſe. The truth is, that James was under a thouſand perplexities; peace was the ruling paſſion of his ſoul, and the diſcoveries he had made of the archduke's hand in this conſpiracy, made him afraid, that, if he proſecuted the matter with too keen a reſentment againſt the catholic profeſſors and princes, the court of Spain itſelf might have been found a party; in which caſe it would not have been in his power to have prevented a general war all over Europe, in which he himſelf muſt have been a principal. From the ſame ſpirit of caution James publiſhed ſeveral proclamations to prevent any public apprehenſion that the conſpirators had been promiſed aſſiſtance from foreign princes; "we do declare (ſaid he) that we cannot admit ſo inhumane a thought, as to conceive that any prince, of what religion ſoever, could give ear to ſo ſavage and barbarous an imagination; and that by ſuch examinations as hitherto had been taken, we find them all and their miniſters clear from any ſuſpicion or privy thereunto; whereof an infallible argument to us is, that all the miniſters of foreign princes, who are now here, made earneſt ſuit to be preſent in the place that day: charging and commanding all his ſubjects not to ſpeak of any of his neighbour princes, or their ambaſſadors, but reverently." The parliament was now adjourned to the twenty-firſt of January, 1606.

Early in which year the court of Spain ſent John de Mendoza to congratulate James upon his deliverance, and accompanied its congratulations with many rich preſents. But their actions gave their profeſſions the lie in the ſtrongeſt manner; for when ſir Thomas Edmonds, the Engliſh reſident with the archduke, demanded that Owen and Baldwin the Jeſuit, who had both of them been great promoters of the late conſpiracy, ſhould be ſent to England, the archduke flatly refuſed to give them up, upon pretext that Baldwin was a Jeſuit, and was to be puniſhed by his ſuperiors; and Owen a ſervant to the king of Spain, and therefore only ſubject to him. The French king behaved with much more frankneſs, for he ordered all who were only ſuſpected of the conſpiracy to be ſeized at Calais, and ſent over to England.

The parliament met to do buſineſs agreeable to their prorogation, when they confirmed the attainders of the conſpirators, and ſeriouſly applied themſelves to prevent the deſigns of ſuch popiſh recuſants as refuſed to acknowlege the king's independent authority; and the form of an oath for that purpoſe, in the nature of a teſt, was drawn up and agreed to by the two houſes; which oath, as it contained nothing repugnant to the eſſential articles of the Romiſh faith, and concerned only the unlimited power which by ſome is given, and by others denied, to the pope, was ſaid to have been deviſed by the principal catholics of the ſecular faction, that is, by the ſecular prieſts, ſo called in contradiſtinction to friars, monks, and Jeſuits, who take an oath to the pope, wherein they ſwear unlimited allegiance to his holineſs. Hence we find, that moſt of the Engliſh catholics, not infected with Jeſuitiſm, even their archprieſt himſelf, their ſuperior Blackwell, made no ſcruple to take it. But pope Urban VIII. dreading the conſequences of ſuch a coalition between thoſe members of his church and the church of England, was determined, at all events, to prevent it, ſo far as in his power; and for that end, by a brief, dated on the tenth of the calends of October, 1606, forbad them to take the ſaid oath: and, upon information that this brief was diſregarded, he, the next year, in another brief, told them plainly, that they who took the ſaid oath did forfeit all hopes of ſalvation. This wrought upon ſome weak minds, but ſome of the more learned and judicious deſpiſed ſuch unſcriptural proceedings of the court of Rome, and the archprieſt Blackwell, and others, did not fear to defend the reaſonableneſs and lawfulneſs of taking the oath of allegiance.

The parliament alſo paſſed an act for the better diſcovering and repreſſing popiſh recuſants: another to prevent the dangers which may grow by popiſh recuſants. At the ſame the practice of the law being found intolerable to the ſubject, they paſſed an act to reform the multitudes and miſdemeanors of attorneys and ſolicitors, and to avoid unneceſſary ſuits and charges of the law; and another for the recovery of ſmall debts, and the relieving of debtors in London: and then without regarding the diſputes which aroſe in the firſt ſeſſions of parliament, and as if they reſolved to buy the king's good-will, they granted him one of the largeſt ſubſidies that had ever been given to any one of his predeceſſors on the moſt urgent occaſions of the ſtate, though he was then in profound peace, and wanted money only to enrich his favourites. This aid conſiſted of three whole ſubſidies and ſix fifteenths and tenths, beſides four ſubſidies of four ſhillings in the pound, granted at the ſame time by the clergy: the whole was payable at eleven ſeparate payments, and amounted to the ſum of four hundred and fifty-three thouſand pounds.

The paſſing this grant was quickened by as arrant a ſtate-trick as ever was practiced; for, on the twenty-ſecond of March, a time when the paſſions of the people were warmed with the recent guilt and obſtinacy of the conſpirators, and while the commons were in all the heat of their debates againſt the prerogative, all London and the neighbourhood was fill with a report that James and ſome of his principal favourites were murdered at Oking, about twenty miles weſtward of London. This report was very circumſtantial, the better to gain credit, for it mentioned James to have been ſtabbed with an envenomed knife, and the murderers were compoſed of Engliſh Jeſuits, Scots in diſguiſe, Frenchmen and Spaniards. In an inſtant the court and city gates were ſhut, and the guards upon both doubled: the citizens were put under arms by the lord-mayor; and ſir William Wade,

lieutenant of the Tower, made all diſpoſitions for preventing a ſurprize and ſtanding a ſiege. The commons were ſitting when, about eight in the morning, this alarm reached their houſe, and put a ſtop to all their buſineſs: ſir Edwin Sandys, however, during this conſternation gravely intimated to the houſe, that the king's murder might have been prevented, had the archbiſhop of Canterbury liſtened to his advice, to baniſh the papiſts twenty miles from London, during the ſeſſion of parliament. In an hour or two after the report became leſs ſtrong, and then doubtful; and ſir Maurice Berkley and two other perſons were diſpatched immediately to know the truth. While this was paſſing within doors, the privy-council had aſſembled, and ſoon underſtanding the report to be groundleſs, publiſhed a proclamation to diſabuſe the people, and to prohibit all riotous aſſemblies. In a few hours James himſelf ſent a meſſage, that he was to be in London about two in the afternoon; and he was received at Hyde-park by the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, preceded by the mace, and all the members attending him. The city of London followed the example of the parliament; and, amongſt other foreign ambaſſadors, the Spaniſh was ſo extravagantly joyful, that he preſented ſir Lewis Leucknor, maſter of the ceremonies, with a chain of gold worth ſix ſcore pounds. Then James, having got all he wanted for the preſent, prorogued his parliament on the twenty-ſeventh of May to the eighteenth of November following.

The court cormorants rejoiced greatly at this large ſubſidy, ſure of having it to divide among themſelves; but they were miſerably diſappointed at ſeeing it conſumed ſoon after in the court-entertainments made for the reception of Chriſtian, king of Denmark, who came to England on the ſeventeenth of July, to viſit the queen his ſiſter and the king his brother-in-law; and for the prince of Vaudemont, the duke of Lorraine's third ſon, attended by ſeven earls, ten barons, forty gentlemen, and one hundred and twenty domeſtics.

The parliament meeting on the eighteenth of November, continued ſitting till late in the ſummer of the following year, 1607. In this parliament king James renewed with more earneſtneſs than ever, his ſolicitations with the two houſes to agree to a union of England and Scotland; but the parliament was compoſed of members who were ſo little influenced by the court, that no arguments could prevail for it. The king finding them thus refractory, ſent for both houſes to attend him at Whitehall, and endeavoured, in a long ſpeech, by far the beſt he ever made, to ſhew the neceſſity of the union, and the common advantage it would procure to both nations. However, this had no effect farther than to obtain a repeal of the hoſtile laws on the borders: and James was ſo exaſperated at the oppoſition made to his favourite project, that he could not forbear loading thoſe who were againſt the union with the epithets of blind, ignorant, reſtleſs, and diſaffected; and from thenceforward ſhewed a great averſion to parliaments, and even tampered with his judges to countenance and determine actions in the King's Bench upon the authority of his proclamations only: and towards the end of June, 1607, he prorogued the parliament. The buſineſs of the commons was now become ſo complicated and important, that, in conſequence of a propoſal of ſir Edwin Sandys, a member of great influence, the houſe entered, for the firſt time, an order for the regular keeping of their journals.

The puritans exerted themſelves, as uſual, in this ſeſſion, in bringing in bills againſt pluralities, and for reſtraining the execution of eccleſiaſtical canons not confirmed by parliament; and moving for a toleration of the conventuous oppoſers of ceremonies, but without any effect. In the mean time an inſurrection happened in the counties of Northampton, Warwick, and Leiceſter, the country-people pretending they were deprived of their rights of commoning, and gathering three or four thouſand together, and ſometimes double the number in a body, in order to demoliſh parks and incloſures; ſuch were their feats for about a month that they roved about the country. A puritan miniſter, lately deprived, was ſaid to be one of their chiefs; four or five of them went maſqued, and otherwiſe diſguiſed; but the principal ringleader was one John Reynolds, called captain by his followers, which he boaſted would enable him to defend them againſt all aſſailants. Proclamations were iſſued, ordering them to diſperſe; the high-ſheriffs raiſed the poſſe of their counties againſt them, and broke them in ſome encounters, taking care to ſhed as little blood as poſſible. The king at laſt, by a proclamation on the twenty-eighth of June, expreſſing his unwillingneſs to proceed againſt them by martial law, and giving them hopes of mercy as well as redreſs of their grievances, they diſperſed; and ſpecial commiſſions being iſſued for their trials, captain Pouch, and others of their ringleaders, were convicted of high treaſon, and executed. This commotion was ſcarce quelled, when James, though no ſupply had been granted him in the late ſeſſion, paid on the third of July, a debt of ſixty thouſand pounds, contracted by queen Elizabeth, who had borrowed that ſum on the third of February, 1598, of the citizens of London, and had left it undiſcharged at her deceaſe.

The diſturbances in the middle of England were nothing in compariſon of one that was going to break out in Ireland, where the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, weary of a quiet and inactive life, had conſpired to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin, and to make a general maſſacre of the Engliſh families ſettled in that realm; and had employed ſome Romiſh prieſts to treat with foreign princes for ſuccours. Their deſign being diſcovered, a relation of the former was put upon commencing a ſuit againſt him for part of his eſtate; and the council of Ireland pretending the cauſe was too weighty or difficult for their deciſion, remitted it to that of England, in hopes that Tyrone might be drawn thither and clapped up in the Tower: the parties had notice to attend there with their title-deeds; but Tyrone excuſing himſelf from the journey, offered to ſend his papers by a knight, who knew all his affairs. In the mean time, having ſecured a foreign veſſel that had put into a port belonging to him, he got over to France; and procuring a paſs from the government of Normandy, poſted away for Bruſſels; but finding this place at that time not a proper aſylum, he retired to Rome, where not long after he died.

In the beginning of this year, 1607, was begun a new tranſlation of the Bible, which was publiſhed in 1611, and is the ſame that is now in common uſe.

The next year, 1608, began with the execution of George Jarvis, a ſeminary prieſt of Rheims, who

was hanged for treaſon at Tyburn, on the eleventh of April; and Thomas Garret, a Jeſuit, had the ſame fate on the twenty-third of June, for refuſing to take the oath of allegiance. This year alſo died Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorſet, and was ſucceeded in his poſt of lord-treaſurer by Robert Cecil, earl of Saliſbury, a nobleman of great genius, and a fit inſtrument for the king's urgent occaſions for money, who was extremely prodigal of the Engliſh meney to his Scottiſh favourites. Amongſt other means deviſed by the miniſtry to procure the neceſſary ſums, they granted many monopolies, to the incredible loſs of our woollen and other manufactures; they moreover obliged the Dutch to pay an annual acknowlegement for fiſhing on the coaſts of Great Britain.

In the ſpring of the year 1609, after a long negociation, was concluded, by a truce of twelve years, under the guarantee of France and England, that war, which, for near half a century, had been proſecuted between Spain and the ſtates of the United Provinces; that haughty monarchy, finding her trade entirely ruined, and her provinces expoſed to the moſt imminent danger from the maritime forces of the ſtates, at laſt conſented to acknowlege them for a free people, whom ſhe had ſo long treated as rebellious ſubjects, and ſolemnly to relinquiſh all pretenſions to ſovereignty over them.

This event proved a ſource of great mortification and diſſatisfacton to James, who, on all occaſions, condemned the Hollanders as rebels, it being his avowed maxim, in all debates concerning his prerogative, that ſubjects ought not to withdraw their allegiance from their prince upon any account whatever; he therefore conſidered this treaty as a dangerous precedent, and prejudicial to the ſovereign authority of kings: this appeared more evidently at preſent by his licenſing two books, which maintained moſt extravagant maxims of arbitrary power. The firſt, written by Dr. Cowel, of Cambridge, profeſſor of the civil law and vicar-general to archbiſhop Bancroft, laid down theſe three principles: "1. That the king was not bound by the laws or his coronation-oath. 2. That the king is not obliged to call a parliament to make laws, but might do it alone by his abſolute power. 3. That it was a great favour to admit the conſent of the ſubject in giving ſubſidies." The other, wrote by Dr. Blackwood, a clergyman, laboured to prove that the Engliſh were all ſlaves by right of the Norman conqueſt.

By this time the immoderate expences of the court had emptied the Exchequer; and James, to recruit it, was obliged to have recourſe to raiſing an aid from his ſubjects upon the ſtale pretence of an act of the twenty-fifth year of Edward III. for giving the king a reaſonable aid upon making his eldeſt ſon a knight. But the money he raiſed in this manner being ſoon diſſipated, and the houſhold of prince Henry, who was now fifteen years of age, increaſing, James was obliged to aſſemble his parliament on the ninth of February, 1610. The earl of Saliſbury was ordered to demand the ſupply: in order to conciliate all their affections, he began with aſſuring them that his majeſty was reſolved to redreſs all their grievances; he then proceeded to explain the cauſes of the king's indigence, by obſerving that he had paid the debts of the late queen; that he had maintained an army of nineteen thouſand men in Ireland; that he had expended great ſums in the funeral of Elizabeth, in his own journey, and that of his queen and children, from Edinburgh to London; in entertaining the king of Denmark and the foreign ambaſſadors; in maintaining three courts, for himſelf, his conſort, and the prince of Wales; in ſending envoys to the different countries on the continent, and in liberalities to his officers and dependents; he launched out into extravagant encomiums upon the king's wiſdom and probity, and declared that his majeſty, far from intending to rule deſpotically, was ready to hear the remonſtrances of his parliament, provided they would confine themſelves within proper bounds, without deviating from that reſpect which was due to ſuch a great and generous ſovereign. Notwithſtanding theſe profeſſions, the members of the houſe of commons loudly complained of the king's prodigality and exceſſive profuſion towards his own countrymen: others ventured to affirm, that his intention was to ſap the privileges of the ſubject by gradual uſurpation. He had been heard to declare at his own table, that the civil law of the Roman emperors ought to be ſubſtituted in the room of the common law of England; and approved of the treatiſe called the Interpreter, written by Dr. Cowel, on that ſubject; but the chief cauſe of their complaint was the high-commiſſion court, which had exerciſed great ſeverities againſt the puritans, whoſe party was eſpouſed by a majority of the commons.

James being informed of theſe proceedings, had recourſe to his own eloquence, which he thought irreſiſtible, and required the attendance of the two houſes at Whitehall on the twenty-firſt of March, where he talked to them, in a very high ſtrain, of prerogative, a ſubject the reader will beſt underſtand by the following ſhort extract: "As it is blaſphemy (ſays he) to diſpute what God may do, ſo it is ſeditious in ſubjects to diſpute what a king may do in the height of his power." Then he tells them not to meddle with the main points of government; "for (ſays he) that is my craft, and it would be leſſening me, who have been thirty years at the trade in Scotland, and ſerved an apprenticeſhip of ſeven years here in England;" ſo that there did not want much penetration to perceive how diſtant the king's maxims of government, how artfully ſo ever palliated, were from the eſtabliſhed conſtitutions of the land: if the whole ſpeech ſhould be examined, there is ſcarce a word but what tends, either plainly or ambiguouſly, to eſtabliſh in the king an abſolute deſpotic power. The Engliſh had not been uſed to hear their kings ſpeak in ſuch a ſtyle; and indeed the whole of this curious harangue was very ill calculated to ſooth the animoſity of the people.

The commons, however, though highly diſguſted at ſome of the maxims he had broached, thought proper to diſſemble their reſentment, and expreſs their willingneſs to comply with the king's deſires. The earl of Saliſbury moved for a conference with the commons, in order to obtain an adequate ſupply for his majeſty's preſent occaſions; as well as a grant for two hundred thouſand pounds a year, for the future ſupport of his royal dignity. The commons fired at this propoſal, and voted only one ſubſidy and one fifteenth, which did not amount to the ſixth part of what had been asked for the king's preſent occaſions: they refuſed to ſettle any ſtanding revenue, unleſs the king

would purchaſe it with ſome valuable conſideration. They complained of reſpites of homages, and conſented to ſettle an annual revenue of two hundred thouſand pounds, provided wardſhips ſhould be ſuppreſſed, purveyances ſhould be aboliſhed, and ſome farther privileges granted to the ſubject: but they afterwards roſe in their demands, and inſiſted upon a redreſs of their grievances. They complained of the king's pretending that his proclamations ought to have the force of laws, and of the power arrogated by the high-commiſſion court; and of his majeſty's having altered the Book of Rates, and impoſed new cuſtoms on certain ſpecies of merchandize; they petitioned, that nobody ſhould lend money to the king, or give reaſon for his refuſal: and having received divers meſſages, forbidding them to debate of his right of laying impoſts, they repreſented, that it was their fundamental right to debate freely upon all matters that concerned the ſubject. They afterwards paſſed a bill againſt taxes and impoſitions on merchants and merchandize, but it was thrown out of the houſe of lords at the firſt reading. James, had he not been bound down by his wants, would have reſented the proceedings of this parliament very highly; but he found he could not, without it, either pay his immenſe debts, or obtain a perpetual independent revenue, both which he earneſtly deſired, that he might be ſet free from the tutelage of parliaments, thoſe obſtacles to his immenſe profuſion and boundleſs partiality.

Amongſt the other occurrences which fell out in the courſe of this parliament, the creating the king's eldeſt ſon, Henry, prince of Wales, made a great noiſe. It appears, that ſeveral difficulties were ſtarted againſt this creation; and that, by the profuſions of late reigns, the revenues of that principality were greatly diminiſhed *. The debts of the crown were urged as ſo many reaſons why the expences of the king ought not to be increaſed; and it was ſtrongly inſinuated to James, that by creating his ſon prince of Wales, and putting him in poſſeſſion of a great independent ſtate, the glory of the crown would be eclipſed; it was farther urged, that the juriſdiction of a prince of Wales, when exerciſed by him in perſon, would claſh with that of the crown of England. What effect thoſe objections had upon the mind of James, does not appear; but it is certain he created his ſon prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter; and that the ſum of his revenues ariſing from thence, beſides the vaſt privileges annexed to his dignities, amounted to fifty-one thouſand four hundred and fifteen pounds ſeventeen ſhillings and ten pence, beſides two thouſand pounds a year allowed him for collection, that the revenue might come clear into his own pocket; and ſeven thouſand pounds given him by James, to purchaſe the great barony of Killingworth from ſir Robert Dudley, ſon of the earl of Leiceſter.

Henry was a youth of very promiſing talents and an amiable character, by which he acquired the love and eſteem of the Engliſh people: he ſpent his time in ſtudies becoming a prince, and exerciſed himſelf in the moſt manly diverſions. He poſſeſſed the advantage of a fine perſon, and there was a martial turn in his diſpoſition that could not but be agreeable to a warlike nation. He kept his court at St. James's, while his mother reſided at Somerſet-houſe, where ſhe lived at a great expence; ſo that James was obliged to maintain three ſeparate houſeholds.

Differences now daily increaſing between the king and his parliament, the latter was at length, on the twenty-third of July, prorogued to the ſixteenth of October, parting equally diſſatisfied with each other.

James had ſhut the temple of Janus in England, and was at peace with all the world. The eyes of all Europe were now fixed upon Henry IV. of France, who by his experience and good ſenſe, was become one of the greateſt politicians as well as generals of the age: he ſaw that while the houſe of Auſtria, through its widely-extended branches, was ever ready to embrace all opportunities of aggrandizing itſelf, France had every thing to fear from its ambition; and he had formed a noble project

* As this part of the Engliſh Hiſtory, which relates to the conſtitution of the principality of Wales, appears to be very little known to the generality of our hiſtoriographers, we ſhall, from an original manuſcript, written by prince Henry's order, give ſome account of it in this note.

Edward I. had, in his father's life-time, a juriſdiction in Wales; and when he came himſelf to the crown, in the twelfth year of his reign he obliged the barons, and other great men of that country, to do homage to his ſon, after making the policy of the country more analogous to that of England. Whether, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, he created Wales into a principality by charter, is juſtly doubted; but it is certain, from the ſummonſes to parliament, that Edward II. was earl of Cheſter. Edward III. in the ſeventeenth year of his reign, created his ſon, the famous Black Prince, prince of Wales; and with the principality, he gave him its revenues, together with the lands of Rice ap Marydick, who had been attainted. The ſame prince was likewiſe created duke of Cornwall, upon the death of his uncle, John of Eltham; and when he was no more than three years of age, he was made earl of Cheſter. Thus the whole revenue of the principality, the duchy, and the earldom, amounted to nine thouſand nine hundred and eighty-two pounds twelve ſhillings and ſeven pence; as appears by a ſurvey taken upon the death of this prince, in order to aſcertain the jointure of his princeſs, which was to be one third of the whole. This was in thoſe days an immenſe revenue, when we conſider that the prince was at the ſame time duke of Aquitain; and deſcended to his ſon, afterwards Richard II. who died without iſſue. Henry IV. in the firſt year of his reign, created his ſon prince of Wales; and he had an eſpecial ſeat in parliament on account of that principality: the prince, beſide the dukedom of Cornwall and the earldom of Cheſter, had many additional lands granted him, beſides thoſe poſſeſſed by the Black Prince, and was duke of Lancaſter beſides. Henry VI. never was prince of Wales; but, in the thirty-ſecond year of his reign, he made his eldeſt ſon prince of Wales, and earl of Cheſter; and next year duke of Cornwall. By act of parliament, the rents and profits of theſe lands were to accrue to the king, until the prince was fourteen years of age; but he was to enjoy one thouſand pounds a year, for his neceſſary expences, till he was eight years of age; and two thouſand marks a year after that, till he was fourteen. But, upon the claim of the houſe of York to the crown, that duke was, in Henry VI's time, created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter, as being heir to the crown. Edward IV. was never prince of Wales; but, in the eleventh year of his reign, he created his ſon prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, earl of Cheſter, and earl of Pembroke, and appointed a council to manage his revenues till the prince was fourteen. The next prince of Wales was the ſon of Richard III. who died before his father: and Henry VII. in the fifth year of his reign, created his ſon Arthur prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter. It appears that the revenues of this prince were very great, and yearly increaſed by his father, who aſſigned him a council, for the better management of his principality, of which Dr. William Smith was the firſt preſident. Upon the death of Arthur, his brother Henry, afterwards Henry VIII. was made prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter; and the crown reſumed the revenues of the duchy of York, upon his obtaining thoſe of the dukedom of Cornwall. Dr. Powel, a great Welſh author, is of opinion, that Edward VI. never was created prince of Wales; but admits that his ſiſter Mary was princeſs of Wales, and that the king made the biſhop of Exeter preſident of her council.

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for humbling that houſe. The ſucceſſion to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers offered a fair opportunity of putting in practice what Henry appears to have long meditated, a general league amongſt all the princes of Europe. The duke of Cleves dying on the twenty-fifth of March, 1609, his four ſiſters, or their heirs, claimed his inheritance, containing the duchies of Cleves and Juliers, the earldoms of la Mark, Bergh, Ravenſburg, and Ravenſtein. The chief competitors were, Wolfgang William, ſon to the duke of Newburg; John, duke of Deux Ponts; both of the Palatine family: John Sigiſmund, elector of Brandenburgh; Chriſtian II. elector of Saxony; and Charles of Auſtria, marquis of Burgaw. Whilſt theſe princes contended for the ſucceſſion, the emperor Rodolphus II. pretended it was to be committed to his truſt till the affair ſhould be decided: to that purpoſe he ſent his letters to Leopold of Auſtria, biſhop of Straſburg, who, entering the duchy of Juliers, at the head of an army, took the capital city, and placed a garriſon in it. This proceeding convinced the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Newburg, that, whilſt they were contending about the ſucceſſion to the duke of Cleves, they both ran the riſk of loſing it; they therefore joined in a league, and, taking poſſeſſion of the deceaſed duke's dominions, implored the aid of France and Holland to ſupport them. Henry IV. who had now made great preparations againſt the houſe of Auſtria, promiſed to aſſiſt them in perſon, and at the ſame time ordered the troops he had in Holland to be ready to join him in the duchy of Cleves, and deſired the ſtates to ſend thither prince Maurice, with part of their own forces. But all the great deſigns of Henry were blaſted by his untimely death; for as he was preparing to follow his army, he was, after repeated warnings given him of his fate, ſtabbed in his coach by Ravaillac, a deſperate popiſh enthuſiaſt†. This villain, on his examination, boldly confeſſed he did it becauſe the king did not take arms againſt the Huguenots, and that his making war againſt the pope was the ſame as making war againſt God, "ſeeing the pope was God, and God was the pope." This diſcovery of the principles on which this regicide had been committed, was extremely diſagreeable to James; and as the Jeſuits were univerſally believed to be concerned in it, James, thinking it greatly behoved him to remove from his perſon men who held ſo deteſtable a doctrine, iſſued out a proclamation commanding all Jeſuits and prieſts to depart the kingdom, and all recuſants to keep themſelves at the diſtance of ten miles from the court: then he cauſed the juſtices of peace in all the counties to adminiſter the oath of allegiance which had paſſed in the third year of this reign, and which, without any regard to any particular religion, eſtabliſhed the independency of the crown againſt the court of Rome and all other powers.

The beſt informed hiſtorians have not proved that any prince or ſtate was privy to the deſign of the murderer, who took the whole upon himſelf; but it is certain that the zealots of the Roman catholic religion had ever looked upon Henry's converſion to it as a matter of policy and conveniency in him; and when he came to declare ſo highly as he did in favour of the proteſtant intereſt in Germany, they were confirmed in their ſuppoſitions that he ſtill remained in his heart an Huguenot. By a letter from Mr. Beecher, ſecretary to the Engliſh reſident at Paris, we learn that the aſſaſſin had, ſome time before the murder, reſided at Bruſſels, and this augmented the general opinion that the court of Spain was privy to Henry's death. James, however, did not believe it, or thought it adviſeable to diſſemble his real ſentiments, being willing to gain the friendſhip of an houſe ſo formidable to the proteſtants, and ſent ſir Charles Cornwallis his ambaſſador, to negociate a marriage between the prince of Wales and the king of Spain's eldeſt daughter.

The death of Henry, which happened on the third of May, deferred for a time, but did not prevent, the ſiege of Juliers, which was inveſted in the beginning of July by prince Chriſtian of Anhalt, general of the army of the claimants and confederate princes, aſſiſted by a body of Dutch troops under prince Maurice, four thouſand Engliſh under the command of ſir Edward Cecil, the earl of Saliſbury's nephew, eight thouſand French foot and two thouſand horſe commanded by the marſhal de la Chatre: Ruſhenburg, the governor, ſurrendered it on the thirteenth of September; and the caſtle of Braidebant being alſo taken, the two claimants gained poſſeſſion of the whole country.

About this time the proteſtant princes of Germany thought it neceſſary to enter into a more ſtrict union, and a project was drawn up for that purpoſe by the duke of Wirtemberg. As the death of the king of France had entirely altered their ſyſtem, they threw their eyes upon James as their chief protector, and ſent to him the duke of Wirtemberg's project, both for his approbation and to try how far he would eſpouſe their cauſe. Before this paper arrived in England, the queen-regent of France, Mary de Medicis, who had been ſo appointed during the minority of her ſon

† This infamous miſcreant had for ſome time followed the king in his excurſions, in queſt of an opportunity of perpetrating his horrid purpoſe. That very morning he intended to ſtab him at the Feuillans, where he went to hear maſs; but was hindered by the interpoſition of the duke de Vendôme. After dinner the king appeared extremely uneaſy, and, leaning his head upon his hand, was heard to ſay "My God! what is this that will not ſuffer me to be at quiet!" About four in the afternoon he went into his own coach, with the duke d'Epernon, the duke de Monbazon, the marquis de la Force, marquis de Mirebeau, meſſieurs de Lavardin, Roquelaur, and Liancourt, and ordered the coachman to drive to the croſs of Tiroy; from thence it proceeded to the church-yard of St. Innocent; then turning into the Rue de la Ferroniere, which was very narrow, there was a ſtop, occaſioned by two loaded carts: the king had ſent away his guards, and ordered the coach to be opened, that he might ſee the preparations for the queen's entry; all the pages had gone round another way, except two, one of whom went before to clear the way, while the other ſtepped behind to tie his garter: Ravaillac, who had followed the carriage, took this opportunity to perpetrate his ſhocking purpoſe; he mounted on the coach-wheel, and, with a long knife, ſharp on both ſides, ſtruck the king over the ſhoulder of the duke d'Epernon. Henry exclaimed, "I am wounded!" The aſſaſſin repeated the blow with greater violence, and the knife, penetrating the thorax, divided the vena cava, ſo that the king expired immediately. Ravaillac was not ſeen by any perſon while he perpetrated this atrocious murder; and if he had thrown down the knife under the coach, might have eſcaped unnoticed: but he ſtood on the wheel like a ſtatue, with the bloody knife in his hand. A gentleman coming up, would have put him to death immediately, but the duke d'Epernon called aloud, "Save him, on your life!" and the miſcreant was taken alive. Every body knows the nature of the torments to which this deſperate fanatic was ſubjected. See Smollett's Notes to Voltaire, vol. v. p. 113.

Lewis XIII. had intimated, by the French ambaſſador at London, the ſtate of her affairs, and that the intereſt of her ſon's crown did not permit her to engage farther in the German war than was abſolutely neceſſary, and therefore ſhe wiſhed that means might be found to prevent any farther hoſtilities. Though this declaration ſtartled James, yet, in anſwer to the duke of Wirtemburg's project, he offered to enter into a league with the princes for ſix years, and to lend them four thouſand men, or money to pay them, they promiſing to furniſh him two thouſand in caſe he was attacked. The court of France ſeems to have had no concern in this tranſaction, and found it their intereſt to court James to renew all his alliances with them: James, in conſequence of this requeſt, which was made by Boderie, the French ambaſſador, gave a commiſſion to the earls of Saliſbury, Northampton, Nottingham, and others, to treat with Boderie; and upon his paying to James ſixty thouſand pounds, a treaty was concluded ratifying all the former leagues, and ſtipulating particularly the quantity, the number, and the pay of the troops which each one was to ſend to the other's aſſiſtance. The lord Wotton was then appointed by James ambaſſador extraordinary to Paris, where he made a moſt magnificent entry, and received the queen's oath in confirmation of the late treaty.

But the magnificent embaſſies and ſplendid court of James demanded a farther ſupply of money than his revenues could furniſh, and it was neceſſary that he ſhould give leave for his parliament to meet on the ſixteenth of October, when the great affair of the annual ſtanding revenue was again brought upon the carpet, but neither party were able to finiſh the buſineſs on which they were ſo intent, and in which they were ſo deeply intereſted. The journals of that ſeſſion are loſt, ſo that we are at a loſs to know the reaſon of this miſcarriage: it only appears that James was highly diſpleaſed with the conduct of the parliament, and ſoon after diſſolved it by a proclamation, dated the laſt day of December, 1610. This was his firſt parliament, and it laſted almoſt ſeven years.

We cannot in juſtice to James omit to mention, that he this year exerted a laudable care for the navigation and trade of the kingdom. Several uſeful diſcoveries were by him encouraged, large ſtore-houſes were erected, and naval architecture brought, under the king's direction, to greater perfection than it had ever been known in England, or perhaps in Europe. His care for the Eaſt India company deſerves likewiſe the eternal gratitude of the Engliſh nation: this company, which had been incorporated by queen Elizabeth, had hitherto ſubſiſted under great diſadvantages, through the difficulty and length of their voyages, and the barbarous diſpoſition of the inhabitants of thoſe countries they had diſcovered; but the great profits of a fortunate voyage made it worth their trouble to apply to James for an enlargement of their charter, by which they propoſed to increaſe the trade, the ſhipping, the mariners, the ſtrength and wealth of the kingdom, and to deprive the Turks and Perſians of the Eaſt Indian commerce. James entered into all theſe conſiderations with an attention becoming the father of his people, and granted them a perpetual charter, enlarging their patent, and enabling them to be a body corporate and politic: he alſo prohibited the importation of pepper by foreigners and by all but the Eaſt India company, and ordered that no retailer ſhould ſell pepper at above two ſhillings and ſix pence the pound at moſt. But James did not think it ſufficient to advance the intereſt without adding to the dignity of trade; he graced the meetings of the company with his own preſence, and that of his family; he attended at the launching of the largeſt ſhip that had ever been known in England, of the burden of twelve hundred tons, built by the ſame company; and he made a preſent to ſir Thomas Smith, its governor, of a gold chain with his own picture, with many encomiums upon their laudable ſpirit, and exhortations to perſevere in it. This condeſcenſion, in which James ſucceſsfully imitated his illuſtrious predeceſſor, gave great encouragement to the company, and we find this year the great ſhip, with four others, ſent out under ſir Hugh Middleton, at the charge of one hundred thouſand two hundred pounds; beſides three other ſhips fitted out a few months after, at the expence of ſixty thouſand pounds more, under captain Sayres. The next ſpring, which was 1611, the ſame company fitted out four other ſhips, the largeſt of which was one thouſand tons burden, and ſent them under the command of captain Beſt, who eſtabliſhed a very advantageous Engliſh ſettlement on the coaſt of Surat, and obtained a patent for holding it from the mogul himſelf.

The king having freed himſelf from the encumbrance of the parliament, and being determined never to call another, the courtiers highly applauded his deſign, as an abſolute government was much more for their advantage than a government bounded by the laws, where the king depends in ſome meaſure upon the people: the whole court was overjoyed at the king's ſhaking off this troubleſome yoke, and nothing was now heard there, but mirth and diverſion. As the king, during his reign in Scotland, was hardly ever without a favourite, both the Engliſh and the Scots did all in their power to give him one in England, but hitherto all their endeavours had proved abortive: James's taſte was very different from that of moſt other princes; neither virtue, merit, nor eminent qualities had any charms for him; ſomething external and dazzling, as youth, gracefulneſs of perſon, elegance of dreſs, were the only things to captivate him. At laſt, however, the lord Hay introduced to him Robert Carr, a young Scottiſh gentleman, of an ancient family, who had formerly been a page of honour to him in Scotland; and now James's remembrance of him was renewed by his happening to break his leg by a fall from an unruly horſe, as he was preſenting his majeſty with his ſhield at a tournament. James conceived an unuſual pity at this accident; he viſited the unfortunate youth while he lay ill of his fracture; and ſo rapid was the progreſs of his paſſion, that, upon his recovery, he became the growing favourite at court. It is hard to ſay, whether thoſe who introduced him at the tournament did it by accident or deſign, but they could hardly have employed a more fit perſon than Carr was, for engaging the affection of James. His perſon was handſome, and his years not above twenty; he was extremely ambitious, but profoundly ignorant; his paſſions were ſtrong enough, though his diſſimulation was deep; and the reſt of his character was compounded of ill-applied capacity, exceſſive inſolence, inhuman ingra-

titude, and every ſpecies of wickedneſs. The firſt diſtinction that James beſtowed upon him was knighthood; honours and riches were then heaped upon him, and he quickly became the channel through which all favours paſſed between the king and his ſubjects. On the ninth of April, 1611, he was made viſcount Rocheſter, on the eighteenth of May following he was, with the duke of York and the earl of Arundel, inſtalled knight of the Garter; upon the death of the earl of Dunbar, he became the unrivalled favourite of James, to the no ſmall diſtaſte of the Engliſh nobility.

But we are now to behold all James's attention engroſſed by another favourite ſubject, of a very different nature, and the moſt abſurd and the moſt foreign to the character of a king that can be imagined; of which it is neceſſary to give ſome account, becauſe it gave riſe to ſome of the moſt conſiderable events in Europe. The famous preacher Arminius, at Amſterdam, had been choſen divinity-profeſſor at Leyden, and had been accuſed by the Calviniſts with teaching abſurd doctrines concerning free-will and predeſtination. Before his death, which happened in 1608, his party remained poſſeſſed of the field of diſputation, and his chair was filled by Vorſtius, who had publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes in defence of the Arminian principles; and as he differed from his Britannic majeſty in ſome abſtruſe points concerning the intimate eſſence and ſecret decrees of God, he was regarded as a dangerous rival in ſcholaſtic fame, and was, at laſt, compelled to yield to the legions of that royal doctor, whoſe ſyllogiſm he might have refuted or eluded. If James wanted vigour in other incidents of his reign, he behaved here even with arrogance and preſumption; and the ſtates were forced, after ſeveral remonſtrances, to deprive Vorſtius of his office, and to expel him from their dominions.

The king deſiſted from any farther perſecution againſt that profeſſor; though he very charitably hinted to the ſtates, "that, as to the burning of Vorſtius for his blaſphemies and atheiſm, he left it entirely to their own Chriſtian wiſdom; but never ſurely did heretic better deſerve the flames." The ſtates, however, had too much ſenſe and humanity to underſtand his majeſty's hint; and they even procured for the ejected profeſſor a chair in another univerſity. All this exertion in James, a prince of remarkable indolence, who had already treated tranſubſtantiation and the number of the ſacraments as ſcholaſtic queſtions of little conſequence to ſalvation, is not to be accounted for but from his vanity and ſelf-conceit: he thought himſelf the moſt able theologiſt in the world; and after he had ſignified his ſentiments on this diſpute, he could not brook the laſt oppoſition. Perhaps too he was influenced by motives of reſentment againſt penſionary Barnevelt, the patron of Vorſtius, whom he treated as a rank republican.

No tranſaction of this reign reflected ſo much honour on the ſovereign as did the ſettlement of Ireland, in which James had been ſeriouſly engaged ever ſince his acceſſion to the crown of England. He began with paſſing an act of oblivion, to quiet the minds of the people; he took them into his protection, and indulged them with the benefit of the Engliſh laws; and cauſed juſtice to be adminiſtered to them with the utmoſt impartiality: Wexford, Tyrone, Tyrconnel, the northern parts of Ulſter, half Connaught, and all Munſter, were divided into counties, ſupplied with ſheriffs and juſtices of the peace, and the judges made their circuits regularly twice every year. The lords chieftains made a ſurrender of their lands to the crown; and, before they were re-granted, all oppreſſive exactions were aboliſhed. The Iriſh duties, rents, and ſervices, were valued, and reduced to certain ſums of money, on payment of which the tenants poſſeſſed their lands in ſecurity, ſo that the moſt miſerable ſlavery was ſucceeded by wealth and independence. Tyrone, Tyrconnel, O'Dogharty, and other rebellious chieftains having forfeited their poſſeſſions, together with Ardmagh, Cavan, Derry, Donnegal, and Fermanagh, which had been eſcheated to the crown, were granted out in different portions to Engliſh, Scottiſh, and Iriſh adventurers, in order to be properly cultivated. Theſe undertakers obliged themſelves to make certain improvements; and, in a word, ſuch meaſures were taken, that Ulſter, the wildeſt part of Ireland, became one of the beſt cultivated countries in Europe.

During the great tranquility enjoyed by James, he cauſed the body of his mother, Mary late queen of Scots, to be removed, in the ſpring of 1612, to Henry VII's chapel at Weſtminſter, from Peterborough, where it was interred after her decapitation, and had lain ever ſince.

About the middle of the ſame year James had an opportunity to exhibit an agreeable ſpecimen of impartiality, in the execution of Robert Creighton, lord Sanquhar, a Scottiſh nobleman, who had baſely aſſaſſinated one Turner, his fencing-maſter. In vain did Abbot, then archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other gentlemen, intercede for him; the king obſerving how much the Engliſh were provoked at his attachment to his countrymen, prudently ſacrificed him to their reſentment.

Shortly after a very extraordinary embaſſy arrived in England. Sir Robert Shirley, an Engliſhman, who had ſerved the king of Perſia many years in his army, deſiring to ſee his native country, obtained of that monarch the character of ambaſſador, and a letter of credit to the king. His inſtructions were only to pay his compliments to the king, with the offer of a free trade to the Engliſh throughout the Perſian dominions. The ambaſſador had paſſed through the Hague, where he demanded audience of the ſtates, to propoſe to them a treaty with the king of Perſia; but becauſe he came from Spain, where he had made ſome ſtay, the ſtates ſuſpected he had ſome other deſign, demanded to ſee his inſtructions, and upon his ſcrupling to produce them, he was deſired to withdraw. As he had been alſo at other courts, it was believed he had put the king of Perſia in hopes of engaging all the Chriſtian princes in a war with the Turks, who were preparing to invade him. He had married a Perſian lady, who was delivered of a ſon in England, to whom the queen ſtood god-mother, and prince Henry god-father. After a year's ſtay in England, he returned to Perſia.

The great noiſe made by the arrival of this ambaſſador was, however, far exceeded by that of Frederic V. elector Palatine, who, in conſequence of a treaty of marriage which had been ſome time negociating between him and the princeſs Elizabeth, James's daughter, came over to England on the ſixteenth of October this year. He was received with the greateſt reſpect, and for ſome time nothing was ſeen at court but entertainments and diver-

ſions on his account. But amidſt the univerſal joy which this marriage occaſioned, the prince of Wales was attacked with a diſtemper which at firſt was not thought dangerous: he was ſeized with it a few days before the elector's arrival, but believed it of ſo little conſequence, that he accompanied him every where for ſome time, and was not confined to his bed till the twenty-fifth of the ſame month. He died on the ſixth of November, being eighteen years eight months and ſeventeen days old, and was buried at Weſtminſter on the ſeventh of December following. His funeral charges amounted to ſixteen thouſand and ſixteen pounds.

Some authors would inſinuate that the king cauſed him to be poiſoned; but as there are no clear proofs of this, or, indeed, hardly the ſlighteſt preſumptions, it probably proceeded entirely from malice. Others are content with accuſing the viſcount Rocheſter of this crime, but without any manner of proof. However, as a proof of this nature was ſpread immediately after the prince's death, his head and body were ordered to be opened, in preſence of many phyſicians and ſurgeons, who gave their opinion, upon oath, that no ſigns of poiſon appeared: but what reflected moſt upon the king, was his commanding that no perſon ſhould appear at court in mourning; probably he was willing to remove from his ſight all melancholy objects that might renew his grief, or determined not to interrupt the preparations for his daughter's marriage; decency, however, obliged him, to defer the nuptials for a few weeks.

The great application which Saliſbury gave to buſineſs had ſuch an effect on his health, that, in the beginning of this year, he was ſeized with a diſorder that finiſhed his days on the fourteenth of May. His death proved a great misfortune to James, who in him loſt a very able miniſter, and one perfectly well acquainted with the affairs of ſtate and the genius of the Engliſh nation. He was a check to the reſt of the miniſters, and hindered them from running upon precipices, the danger whereof they were not ſo well acquainted with: he had alſo a wonderful talent of diverting the king himſelf from dangerous reſolutions; though it muſt be granted that he did not always ſucceed. According to Weldon, he was a man of great parts, very wiſe, full of honour and bounty, a great rewarder and lover of virtue and merit in others, if they did not aſpire at too great places.

The beginning of the year 613 was wholly ſpent in preparations for the princeſs's marriage, which was ſolemnized on the fourteenth of February, the elector having been, on the ſeventh, inſtalled knight of the Garter. Nothing was ſpared to render the entertainments on theſe occaſions as magnificent as poſſible: in order to this the king demanded an aid of money from his ſubjects, in conformity to a cuſtom anciently obſerved, when the king married his eldeſt daughter, though an hundred years had elapſed ſince this cuſtom had been uſed, there having been no occaſion ſince the reign of Henry VII. However, few or none dared to refuſe complying with the king's command: by this means twenty thouſand five hundred pounds were raiſed, and all expended in the marriage.

During the ſtay of the elector and his conſort in England, which was till April, there was nothing but entertainments, balls, maſquerades, and other diverſions: the city of London entertained the new-married couple at a ſplendid feaſt, after which the lord-mayor and aldermen preſented the bride with a chain of oriental pearl, worthy the grandeur and riches of that metropolis: Stowe ſays it coſt upwards of two thouſand pounds.

Soon after the elector and his ſpouſe embarked at Margate, and in four days landed at Fluſhing. He behaved during his ſtay in England, ſo nobly and diſcreetly, in all reſpects, that he gained the general applauſe and love of all men, and gave away to the full value of one hundred and twenty thouſand French crowns. The king was not behind the Palatine in magnificence, and the total of the marriage, including the princeſs's portion, coſt him ninety-three thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-eight pounds. The nation, however, was ſo well pleaſed with the match, which promiſed the greateſt advantages to the proteſtant intereſt in Europe, that all impoſitions to defray this immenſe expence were chearfully bore by the public; and in the ſpring of this year the old earl of Nottingham, lord high-admiral, attended the princeſs to Germany, with a gallant train of Engliſh nobility and gentry. At the departure of the elector and electreſs, the court was rendered more quiet, with regard to public rejoicings, which had continued ſeveral months without interruption; but at the ſame time a private ſcene was acting, the plots whereof began this year to open: I mean the annulling the marriage of the earl of Eſſex with his counteſs, that lady's ſecond marriage with Robert Carr, viſcount Rocheſter, the king's favourite, and the violent death of ſir Thomas Overbury. In order to ſet theſe incidents in a clear light, it will be requiſite to relate ſome things already paſſed, which we purpoſely deferred, that the thread of this extraordinary ſtory might not be interrupted.

The late earl of Eſſex, to whom Robert Cecil, earl of Saliſbury, was a mortal enemy, and one of the chief inſtruments of his ruin, left a ſon, who, being but nine years old, gave Cecil little uneaſineſs, though the king, on his coming to England, had reſtored him to his paternal honours and eſtates. However, the ſharp-ſighted Cecil was apprehenſive that ſome time or other he might be called to an account for his proceedings againſt that nobleman; therefore, in order to preſerve the king's favour, he judged it neceſſary to unite cloſely with the Howard family, by marrying his own ſon, Edward Cecil, viſcount Cranburn, to the lady Catherine, third and youngeſt daughter to the earl of Suffolk; and as the young earl of Eſſex began to grow towards man's eſtate, he looked upon it as neceſſary for him to be reconciled to that young lord; with which view he completed a match between him and the lady Frances Howard, the earl of Suffolk's ſecond daughter: thus the three families of Cecil, Devereux, and Howard, were united in the ſtricteſt connexion. But as the earl of Eſſex and his bride, at the time of their marriage, were thought too young for cohabitation, the earl was ſent on his travels, and in the Low Countries he had an opportunity of completing himſelf in the art of war, in which he afterwards made ſo great a figure. Upon his return he found his counteſs the moſt finiſhed beauty of the age, as he himſelf, now about twenty years old, was one of the moſt promiſing young noblemen in Europe; but he was ignorant that the lord Rocheſter was his rival in the heart of his lovely bride. In effect the young favourite preſuming

ſuming on his great power, had the impudence to ſolicit the lady to criminal love, and ſhe the weakneſs privately to yield to his addreſſes. The return of Eſſex in the preceding year interrupted the enjoyment of the two lovers; that nobleman, fired with the charms of his young conſort, claimed the privilege of a huſband with all the impatience of youthful ardour; but, to his inexpreſſible diſappointment and mortification, when he approached her he met with nothing but coldneſs and indifference, and a flat refuſal of any intimate freedoms. Provoked at this unaccountable behaviour, which he for ſome time exerted all his endeavours to alter, he at laſt abandoned the attempt, and, ſeparating from his wife, left her to follow her own will and inclination: to this, indeed, he was particularly induced by having diſcovered her intrigue with Rocheſter, which became every day, more and more notorious.

But the counteſs, not ſatisfied with being the miſtreſs of Rocheſter, eagerly wiſhed to become his wife; and being by this time loſt to all manner of ſhame, ſhe prevailed on her paramour to uſe his influence with the king to procure for her a divorce from Eſſex. Rocheſter imparted this ſcheme to ſir Thomas Overbury, who had for nine years been his moſt intimate friend and monitor. That faithful counſellor was alarmed at the propoſal, and employed every argument that the nature of circumſtances offered, to divert his friend from ſo fooliſh and baſe an attempt; and, in the warmth of his honeſt expoſtulations, went ſo far as to threaten Rocheſter that he would break off all correſpondence with him, if he could ſo forget his honour and intereſt as to proſecute the intended marriage with ſo abandoned a woman. Rocheſter had the weakneſs to impart this converſation to the counteſs, who inſtantly vowed vengeance on this bold arraigner of her honour and conduct; and the favourite was by this time ſo infatuated by her charms, that he joined with her in reſolving the ruin of Overbury. With this view he went to the king, and, after extolling Overbury's abilities, took occaſion to inſinuate that he was grown of late inſupportably inſolent, and therefore requeſted that he might be removed by ſome honourable employment, ſuch as being ſent ambaſſador to the court of France or Bruſſels, or, as others ſay, to that of Ruſſia. James, far from ſuſpecting the truth, inſtantly appointed Overbury to the embaſſy: this latter, on receiving notice of his appointment, conſulted with Rocheſter how he ſhould proceed, as he looked upon this as no better than a genteel baniſhment from the court, Rocheſter, under pretence of not being able to ſupport his abſence, perſuaded him to reject the proffered miſſion; and then poſting away to the king, repreſented this refuſal as ſuch an inſtance of inſolence and diſreſpect, that James, who could not brook the ſlighteſt contempt of his authority or power, gave an order for committing the unhappy Overbury priſoner to the Tower, the lieutenancy of which had been lately beſtowed on ſir Jervaiſe Elwis, one of the favourite's creatures.

The troubleſome counſellor being thus removed, and ſequeſtered from all intercourſe with his friends and acquaintance, the earl of Northampton, who had been brought over to favour the deſigns of his niece and Rocheſter, ſolicited the king in behalf of the counteſs, who demanded a divorce from her huſband, the pretence of which was his incapacity to fulfil the conjugal duties; and the earl, who was willing to embrace any decent opportunity of ſeparating from ſo profligate a woman, readily acknowleged, upon the trial, that, with regard to the counteſs, he was conſcious of ſuch an infirmity, though he was not ſenſible of it with regard to any other woman. A jury of matrons was impannelled to inſpect the counteſs, who reported her a virgin. In conſideration of her great modeſty, ſhe obtained premiſſion to appear before them with a veil, and it is ſaid a young woman of her own ſhape and ſtature was ſubſtituted, and underwent the examination in her place. The confeſſion of the huſband, and the report of the matrons, were deemed ſufficient reaſons to declare the marriage a nullity*.

After ſuch a trial, aſſiſted by court-influence, and ſupported by the ridiculous opinion of faſcination and witchcraft, the ſentence of divorce was awarded between the earl of Eſſex and his lady; and the king not only gave his favourite leave to marry the counteſs, but alſo created him earl of Somerſet, on the fourteenth of November this year, that her ſecond huſband might be of equal rank with the firſt. The nuptials were ſolemnized in the moſt oſtentatious manner, in the beginning of the following month, and nothing was now wanting to complete their triumph but the death of Overbury, without which that implacable woman could not be ſatisfied; and ſhe engaged her huſband, as well as her uncle the earl of Northampton, in the atrocious deſign of taking him off ſecretly by poiſon. Many attempts were made for this purpoſe, but the ſtrength of Overbury's conſtitution as often rendered them abortive, till at laſt nature gave way to the repeated attacks, and the unhappy gentleman died in the Tower by an envenomed clyſter. He was buried in the place of his confinement with the greateſt diſpatch and ſecrecy, under pretence that he died of ſuch a loathſome diſeaſe as rendered his corpſe unfit to be ſeen; and although it occaſioned a ſtrong ſuſpicion immediately in the public, the crime was not diſcovered till ſome years after. It is but doing juſtice to the memory of James to ſay, that he was impoſed upon by the artifices of Rocheſter and the Howard family in the whole of this black affair: he indeed had been a little too forward in the matter of the divorce between the earl of Eſſex and the counteſs; but it was no wonder if, when he ſaw himſelf ſupported by the opinions of his nobility, his clergy, and his lawyers, he too readily gave way to a ſentence which completed the happineſs of a favourite, whom he ſo entirely loved as he did Rocheſter; and that he was ſtruck with terror when he diſcovered that he had been unwittingly made the promoter of ſuch a ſcene of barbarity.

It was now four years ſince the king had called a parliament, and it was a great comfort to him to have no diſputes with the houſe of commons, ever ready to complain of grievances, and take occaſion to examine the conduct of the ſovereign or his mi-

* The archbiſhop of Canterbury was the only perſon of note who was diſſatisfied with the ſentence of divorce. Bilſon, biſhop of Wincheſter, having ſtrenuouſly ſupported its expediency, his ſon was knighted, by the intereſt of Rocheſter, and ever after diſtinguiſhed in deriſion by the name of ſir Nullity Bilſon.

niſters. He was much better ſatisfied with governing abſolutely, though this was attended with very great inconvenience: he was continually obliged to invent new methods to raiſe money, which, being founded on abſolute authority, produced murmurs and complaints amongſt the people; neither did theſe methods bring in ſufficient ſums for the king's occaſions, who loved magnificence, and was always fond of giving. Hence ſprung his wants, which inceſſantly increaſed, his revenues, as well ordinary as extraordinary, not being ſufficient to defray his expences.

The king being thus continually reduced to ſtraits, he had at laſt recourſe to a project formed by the late earl of Saliſbury, namely, to create knights baronets, a kind of middle nobility between barons and knights bachelors: their number was not to exceed two hundred, but the king at firſt made but ninety, of whom ſir Nicholas Bacon, of Redgrave in Suffolk, was the firſt. To purchaſe this honour, which was to be hereditary, every baronet was obliged to pay to the king a thouſand pounds; but, in order to give ſome colour to this new inſtitution, every baronet was obliged by his patent to maintain thirty foot-ſoldiers in Ireland for three years, at eight pence per diem each ſoldier; afterwards it was hinted to them, that if they would compound with the king, and pay the whole ſum at once, part ſhould be abated, and the king would maintain his troops in Ireland himſelf, and every one accepted this offer. There were alſo other methods made uſe of to fill the king's coffers, without being obliged to have recourſe to parliament; each rank of nobility had its price affixed to it; privy-ſeals were iſſued to the amount of two hundred thouſand pounds; benevolences were demanded, to the amount of fifty-two thouſand pounds; and ſome monopolies of no great value were eſtabliſhed.

Though the earl of Somerſet looked upon it as a great advantage to have diſpatched Overbury, yet he found himſelf much more embarraſſed in the management of affairs ſince he was no longer aſſiſted by that faithful counſellor. As his ſmall experience rendered every thing difficult, he grew completely odious at the court of England; and though the king's partiality continued, yet his inſolence and weakneſs gave his enemies ſuch advantage, that it ſoon appeared he muſt be removed. Somerſet's favour, however, with the king, appeared ſo great, that none durſt openly attack him; and, on the death of the earl of Northampton, which happened in the following year, Thomas Howard, earl of Suffolk, his brother, was made lord high-treaſurer, whilſt the favourite ſucceeded Suffolk as lord-chamberlain. Somerſet had been for ſome time labouring to bring about a match between Charles, now prince of Wales, and a daughter of France, and this negociation had been carried on with ſuch great ſecrecy, that ſcarcely a lord of the Engliſh court knew any thing of it before Edmonds, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, brought the propoſal over to England in his pocket, ready to be ſigned. This gave infinite diſguſt to the lords of the council, and they made ſo violent an oppoſition to the match, that James ſaw he muſt either break with his favourite or his council: in proportion as the favourite's intereſt ſecretly or viſibly declined, the neceſſity of calling a parliament appeared the ſtronger, all the money raiſed by loans, benevolences, and the ſale of the new order of baronetage, being now ſpent*.

James, who heartily hated the nonconformiſts, readily liſtened to a propoſal for ſending them out of the kingdom, by tranſporting them to the waſtes of America, belonging to, but not cultivated by, the Engliſh: ſeveral ſhips were accordingly freighted, ſome by the government, and ſome by private perſons, for carrying over adventurers or planters; and great numbers at this time entered themſelves for Newfoundland and Virginia. But the clergy were not fond of thoſe colonies, and repreſented them to James as ſo many ſeminaries of puritaniſm, which would in time form not only a ſeparate church, but a ſeparate ſtate; James therefore, after ſeveral ſhips full had gone, ordered thoſe who were on board other ſhips to be ſtopped, and examined concerning their principles, and, upon their not giving ſatisfaction, they were reſtrained from going abroad: but James lived long enough to ſee the ill effects of this caution, and, when it was too late, would gladly have retrieved his error.

On the fifth of Auguſt, 1614, the new parliament met; the miniſtry had exerted their utmoſt efforts in order to procure a majority in the houſe of commons; but the meaſures of the court were ſo generally diſagreeable to the nation, that all their endeavours proved ineffectual, and, inſtead of granting a ſupply as deſired by the king, who made them ſeveral cajoling offers of grace, they reſumed the ſubject which had been canvaſſed in the laſt parliament, and declaimed againſt the regal uſurpation in levying new cuſtoms and impoſitions by the mere authority of prerogative. To prevent, if poſſible, the like practice for the future, they applied to the lords for a conference on this topic, in order to concert meaſures for ſecuring the liberty of the ſubject, and circumſcribing the exorbitant and unlimited power of the crown. James, informed of this circumſtance, immediately diſſolved the parliament (on the ſeventh of June), after a ſeſſion of about two months, wherein not one ſtatute was enacted; and he even carried his reſentment ſo far as to impriſon ſome of the members, who had been moſt forward in the oppoſition; a ſtep by which he expoſed himſelf ſtill farther to the hatred of the nation.

Soon after the diſſolution of the parliament, the king of Denmark came to England on a ſecond viſit to his ſiſter and brother-in-law; but having a mind to ſurprize them, he came privately and with a ſmall company, ſo that he appeared before the queen at Somerſet-houſe moſt unexpectedly. But James being then on a progreſs in Bedfordſhire, and hearing of his arrival, came preſently back; and, after he had entertained his royal gueſt with all the diverſions his court could afford, prince Charles, on the firſt of Auguſt, conducted him on board his ſhip, and he returned home.

* His frantic liberality went ſo far as to give ſir Henry Rich, afterwards earl of Holland, then a young man, diſtinguiſhed by no merits or ſervice, three thouſand pounds in ſpecie, which was carrying to the privy-purſe, for no other reaſon but becauſe Rich, as the money was paſſing by, was heard to ſay, ſuch a ſum would make him very happy. James was much delighted in reporting, or hearing that others reported, thoſe acts of his generoſity; but the nation thought he had no right to be laviſh at their expence.

The king of Denmark had not long departed, when an ambaſſador arrived from the czar of Muſcovy, to deſire the mediation of James in a quarrel between him and the king of Sweden.

This year is remarkable for the completion of two projects which proved of great advantage to the city of London: the one was performed by ſir Hugh Middleton, citizen and goldſmith of London, a native of Denbighſhire, who having the authority of parliament for his warrant, with infinite coſt and indefatigable labour brought water to the city from the two great ſprings of Chadwell and Amwell, in Hertfordſhire, having cut a channel from thence to a place near Iſlington, where he conveyed it to a large reſervoir (now called the New River Head), and from thence in wooden pipes to all parts of the city. The other project was about this time completed on the north ſide of London, called Moorfields, which being before environed with ſtinking ditches and unhealthy common-ſewers, was now not only entirely cleanſed from its collection of filth, but levelled and formed into gravel-walks, adorned with handſome rows of trees, that rendered it the moſt healthy and pleaſant place in the city. The next year alſo brought an addition of beauty and benefit to the capital, by the paving of Smithfield, which was before a miſerable dirty place, and the ſeparating the middle part of it by rails into a fair walking place, fit for a market, or any other uſe. This year alſo the lady Arabella Stuart, a near kinſwoman to the king, who had ſome time before, without the king's privity, ſecretly married William Seymour, the earl of Hertford's youngeſt ſon, for which they were both committed to the Tower, ended her life there, and was buried in the chapel royal of Weſtminſter.

Hitherto the earl of Somerſet had been in ſo full poſſeſſion of the king's heart, that the queen herſelf began to be alarmed, and conceived a violent hatred againſt him. Whether the king's fondneſs for him had been the occaſion of her averſion, or that ſhe ſuſpected him of having been concerned in the death of her ſon, prince Henry, ſhe reſolved, if poſſible, to effect his ruin: for this purpoſe ſhe intereſted in her reſentment ſir Ralph Winwood, who enjoyed the title of ſecretary of ſtate, though all the functions of that office were diſcharged by the expreſs direction of Somerſet: Abbot, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was alſo drawn in to join in the ſcheme for ruining the favourite: he was a well-meaning prelate, a moſt zealous enemy to popery, and had conceived an inſuperable diſguſt to Somerſet on account of the match which that miniſter had propoſed between the prince of Wales and a daughter of France. After many conſultations upon the means of effecting the downfal of this object of their averſion, it was concluded on all hands, that none carried ſo fair a proſpect of ſucceſs as to introduce to the king a new minion, which was George Villiers, a youth of one-and-twenty, younger brother of a good family, returned at this time from his travels, and diſtinguiſhed by the advantages of an handſome perſon, genteel air, and elegant dreſs; ſnares which they knew the weak heart of James could never reſiſt. Their ſcheme was crowned with the deſired ſucceſs; James beheld this gaudy object at a comedy which was acted at Cambridge, in the beginning of the year 1615, where he was placed full in the royal eye, and immediately engaged the attention, and in the ſame moment the affection, of the monarch. The junto perceived that James was touched; they followed their ſucceſs; even the queen and the grave primate themſelves condeſcended to recommend the young man to the king's farther notice, who, overjoyed to receive this ſanction to his wiſhes, no longer reſtrained his affections, but, calling Villiers to court, knighted him, and appointed him gentleman of the bed-chamber, into which office he was ſworn on the tenth of April, and had a yearly penſion of a thouſand pounds aſſigned him. Here he daily ſtole the hearts of the courtiers and petitioners from his rival, by his noble and generous way of promoting their ſuits, and James's fondneſs for him was carried even to a degree of folly; but ſtill he thought it requiſite to keep up ſome ſhew of complacency for Somerſet, his natural puſillanimity making him fearful of puſhing things to extremity with a favourite who was maſter of moſt of his private thoughts and actions.

Somerſet, however, now looked upon himſelf as irretrievably loſt in the affections of his royal maſter, and thought it prudent, upon pretexts that may be eaſily gueſſed, to ſolicit James for pardon. James conſented, and the drawing the pardon was left to the care of ſir Robert Cotton; who, copying after a pardon granted by Henry VIII. to Wolſey, drew it up with the following clauſe, "that the king, out of his mere motion and ſpecial favour, did pardon all and all manner of treaſons, miſpriſions of treaſon, murders, felonies, and outrages whatſoever, by the ſaid Robert, earl of Somerſet, committed or to be hereafter committed." This pardon, after being ſigned by the king, was carried to the great-ſeal, where it ſtuck; for the lord-chancellor Bacon, who was Somerſet's enemy, refuſed to paſs it, and informed the queen of the contents. Upon conſultation, the whole party againſt Somerſet concluded they muſt now make their laſt puſh; and the plot now thickened ſo much, that in every company dark, though confident, ſurmiſes were heard, that Overbury had been poiſoned, and by thoſe whoſe greatneſs ſet them above the ſtroke of juſtice.

Winwood, the ſecretary of ſtate, had come to the knowlege of Overbury's murder by the apothecary's boy, who had been employed in the affair of the poiſoned clyſter, and had fled to Fluſhing, where falling ſick, he diſcovered all he knew of the matter to ſome correſpondent of Winwood. This latter had for ſome time prudently concealed his intelligence, as a diſcovery, which, if unſeaſonably made, might have overwhelmed himſelf; but now he made no ſecret of what the boy had confeſſed: his diſcoveries were confirmed by ſome converſation he had with the counteſs of Shrewſbury, a prying intriguing lady, and then a priſoner in the Tower on account of the lady Arabella Stuart's marriage. This lady had rendered herſelf ſo intimate with ſir Jervaiſe Elwis, that ſhe drew from him part of the ſecret, which ſhe whiſpered ſo artfully about, that, before any durſt name Somerſet, Elwis was charged with being an accomplice in Overbury's murder. It was not long before this reached the ears of James; and the lieutenant being queſtioned on the fact, could not help being viſibly ſhocked; and acknowleged that he did indeed know of ſome attempts made againſt Overbury. James, upon this, ordered one of the privy-council to take, under the lieutenant's own hand, all he knew of the matter:

ter: which being brought to court, Weſton, who had given Overbury the poiſon in tarts and jellies, and at laſt in a clyſter, Mrs. Turner, who was the chief counſellor to the counteſs of Somerſet, Franklin the apothecary, who had prepared the poiſon, and ſir Jervaiſe Elwis, lieutenant of the Tower, were ordered to be apprehended: and ſoon after, with the king's privity, a warrant was made out for arreſting Somerſet and his counteſs; and they, with the other accomplices in Overbury's murder, were, upon the fulleſt evidence and moſt impartial trial, convicted of that dreadful act. Sir Jervaiſe Elwis, Weſton, Turner, and the reſt, ſuffered the puniſhment due to their crime; but the king granted a pardon to the principals, Somerſet and his counteſs; and, to mitigate the ſeverity of their fall, after ſome years impriſonment, he reſtored them to their liberty, and indulged them with a penſion, upon which they retired into the country, and languiſhed out old age in infamy and obſcurity; for their guilty loves were converted into moſt deadly hatred, and they lived ſeveral years in the ſame houſe, without any intercourſe or correſpondence with each other.

Having thus finiſhed this diſagreeable ſubject, which has carried the narrative twelve months too forward, I now reſume the thread of the hiſtory.

The marriage of the young king of France, Lewis XIII. with the princeſs Anne of Auſtria being ſolemnized in the year 1615, James ſent ambaſſadors to France and Spain, to congratulate the two kings. The lord Hay, a Scotch nobleman, was made choice of for the French embaſſy, and the lord Roſs for the Spaniſh: they had both orders to ſound the two courts with regard to the prince of Wales's marriage, either with the princeſs eldeſt ſiſter of Lewis XIII. or with the infanta Maria, daughter of Philip III. The lord Hay ſoon diſcovered that his negociation would be fruitleſs, becauſe the princeſs of France was already promiſed to the prince of Piedmont, ſon to the duke of Savoy.

During theſe tranſactions, and before the lord Roſs arrived in Spain, ſir John Digby, his majeſty's ambaſſador to Philip III. informed the king that the duke of Lerma had made an overture of marriage between the infanta Maria and the prince of Wales, deſiring private inſtructions on this head; accordingly he ſent orders to ſir John Digby to begin the negociations with Spain. At the ſame time count Gondemar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador in England, received a commiſſion to treat with the king concerning the marriage.

King James had no ſooner taken this reſolution than his extreme deſire of accompliſhing it grew too ſtrong to be concealed; hence he gave occaſion to the Spaniard, who had then no deſign to treat ſeriouſly of this affair, to feign that he paſſionately wiſhed to conclude it to his ſatisfaction, in order to gain conſiderable advantages for the houſe of Auſtria and the catholic religion.

Whilſt the king was entirely taken up with this marriage, his miniſters were deviſing new methods to raiſe money; but all means ſeemed to be exhauſted, and a parliament could not ſafely be called, the wound of the impriſoned members being ſtill too freſh to hope it was yet healed. Mean while the above treaty of the prince of Wales's marriage with the infanta procured an unexpected ſupply: queen Elizabeth had ſettled with the ſtates of the United Provinces the arrears they owed her, which amounted to eight millions of florins, which ſum became due to James as her ſucceſſor: the ſtates would long ſince have paid this debt, had they not found their account in remaining debtors to England, as they by this means engaged the kingdom to ſupport them. But having made a truce with the king of Spain, they no longer wanted the protection of the Engliſh, and being encouraged by the preſent neceſſitous condition of James's finances, they employed Carou, their miniſter at London, to offer a little more than a third of the ſum that was owing to England, and which amounted in the whole to eight hundred and eighteen thouſand four hundred and eight pounds, on condition that the king would reſtore the three important fortreſſes of Fluſhing, the Brille, and Rammekins, which had been delivered by the ſtates to Elizabeth, as pledges for the money ſhe had advanced them; at the ſame time Carou intimated, that the ſtates would do their utmoſt in time to diſcharge the whole debt: this intimation had the deſired effect; the king having no money, and there being a proſpect of drawing a much larger ſum from the ſtates, readily determined him to grant their requeſt, and the cautionary towns were accordingly delivered on the fourteenth of June. From this period we may date the full liberty of the Dutch commonwealth.

This money in a ſhort time was vaniſhed without the leaſt poſſibility of gueſſing what was become of it: none of the king's debts were paid, the navy was ſuffered to decay for want of money to repair it, and nothing had been ſent to the army in Ireland, which had not received a penny for ſeveral years, and whoſe wants were made uſe of as a pretence to treat with the ſtates.

At length it was diſcovered that the lord-treaſurer Suffolk had converted great part of the money received from the ſtates to his own uſe. As he was father-in-law to the earl of Somerſet, and conſequently no friend to the favourite, this opportunity was readily embraced; the lord-treaſurer was therefore accuſed in the Star-chamber of ſundry miſdemeanors in the execution of his office, and particularly with having ſecreted part of the money recovered from the ſtates: ſir Edward Coke, who was again reconciled to the king, was his accuſer; he aggravated his miſdemeanors, his extortions, his miſmanagement of the king's treaſure, his boldneſs in applying it to his own uſe, the corruptions of his counteſs, who took bribes with both hands, and the artifices of his deputy Bingley, to enſnare ſuch as had buſineſs with his maſter; after that, he urged many precedents of treaſurers who had been puniſhed for ſlighter crimes than thoſe of the earl of Suffolk, and ſhewed the dangerous conſequences reſulting from the ill adminiſtration of the treaſurerſhip when managed by corrupt perſons. Had the lord-treaſurer thrown himſelf upon the king's mercy, he would have been eaſily acquitted; but he endeavoured to juſtify himſelf, and not ſucceeding to the ſatisfaction of his judges, he was fined thirty thouſand pounds, and condemned to impriſonment during the king's pleaſure, and Bingley was fined two thouſand pounds.

After the fall of Somerſet the royal favour was wholly engroſſed by the youthful Villiers, who began the firſt exertion of his influence by filling all the places about court with his own creatures, ſo that the dependants of the old miniſter were diſmiſſed of courſe. It was in the beginning of Villiers's miniſtry

niſtry that lord chief-juſtice Coke was diveſted of his office on pretence of ſome trivial miſdemeanors, though the real cauſe of his diſgrace was his oppoſing the king in beſtowing a vacant biſhopric in commendam. His place was filled by Montagu; and the lord-chancellor Elleſmere being ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, reſigned the ſeals into the hands of his majeſty, who kept them till the death of Elleſmere, and then they were given to Bacon, who was afterwards promoted to the dignity of chancellor. He was an able lawyer, an excellent philoſopher, but abject, irreſolute, and of an unguarded diſpoſition, which was practiſed upon to the prejudice of his character. In the courſe of this year the king's only ſurviving ſon, Charles, was created prince of Wales. On the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt Villiers was created baron of Whaddon and viſcount Villiers; and on the firſt of January following earl of Buckingham; he was afterwards raiſed to the title of marquis and duke of Buckingham, inſtalled knight of the Garter, appointed maſter of the horſe, chief-juſtice in eyre, warden of the Cinque Ports, ſteward of Weſtminſter, conſtable of Windſor, and lord high-admiral of England: his mother was created counteſs of Buckingham, his brother viſcount Purbeck, and a numerous train of his needy relations were brought into places of truſt and profit.

Though king James, upon the death of queen Elizabeth and his acceſſion to the crown of England, came to reſide here, yet he forgot not that Scotland was his native country; and therefore, having now ſpent ſome years among his Engliſh ſubjects, to acquaint himſelf with the ſtate of their conſtitution, in March this year, 1616, he made a journey into Scotland; for though he had left very able miniſters to ſit at the helm there in his abſence, yet, having formed a ſcheme of reducing the Scottiſh clergy to a conformity with the Engliſh church, he thought his preſence abſolutely neceſſary for that purpoſe. He had ſent the following articles to be inſerted in their canons: "I. That they ſhould receive the communion kneeling. II. That the ſacrament ſhould be adminiſtered in private to ſick perſons. III. That they ſhould keep the feſtivals of Chriſtmas, Eaſter, Aſcenſion, and Whitſuntide. And, IV. That children, at a certain age, ſhould be confirmed by the biſhop." He met with many difficulties, during a ſtay of ſix months in that country, to get the aſſembly of the Scottiſh kirk to comply with his views; but he at length prevailed upon them to receive his four articles, though this impoſition ſowed the ſeeds of thoſe troubles which afterwards brought ruin upon his ſon and ſucceſſor. Having carried his point, and made ſome regulation in the civil government of the kingdom, he returned to London on the fifteenth of September,

During his journey from Scotland to London, he was preſented with a petition by a great number of peaſants, tradeſmen, and ſervants, requeſting that they might, as uſual, be allowed to take their diverſions on Sundays, after divine ſervice. James being perſuaded thoſe were puritans who forbad ſuch diverſions, and that they were Jewiſhly inclined, becauſe they affected to call Sunday the Sabbath, reſolved to re-eſtabliſh the vulgar in the privilege which they had loſt: he therefore publiſhed a performance, intitled the Book of Sports, recommending all diverting exerciſes after ſermon; and ordered it to be read publicly in all churches; and ſuch miniſters as refuſed to obey this injunction were ſeverely puniſhed by the high-commiſſion court. Whatever his motives might have been for enforcing this practice, it was not a bad preſervative againſt the deſperate effects of gloomy fanaticiſm, which had already taken full poſſeſſion of one kingdom, and made conſiderable progreſs in the other.

The year 1617 was rendered remarkable for the laſt expedition of ſir Walter Raleigh, which produced great murmurs againſt the government, and ended in the death of that gallant ſeaman. We ſhall give an account of this remarkable tranſaction as we find it in Wilſon, a cotemporary writer. Sir Walter Raleigh had been a priſoner twelve years, ever ſince his condemnation, during which time he had employed himſelf in completing his Hiſtory of the World: at laſt he obtained his liberty, though without the king's pardon. As his eſtate was all forfeited, and given to the earl of Somerſet, he was very much embarraſſed when he came out of priſon; the court, where he was entirely unknown, was like a ſtrange country to him; for this reaſon he formed the project of ſeeking his fortune in diſtant climates. He had formerly traverſed the ſeas of America, and knew all the coaſts, eſpecially that of Guiana; nay, it is ſaid he ſet up marks to direct him again to a certain place, where was a gold mine, and that Keymis, his old attendant, brought him from thence a piece of ore, which made him think the mine very rich: however, as he knew not where to lay his head, he found means to inform the king that he knew of a very rich mine in America, from whence he hoped to bring immenſe quantities of gold, if his majeſty would be pleaſed to grant him a private commiſſion. The mine lying in a country belonging to the Spaniards, it could not be ſeized without breaking the peace with Spain; nevertheleſs, the king, tempted no doubt by the golden hopes inſpired by Raleigh, granted him a commiſſion, directed to "our beloved and faithful Walter Raleigh, knight," &c. It was ſaid afterwards, the king granted the commiſſion with this limitation, that he ſhould not injure the ſubjects of Spain: but how was it poſſible to bring away gold from a mine belonging to the Spaniards without doing them damage?

However, Raleigh, by virtue of his commiſſion, engaged ſeveral perſons in the project. He was ſupplied with money to fit out twelve ſail, and departed in Auguſt, 1617, in ſearch of the mine. At his arrival on the coaſt of Guiana he found not the marks he had left there, neither could he know again the place he thought he had ſo well obſerved. He detached however his ſon and captain Keymis, with five ſhips, to ſail up the river Oronoque as high as poſſible, in order to diſcover the mountain in which the ſuppoſed mine lay. The mountain not appearing, the Engliſh landed, and, putting the Spaniards to flight who oppoſed their deſcent, purſued them to the town of St. Thomas, which they took and plundered: ſir Walter Raleigh's ſon was killed in the aſſault. Then, leaving a garriſon in the place, they advanced farther into the country, without being able to find the ſo much deſired mine. At laſt, weary with ſearching, they returned to ſir Walter, who, finding himſelf diſappointed in his hopes, threatened Keymis with the king's indignation, and ſome days after Keymis was found dead in his cabbin. The ſailors, vexed at this ill

ſucceſs loudly complained of their being drawn into a chimerical project, and compelled ſir Walter to ſail back for England: when they arrived at Kinſale, in Ireland, he would have perſuaded them to go with him to France; but, inſtead of liſtening to his propoſal, they carried him, againſt his will, to Plymouth, where he was arreſted by the king's orders, and conveyed to the Tower of London.

During his abſence, don Diego de Sarmento, count de Gondemar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador in England, making great complaints about ſir Walter's commiſſion, which was become public; the king found no better way to appeaſe him than by diſowning it; or at leaſt by aſſuring him that Raleigh had expreſs orders not to act againſt the Spaniards. Raleigh returning without gold, his cauſe was ſo much the worſe; beſides, the ambaſſador openly inſiſted upon his being puniſhed, and told the king there was no other way to continue the treaty of the prince of Wales's marriage with the infanta; wherefore the king reſolved at length to ſacrifice Raleigh to the Spaniards: but as he could not be tried upon his late expedition, for which he had a commiſſion in form, it was determined he ſhould loſe his head by virtue of the ſentence paſſed upon him fourteen years before. In vain did he plead his commiſſion, wherein the king ſtyled him "faithful ſervant," and gave him power of life and death over thoſe who were under his command, was equivalent to pardon: the judges told him, "that treaſon could not be pardoned but by expreſs words;" ſo that, without being called to an account about his late expedition, it was ordered that the former ſentence ſhould be executed. He was not, however, executed till the twenty-ninth of October in the following year, 1618.

The Engliſh nobility and the beſt Engliſh patriots beheld the fate of Raleigh with ſilent indignation. Moſt certain it is, he fell a ſacrifice to the mortal hatred conceived by the Spaniards againſt him in queen Elizabeth's time, and to the king's unhappy deſire to accompliſh the prince his ſon's marriage with the infanta of Spain. Weldon ſcruples not to declare, "that the Spaniſh faction and Spaniſh gold betrayed his life; as they had done the kingdom before; and it was one of Gondemar's greateſt maſter-pieces to purchaſe Raleigh's head; yet (adds this writer) had not the earl of Briſtol, who was poſſeſſed of Sherborn caſtle, formerly ſir Walter's, co-operated, the king would never have conſented *." All the powers of government were by this time concentrated in Buckingham, who, rather to keep James eaſy than to anſwer any ends of his own, conſented to Raleigh's death.

All this while the lord Digby was negociating the Spaniſh match; and Gondemar informing his court of the reſolution which had been taken in England for cutting off Raleigh's head, the negociation was carried on with greater application than ever: at laſt, after many formalities and ſcruples had been diſcuſſed by the Spaniſh council, certain articles were preſented to Digby, to be tranſmitted to James for his approbation. They were as follow †:

"That the pope's diſpenſation be firſt obtained, by the mere act of the king of Spain.

"That the children of this marriage be not conſtrained in matters of religion, nor their titles prejudiced in caſe they be catholics.

"That the infanta's family, being ſtrangers, may be catholics, and ſhall have a decent place appointed for all divine ſervice according to the uſe of the church of Rome; and the eccleſiaſtics and religious perſons may wear their proper habits.

"That the marriage ſhall be celebrated in Spain by a procurator, according to the inſtructions of the council of Trent; and, after the infanta's arrival in England, ſuch a ſolemnization ſhall be uſed as may make the marriage valid according to the laws of this kingdom.

"That ſhe ſhall have a competent number of chaplains, and a confeſſor, being ſtrangers, one of whom ſhall have power to govern the family in religious matters."

Though theſe articles have been exclaimed againſt by ſome writers, yet, except that part which gives leave to the religious and eccleſiaſtics to wear their habits, they differ but little from the articles afterwards agreed upon by the ſame prince and the princeſs of France, which were approved of by parliament. The remarks of the king upon thoſe articles were as follow:

"Seeing this marriage is to be with a lady of a different religion from us, it becomes us to be tender, as on the one part to give them all the ſatisfaction convenient, ſo on the other to admit nothing that may blemiſh our conſcience, or detract from the religion here eſtabliſhed."

Hitherto the Spaniard, in prolonging the negociation, had in view only the ſucceſſion of Cleves, but this year the affairs of Germany and Bohemia began to give occaſion to fear a religious war would break out in thoſe countries: hence the Spaniards had freſh reaſons for amuſing king James, in order to prevent his determining in favour of the proteſtants, and ſending them a powerful aid. In order to underſtand the ſequel, it will be neceſſary to know the ſituation of affairs in Germany and Bohemia.

Notions of liberty never prevailed more ſtrongly in Europe than at this time; even Hungary, Bohemia, and Auſtria, were as jealous of their rights as the Engliſh themſelves. This ſpirit had reigned in Germany ever ſince the time of Charles V. The example of the United Provinces was continually preſent with thoſe people, who pretended to the ſame independence, and even thought themſelves more in a condition to command it than even the Hollanders. The emperor Matthias having this year, 1618, gotten his couſin Ferdinand of Auſtria elected nominal king of Hungary and Bohemia, and made the other archdukes yield him Auſtria, the people of Hungary, Bohemia, and Auſtria, joined in complaining that ſufficient regard had not been ſhewn to their privileges as ſtates: religion made a part of the grievances of the Bohemians, who ſoon became furious. The proteſtants wanted to rebuild the churches which had been thrown down by the catholics; the council of ſtate iſſued a declaration againſt the proteſtants, upon which theſe broke into the town-hall, and threw three of the emperor's officers out of the windows; Auſtria ſided with the Bohemians. Matthias dying in the midſt of theſe troubles, Ferdinand of Auſtria was choſen emperor in his ſtead: this new dignity, however, made no impreſſion upon the proteſtants of Bohemia, who were at that time very conſiderable;

* P. 27, 28.

† Ruſhworth, vol 1. p. 4.

they looked upon themſelves as entitled to depoſe the king whom they had not elected, and actually made a tender of their crown to Frederick the elector Palatine, ſon-in-law to the king of England, who accepted of it, and was thereupon actually elected. James complained of this proceeding in the elector as diſloyal, imprudent, and diſhonourable: he could not digeſt the maxims of elective governments, and thought that Ferdinand, by a kind of preſcriptive right, had acquired a lawful title to Bohemia; he upbraided his ſon-in-law for putting him upon the dilemma of either deſerting him, or breaking his flattering negociation with Spain; and he complained of his double-dealing, in having ſent to him for his advice concerning his accepting the crown of Bohemia, and yet accepting it before his meſſenger could arrive in England. Notwithſtanding theſe reproaches, the popularity of Frederick's cauſe was ſo great in England, that James found himſelf under a kind of neceſſity of doing ſomewhat in his favour; nevertheleſs he for the preſent denied his ſon-in-law the title of king of Bohemia, and forbad him to be prayed for in the churches under that appellation.

Thoſe diſturbances abroad were attended with equal diſtractions in England: Buckingham continued ſtill the king's favourite and ſole miniſter, and the old earl of Nottingham was in a manner obliged to reſign to him the office of lord high-admiral. Buckingham's inſolence was as uncontrouled as his power, and an abject ſpirit was to him the beſt recommendation: hence aroſe that motley ſet of under-miniſters which diſgraced the remaining part of this reign. Of the two ſecretaries of ſtate, Naunton was a puritan, and Calvert a papiſt, but in all other matters had no other conteſt than who ſhould be moſt devoted to the will of the miniſter. Sir Richard Weſton was about the ſame time introduced to court, recommended by his fine perſonage and portly behaviour, which he taught to ſtoop to Buckingham; but in his heart he was a papiſt, and deſtitute of any great natural abilities. Sir Edward Conway, a rough ignorant ſoldier, buffooned himſelf into the good graces of James and his favourite. The lord Doncaſter ſtill kept his footing by his eaſy manners, his magnificent way of living, and his pliant counſels. But the moſt riſing man at this time about court was Dr. John Williams, afterwards lord-keeper of the great-ſeal and archbiſhop of York: this young man was of good parentage; with a grave demeanor he had a ſprightly converſation, great learning, and ſound knowlege; but it was for none of theſe qualities that Buckingham threw his eyes upon him: his fortune, which lay in Wales, had been but low, and he owed his education to the munificence of the lord Lumley, one of the greateſt ornaments and patrons of learning in his age; this dependency had given him pliable habits, and rendered him a fit tool for Buckingham. Such was the ſituation of James's court when his queen died, on the firſt of March, 1619, in the forty-ſixth year of her age. The character of this queen is variouſly drawn; ſome repreſent her as a vicious lewd woman, but this, upon a ſtrict inquiry, appears to be only calumny: Wilſon more juſtly affirms that ſhe was poſſeſſed of many virtues, and no ſmall ſhare of underſtanding. About the beginning of this year the earl of Northumberland, who had been confined in the Tower ever ſince the Gunpowder-plot, obtained his liberty by the interceſſion of the lord Hay, who had married one of his daughters, and had been lately created viſcount Hay. James was ſo affected with the death of his queen, that he was ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, which brought him almoſt to the brink of the grave. Happy would it have been for his reputation if he had indeed died at this time; for the reſt of his reign, which laſted ſix years longer, was not much to his honour.

The new emperor, Ferdinand II. who was endowed with greater abilities than is commonly poſſeſſed by the Auſtrian princes, prepared himſelf with great diligence for the recovery of his authority. Beſides the aſſiſtance of his ſubjects who adhered to the catholic religion, he attached to his ſide a powerful combination of the neighbouring potentates; all the catholic princes of the empire had declared in his favour; even Saxony, the moſt powerful of the proteſtants, and the kingdom of Poland, had eſpouſed his quarrel; and, above all, the Spaniſh monarch, conſidering his own intereſt as inſeparably connected with that of the younger branch of his family, ſent him powerful ſuccours from Italy and from the Low Countries, and alſo furniſhed large ſums of money for the ſupport of Ferdinand and of the catholic religion: Gondemar was alſo ordered to maintain the deluſion of the marriage with James, and that artful miniſter, by means of his inſinuating manners and a large ſum of money judiciouſly diſtributed, ſoon gained the aſcendancy over the king, the favourite, and the miniſters; ſo that, in effect, he governed the whole kingdom. James, who above all things dreaded the breaking off a match his affections were ſo warmly fixed upon, and, moreover, greatly affecting the title of the Pacific King, inſtead of taking any vigorous meaſures to ſupport his ſon-in-law, fell again to his ruinous negociations, and ſent the lord Doncaſter to mediate, in his name, a pacification in the empire; but Ferdinand would ſcarce favour him with an audience, and the embaſſy produced no effect.

It was now the year 1620, and affairs in Germany haſtened toward a criſis. Ferdinand having collected a mighty force under the command of the duke of Bavaria and the count de Bucquoy, marched againſt Frederick in Bohemia. In the Low Countries Spinola aſſembled a veteran army of thirty thouſand men: when Edmonds, the king's reſident at Bruſſels, demanded of the archduke Albert the meaning of thoſe preparations, he was told, that the orders for this armament had been ſent to Spinola from Madrid, and that he alone knew the purpoſe for which it was intended: in the mean while the emperor put the Palatine to the ban of the empire, and the execution of it was committed to the elector of Saxony, who entered Luſatia, which he ſubdued. The war now raged with great fury in the bowels of Germany; and now James, unable longer to reſiſt the ſolicitations of his ſubjects, who offered to open their purſes in ſupport of the elector Palatine's right to the crown of Bohemia, gave leave to ſir Edward Cecil to command a regiment for the preſervation of the Palatinate; but ſir Horace Vere coming over to England, and offering his ſervice, it was accepted, and Cecil was laid aſide. The regiment, which conſiſted of two thouſand two hundred men, was one of the fineſt that Europe had ever ſeen: it was compoſed moſtly of volunteers, with the brave

earls of Oxford and Eſſex at their head; the company of the latter conſiſted of three hundred gentlemen, fifty of whom he paid out of his own pocket: and a kind of promiſe was extorted from James, that he would ſuffer two other regiments to be ſent after them. Theſe brave volunteers were tranſported to Holland, paſſed the Rhine below the Weſel, were eſcorted to Frankfort by a body of troops under prince Frederick Henry of Naſſau, and, on the firſt of October, joined the army of the Palatine and his allies, conducted by the margrave of Anſpach. Theſe gallant men, however, arrived only in time to be the melancholy witneſſes of the overthrow of that cauſe they eſpouſed; for the duke of Bavaria joining the count de Bucquoy, the Imperial general, in Bohemia, they advanced towards Prague, in the neighbourhood of which Frederick was poſted. On the eighteenth day of November a battle was fought, and the Palatine, being totally defeated, fled, with his wife and family, to Holland; the inhabitants of Prague opened their gates to the Imperialiſts, and the unfortunate Frederick ſaw himſelf abandoned by all his friends and allies, except count Mansfeldt, who ſtill preſerved his fidelity. Loud were now the complaints of the people againſt the king's timid and puſillanimous conduct, by which he had not only deprived the Palatine of all that aid and aſſiſtance which the Engliſh were both willing and able to afford him, but had alſo deterred other princes from eſpouſing his quarrel. It cannot be ſuppoſed that James did not really wiſh to preſerve the Palatinate to his ſon-in-law; but his weakneſs was cajoled in ſuch a manner by Gondemar, that he believed no expedient could be ſo effectual for that purpoſe as the match of his ſon with the infanta of Spain; and that this ſcheme would miſcarry, ſhould he attempt to take any vigorous ſteps in the elector's favour; beſides, his averſion to war was inſuperable. He never dreamed that his peaceable diſpoſition, the more highly it was praiſed, expoſed him only to the greater contempt and deriſion; he conſidered not that the Spaniſh match was itſelf attended with ſuch difficulties, that all his art of negociation could hardly be able to bring it to effect, much leſs that this match could be ſafely depended upon as the means of procuring the mighty advantages he expected from it.

James reſolved, however, to ſeem bent on vigorous meaſures, in hopes that he ſhould receive ample ſubſidies from the parliament, which met on the twenty-firſt of January, in the year 1621. The king, as uſual, made a long ſpeech to both houſes, explaining the duty of parliaments, expatiating on his own merit and neceſſities, and demanding ſupplies for the relief of the Palatinate, in defence of which he declared he would hazard his crown, and even the life of his own ſon, ſhould he miſcarry in his endeavours to procure a reaſonable pacification. The houſe of commons, taking into conſideration the urgency of the occaſion, and being extremely incenſed againſt the houſe of Auſtria, immediately granted two ſubſidies, with which the king was ſatisfied for the preſent. This affair being diſcuſſed, the commons received petitions againſt the increaſe of popiſh recuſants, monopolies, and projectors. The king had farmed to certain individuals the power of licenſing taverns and public houſes, and granted to ſir Giles Mompeſſon and Francis Michel, an excluſive patent for the ſale of gold and ſilver lace; by virtue of this privilege they had been guilty of ſuch ſcandalous fraud and oppreſſion, that, upon complaint to the upper houſe, they were committed to priſon, though Mompeſſon, who was Buckingham's creature, found means to eſcape: but he was degraded from the dignity of knight, and his eſtate confiſcated; the other was ſentenced to do public penance in the ſtreet, ſitting on horſeback with his face to the tail, to pay a fine of one thouſand pounds, and to be impriſoned for life.

James perceiving with what eagerneſs the two houſes proceeded againſt theſe delinquents, began to be afraid for his favourite Buckingham, who had been the author of theſe monopolies; he therefore went to the houſe of peers, and ſoothed the parliament with the moſt affectionate expreſſions, aſſuring them, upon the faith of a Chriſtian king, that if he had known of theſe grievances, he would have puniſhed the authors of his own accord; and cautioning them againſt giving ear to thoſe who ſhould accuſe the innocent inſtead of the guilty. They underſtood his meaning, and forebore to trace the enormity to its fountain. James afterwards underſtanding that the commons had impeached chancellor Bacon, baron Verulam and viſcount St. Alban's, he again harangued both houſes, repreſenting the neceſſity of puniſhing corrupt judges, and ſoliciting farther ſubſidies, as the former ſupplies granted by the commons were already expended for the ſubſiſtence of the Palatine and his family, who had taken refuge in Holland. He obſerved, that great ſums would be required to defray the expence of extraordinary ambaſſadors to all the courts of Europe, as well as for an army to march into the Palatinate, in caſe his negociations ſhould prove ineffectual; and laſtly, he proteſted before God, that he would not diſſolve the parliament, until the affairs which were then under conſideration ſhould be fully determined.

The celebrated Bacon, created lord Verulam and viſcount St. Alban's, was a man equally admired for the greatneſs of his genius, and beloved for his courteous and affable demeanour. His want of œconomy, and his indulgence to ſervants, had involved him in debt; and, in order to ſupply his neceſſities, he had been tempted to take bribes, and that in a very open manner, from ſuitors in Chancery.

It is affirmed, that, notwithſtanding this enormous abuſe, he had ſtill, in the ſeat of juſtice, maintained the integrity of a judge, and had given ſuch juſt and equitable decrees, that none of them afterwards were ever queſtioned or reverſed. Being, however, committed to the Tower, the chancellor, conſcious of guilt, implored the mercy of his judges, and endeavoured, by a general confeſſion, to avoid the ſhame of a ſtricter enquiry. But the lords were inexorable, and inſiſted on a full acknowlegment of all his corruptions. He owned twenty eight articles; and was ſo very particular that he mentioned a dozen of gold buttons, which his ſervant had taken as a gift from a ſuitor. He was condemned to pay a fine of forty thouſand pounds, to be impriſoned in the Tower during the king's pleaſure, to be for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment; and never again to ſit in parliament, or come within the verge of the court. This dreadful ſentence he ſurvived five years; and being in a little time reſtored to liberty,

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his genius, yet unbroken by calamities, ſupported itſelf amidſt involved circumſtances and a depreſſed ſpirit, and ſhone out in literary productions, which, notwithſtanding all his failings, have made him be juſtly conſidered as the glory and ornament of his age and nation.

The commons ſtill proceeded in their laudable career, and carried their ſcrutiny into many grievances which, though of no great conſequence, could not be diſcuſſed without ſenſibly affecting the king and his miniſters. The king's prerogative ſeemed each moment to be attacked; his authority, in every article, diſputed; and James, who was willing to rectify the abuſes of his power, would by no means ſuffer his power itſelf to be either queſtioned or denied. After the houſe, therefore, had ſat near ſix months, without bringing any buſineſs of importance to a final concluſion, the king determined, under pretence of the advanced ſeaſon, to interrupt their proceedings, and ſent a meſſage to inform them, that, in a few days, he would adjourn them till next winter. The commons, eager to complete the ſalutary work of redreſſing all the public grievances, applied to the lords, and intreated them to join in a petition for delaying the adjournment; but the upper houſe refuſed their concurrence. While theſe matters were in agitation, the king's commiſſion for an adjournment came down to the houſe, and the ſpeaker, in obedience to it, pronounced the houſe to be adjourned to the fourteenth of November.

In this parliament it was that the parties of court and country, or, as they are uſually called, Tories and Whigs, were firſt regularly formed. All thoſe who favoured the hierarchy of the church, and the prerogative of the crown, adhered to the former; the puritans, to a man, engaged in the latter; and as the court, in order to diſcourage all parliamentary oppoſition, affixed the name of Puritans to its antagoniſts, the religious puritaniſts readily adopted this diſtinction, which was ſo advantageous to them, and which confounded their cauſe with the patriots, or country party.

Soon after the breaking up of the parliament, the king publiſhed a proclamation, declaring "that as ſeveral grand affairs, debated in parliament, could not in ſo ſhort a time be brought to perfection, the commons thought it convenient to continue the ſeſſions in courſe of adjournment: that as for the grievances, he would reform them of himſelf, and had ſooner done it, had he been informed of them; adding, that by his royal authority he had annulled and revoked the patent for gold and ſilver thread, and ſome others mentioned in the proclamation." A ſecond proclamation was alſo publiſhed at the ſame time, prohibiting perſons from ſpeaking of ſtate affairs.

Before we proceed any farther in our narrative of affairs of England, it will not be foreign to our purpoſe to relate briefly what paſſed in Bohemia and the Palatinate after the battle of Prague.

Count Tilly, the emperor's general, was making great progreſs in reducing the kingdom of Bohemia. Prague had ſurrendered to him at diſcretion, and the emperor proceeded in the way of juſtice, with vaſt ſeverity againſt the friends or abettors of the elector Palatine. In like manner count Bucquoy, the Imperial general, ſubdued all Moravia, and marched into Hungary againſt the party who had choſen Bethlem Gabor, prince of Tranſylvania, for their king. The unfortunate king of Bohemia had retired into Breſlau, in Sileſia; but Bohemia, Moravia, and Luſatia, being now in the enemies hands, he retired to the marquiſate of Brandenburgh: the brave count Mansfeldt, however, ſtill made a ſhift to keep his army together, and this ſummer James made a great merit with his people for having ſent his ſon-in-law ſix thouſand pounds. The Dutch about this time ſent the king of Bohemia one hundred and fifty thouſand florins, and he ordered Mansfeldt to abandon Bohemia, and march into the Upper Palatinate, into which Tilly had fallen with an army of twenty-five thouſand men. All that Mansfeldt could do, was to ſtop the progreſs of Tilly, who made a treaty with him, by which Mansfeldt was to withdraw his army from the Palatinate, and to receive two hundred thouſand florins: but this treaty was only made to amuſe Tilly, and the war ſtill went on, though Mansfeldt was obliged to march into the Lower Palatinate, where the progreſs of the Imperialiſts was oppoſed with great vigour and good conduct by Vere, Burroughs, and other officers, who ſtill headed the ſmall body of Engliſh in that country. But the truce between Spain and the States General being now almoſt expired, Spinola was obliged to lead back his army to the Netherlands; and the archduke, to give the emperor time to replace them in the Lower Palatinate, had agreed to the truce mentioned by James in his ſpeech to the parliament. Before the expiration of this truce, which was but for five weeks, the Spaniſh general, don Gonſales de Cordova, whom Spinola left to command in the Lower Palatinate, was at the head of ten thouſand men: this obliged Vere to retire, firſt towards Worms, and next to Frankendale, while Gonſales took Stein, Ladenburgh, and Keyſers-lautern; and in October he beſieged Vere in Frankendale: Mansfeldt, however, marched time enough into the Lower Palatinate to prevent the loſs of that important fortreſs for that time. But Tilly, as we have already mentioned, falling into the Lower Palatinate, obliged Mansfeldt to withdraw to Alſatia. Thus, at the end of the campaign, the king of Bohemia found himſelf ſtripped of all his towns in the Lower Palatinate, except Frankendale, Manheim, and Heidelberg, which were held by three Engliſh officers, Vere, Herbert, and Burroughs. Such was the unhappy ſtate of the king of Bohemia's affairs at this juncture; while the emperor, the archduke, and the king of Spain, availing themſelves of James's weakneſs, entered into an infamous confederacy for abuſing him, by ſhewing diſpoſitions for reſtoring the Palatinate; but in reality to keep James from declaring himſelf for the States, in caſe they ſhould renew the war with Spain. It would tire the reader, ſhould I inform him of every inſtance of mean juggling on one part, and groſs credulity on the other; it is ſufficient to ſay, that James, finding himſelf bewildered in the mazes of negociation, was at laſt obliged to give way to the meeting of his parliament.

Notwithſtanding that the king had, during the receſs of the parliament, revoked ſeveral of his oppreſſive patents, and remedied many other articles of grievance which had been mentioned by the commons, yet, when that houſe reaſſumed its ſeſſion, on the twentieth of November, they ſhewed that they were far from entertaining any favourable idea of the diſpoſitions of their ſovereign; and one

of their first acts was to draw up a remonstrance, which they proposed to present to his majesty, wherein they represented, "that the power of the house of Austria threatened the liberties of Europe; that the progress of the catholic religion in England begat the most alarming apprehensions, lest it should once more gain an ascendant in the kingdom; that the king's lenity towards the professors of that religion had increased their arrogance and presumption; that the uncontrouled conquests made by the Austrian family, mightily raised the expectations of the English papists; and especially that the prospect of the Spanish match inspired them with the most sanguine hopes of procuring, if not the final establishment, at least the entire toleration, of their religion." Then they proceed humbly to offer to his majesty remedies against these growing evils, which are these: "that he would immediately undertake the defence of the Palatine, and support him by force of arms; that he would declare war against Spain, whose arms and riches were the chief bulwark of the catholic interest in Europe; that he would engage in no negociation for the marriage of his son but with a protestant princess; that the children of popish recusants should be taken from their parents, and committed to the care of protestant teachers and school-masters; and that the fines and confiscations to which the catholics were by law subject, should be exacted with the utmost rigour."

James was absent from London when this spirited petition or remonstrance was offered to him; and being highly irritated thereat, and vexed with the ill state of his affairs in which he had involved himself, in a fit of despair he resolved to menace his parliament and people.

He had imprisoned sir Edwin Sandys for being too free about affairs of state without doors; when the above petition was offered to him, he not only rejected it, but sent the following letter to the speaker of the house of commons.

"To our trusty and well-beloved sir Thomas Richardson, knight, speaker of the house of commons.

"Mr. Speaker,

"We have heard, by divers reports, to our great grief, that our distance from the house of parliament, caused by our indisposition, hath emboldened and fired the popular spirits of some of the house of commons to argue and debate publicly of matters far above their reach and capacity, tending to our high dishonour and breach of prerogative royal. These are therefore to command you to make known, in our name, to the house, that none therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with any thing concerning our government or deep matters of state; and namely, not to deal with our dearest son's match with the daughter of Spain; nor to touch the honour of that king, nor any other of our friends and confederates; and also not to meddle with any man's particulars, which have their due motion in our ordinary courts of justice. And whereas we hear they have sent a message to sir Edwin Sandys, to know the reasons of his late restraint, you shall, in our name, resolve them, that it was not for any misdemeanors in parliament; but, to put them out of doubt of any question of that nature that may arise among them hereafter, you shall resolve them, in our name, that we think ourselves free and able to punish any man's misdemeanors in parliament, as well during their sitting as after; which we mean not to spare hereafter, upon any occasion of any man's insolent behaviour there, that shall be ministered to us; and if they have already touched any of those points which we have forbidden, in any petition of theirs which is to be sent unto us, it is our pleasure that you shall tell them, except they reform it before it comes into our hands, we will not deign the hearing nor answering it.

"Dated at Newmarket, December 3, 1621."

This letter, however, was far from producing the effects intended by it; the commons knew their own strength too well to regard James's menaces. Instead of retracting what they had done, they entered with greater freedom than ever upon the national grievances, and the dangerous state of the reformed religion at home and abroad. It would swell this work too much, should I discuss the particulars of all the debates upon these important points; the result of the whole was, that the house resolved again to present their former petition, or rather remonstrance, and to back it with another.

This new paper was conceived in very respectful words, but it was no less bold then respectful: after having reminded him of the chearfulness with which they undertook to assist him in the defence of the Palatinate, they observed, "that their zeal for the protestant religion and the interest of his majesty's family, had induced them to represent the dangers with which both were threatened, and to point out remedies for those evils: that, by his letter to the speaker, he seemed bent upon depriving them of the parliamentary liberty to speak freely in the house, as well as of the jurisdiction which the house exercised over its own members; they therefore begged he would not violate a privilege which was their undoubted right, and which they inherited from their ancestors; a right which he himself had confirmed in his speeches to parliament, and without which it would be impossible to discuss and determine the affairs which might fall under their cognizance."

So resolute and determined a spirit shewn by the commons, roused every spark of kingly pride in the composition of James. His answer was short, peremptory, and suitable to the sentiments which he then breathed: after explaining his intentions in regard to the prerogative very clearly, without using ambiguous expressions, as he had hitherto done, he concluded his reply in regard to the rights and privileges of parliament as follows:

"And although we cannot allow the style calling it your undoubted right and inheritance, but could rather have wished you had said, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us (for most of them grew from precedents, which rather shew toleration than inheritance); yet we are pleased to give our royal assurance, that, as long as you continue yourselves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preserve your lawful liberties and privileges as any of our ancestors were, nay, as to preserve our own royal prerogative; so as your house shall only have need to beware to trench upon the prerogative of the crown, which would enforce us, or any just king, to retrench

them of their privileges, that would pare his prerogative and the flowers of his crown. But of this we hope there will never be cauſe given."

This anſwer, which was dated at Newmarket, December 11, 1621, breathes all the ſpirit of deſpotiſm; and now the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the ſubject ſeemed to be drawn up againſt each other in formal array. The parliament reſolved to proceed in their career, and to grant no ſupply till they received ſatisfaction from James for the breach of their privileges, and they drew up a proteſtation, in which they inſiſted on their former claims for freedom of ſpeech, and an unbounded authority to interpoſe with their advice and counſel. And they affirmed, "that the liberties, franchiſes, privileges, and juriſdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the ſubjects of England."

James no ſooner underſtood what had been done, than he haſtened to town, and ſending for the journals of the houſe of commons, tore out with his own hand the proteſtation, which he declared null and void, on account of the manner in which it had been framed, and the matter it contained. In a few days after this effort of his prerogative, he diſſolved the parliament by proclamation, and then wreaked his vengeance upon thoſe members of the houſe of commons who had taken freedoms with his power and adminiſtration: Cook, Philips, Selden, Pym, and Mallory, were committed to priſon; Diggs, Crew, Rich, and ſir James Perrot, were exiled to Ireland, on pretence of executing ſome commiſſion in that country, and a pretext was found for confining the earls of Oxford and Southampton in the Tower.

James, ſtill peſtered with the itch of negociating, continued his fruitleſs attempts with regard to the recovery of the Palatinate. In the beginning of the year 1622, he diſpatched Digby as his ambaſſador to the emperor, deſiring a ceſſation of hoſtilities. That miniſter was referred to the duke of Bavaria, who commanded the Auſtrian armies, and who told the Engliſh envoy very frankly, that there needed no treaty for that purpoſe, ſince hoſtilities were already ceaſed by his having got firm poſſeſſion of the Palatinate, which he intended to keep till a final accommodation ſhould be made between the contending parties. Notwithſtanding this groſs inſult, and that every circumſtance concurred to convince James that the emperor induſtriouſly eluded all his application, our weak monarch had the meanneſs to attend Ferdinand through all his ſhifts and evaſions, and renew the conferences at Bruſſels.

In the mean time the king of Bohemia, finding all his father-in-law's pacific endeavours prove ineffectual, laid hold of ſome favourable circumſtances, ariſing from the expiration of the truce between the Spaniards and the States General, and the jealouſies in Germany againſt the houſe of Auſtria, to make a final effort for recovering his dominions. Three armies were raiſed under three commanders, Chriſtian, duke of Brunſwick, the prince of Baden, and count Mansfeldt; but the ſame ill ſucceſs attended the unfortunate Frederick: the two former generals were defeated, one after the other, by count Tilly and the Imperialiſts; Mansfeldt, though generally inferior in numbers, ſtill continued the war, but with no equal ſupplies of money either from the Palatine or the king of England. Theſe misfortunes, joined to the perſuaſions of James, who was for the king of Bohemia's laying down his arms, quite diſheartened that prince, and he retired, at firſt, to Sedan, where he remained an unwelcome gueſt with his uncle the duke of Brunſwick: count Mansfeldt was diſmiſſed from the Palatine's ſervice; and that famous general retired, with his army, into the Low Countries, where he was received into the pay of the United Provinces. It has been juſtly obſerved, that vigorous acting bids faireſt to obtain good terms; and though the king of Bohemia was over-perſuaded by James to diſregard this maxim, yet his enemies ſtrictly obſerved it; for count Tilly, after the advantages he had gained over Mansfeldt, did not loſe a moment in harraſſing the Palatinate; and at laſt he beſieged and took Heidelberg, the richeſt town in it, and ſent to Rome (where it ſtill remains) its fine library. The caſtle of Heidelberg was bravely defended by Herbert, an Engliſh colonel, who was killed, after doing wonders in his own perſon. Tilly next blockaded and took Manheim, notwithſtanding all that ſir Horace Vere could do to defend it; and then beſieged Frankendale. All the concern that James took in thoſe misfortunes, was to redouble his pacific applications; and to make them go on ſmoother, he extended ſtill farther graces to the popiſh recuſants, as appears from the following copy of a writ, ſent by the lord-keeper to the judges.

"That the king having, upon deep reaſons of ſtate, and in expectation of the like indulgence from foreign princes to the profeſſors of our religion, reſolved to grant ſome grace to the impriſoned papiſts, had commanded him to paſs ſome writs under the broad-ſeal for that purpoſe: wherefore it is his majeſty's pleaſure, that they make no niceneſs or difficulty to extend this princely favour to all ſuch as they ſhall find priſoners in the jails of their circuits for any church-recuſancy that ſhall concern religion only, and not matters of ſtate."

The truth is, that James did not now much expect the reſtoration of the Palatinate from the emperor; his eyes were entirely fixed on Spain, and, if he could accompliſh his ſon's marriage with the infanta, he fondly imagined, that, after ſo cloſe an alliance, this other point might eaſily be ſettled: but, to put that matter out of diſpute, the emperor, whoſe power in Germany was now fully confirmed, aſſembled a diet at Ratiſbon in the following year, in which he declared, "that the elector Palatine having been guilty of high-treaſon, his eſtates, goods, and dignities, were fallen to the Imperial demeſnes; but that, being unwilling to diminiſh the number of the electors, he wills, commands, and orders Maximilian of Bavaria to be inveſted with the electorate Palatine." He beſtowed this inveſtiture from his throne, his vice-chancellor declaring aloud that the emperor conferred this dignity "in the plenitude of his power*."

The eyes of England were now ſullenly turned towards Spain, where Digby had the whole management of the negociation for the marriage.

* Voltaire, Gen. Hiſt. vol. v. p. 223.

This

This nobleman had been lately dignified with the title of earl of Briſtol, and diſpatched as James's ambaſſador to Philip IV. who had lately ſucceeded his father Philip III. on the Spaniſh throne. Briſtol was a miniſter of great abilities, and had formerly diſapproved of all alliance with Spain, but now appeared ſo convinced of the ſincerity of that court, that he wrote over to James, felicitating him on the entire accompliſhment of his views and projects: a daughter of Spain, whom he repreſents as extremely amiable, would ſoon, he ſaid, be conducted into England, and would bring with her an immenſe fortune of two millions†, a ſum four times greater than Spain had ever given with any other princeſs. The fact is, that the court of Spain had hitherto fed James with hopes of the marriage only to amuſe him; but, as they ſaw that the king of England was determined at any rate to conclude this alliance, they thought this fair opportunity of reſtoring the catholic religion in England was not to be miſſed, as it was very probable it might be effected by means of the infanta, and her numerous train of popiſh domeſtics and dependants, who were to be allowed the uninterrupted exerciſe of their religion here: accordingly the Spaniſh court ſuddenly altered its mind, and appeared as eager to conclude, as it had been dilatory and unwilling before; the only difficulty was, to extort from the Engliſh monarch ſuch terms as ſhould lead to what was intended, and which the impatience of James gave great reaſon to expect.

The articles concerning religion were the only obſtacles to the marriage. The earl of Briſtol had been diſputing the ground inch by inch ever ſince his arrival in Spain, and Philip IV. was not diſpleaſed with it, becauſe it gave him an opportunity of gaining time. In Auguſt, 1622, the Spaniard demanded certain articles in favour of the Engliſh catholics, to which the ambaſſador only anſwered, that he would acquaint the king his maſter therewith: at the ſame time the pope put his poſtils, or notes, to the articles that were agreed upon. Hence it is eaſy to conclude that the court of Rome and Spain acted in concert, both tending to the ſame end. The king received about the ſame time the pope's poſtils, and the court of Madrid's demands in favour of the Engliſh catholics: he kept theſe laſt, out of ceremony, ſome months without giving an anſwer; but at length, on the fifth of January 1623, he ſigned all, and, after making the prince do the ſame, ſent the articles to the earl of Briſtol, who received them the twenty-fifth of the ſame month. Such of our readers as may be deſirous of knowing what value James ſet upon the proteſtant religion, may ſee theſe articles at lengh in Ruſhworth's Collections. Among many other ſhameful conceſſions made to the catholics to the prejudice of our religion, none gave greater diſguſt than the article in which the king engaged that the children of the prince and the infanta ſhould be educated by their mother till they had attained the age of ten years: this condition could only be ſtipulated with a view of implanting in their minds prejudices in favour of the Romiſh faith; and though ſo tender an age might ſeem little ſuſceptible of any ſtrong impreſſions, yet the ſame motives which prompted the pope to inſert it, ſhould have induced the king to reject it. Beſides the public treaty, there were ſeveral private articles, to which the king and the prince of Wales both ſwore, and in which a promiſe was given to ſuſpend the execution of the penal laws againſt the catholics, to procure a total repeal of them from the parliament, and to tolerate the exerciſe of the popiſh religion in private houſes.

Every previous ſtep being therefore adjuſted, nought was wanting to the concluſion of the marriage but the pope's diſpenſation, which might be eſteemed as a mere formality. The king, elated by this ſucceſs, now triumphed in his pacific counſels, and conſoled himſelf for the contempt he had incurred throughout Europe for looking on with unconcern while his ſon-in-law was ſtripped of his eſtate and dignity, by boaſting of his ſuperior wiſdom and ſagacity; when all his flattering proſpects were ruined by the raſhneſs of a man, whom he had raiſed from a private ſtation to be the curſe of himſelf, of his family, and his people.

Buckingham was now as much in favour with the prince of Wales as he was with the king, and both father and ſon implicitly followed his counſels, and adopted his opinions; while that artful favourite made the moſt of their complacency to ſerve the purpoſes of his own unbounded ambition. He had long ſwelled with envy at ſeeing the earl of Briſtol have the ſole management of ſo great an affair, and ſo deſirable a one to the king his maſter, as that of the Spaniſh match, and was reſolved to exert all his influence to procure a ſhare of the honour of that negociation: with this view he perſuaded prince Charles to undertake a journey to the court of Madrid in perſon, to fetch home his miſtreſs, the infanta, repreſenting to him that the romantic nature of the adventure could not fail to captivate the admiration and affection of that monarch and his ſubjects, and introduce him to the princeſs under the character of a fond lover rather than of a ſtately huſband; that, in regard to the reſtitution of the Palatinate, the preſence of ſo illuſtrious an interceſſor would do more in three days, than ambaſſadors would do in as many years, as it was not to be doubted that the Spaniſh generoſity, moved by ſuch an inſtance of truſt and confidence, would be induced to make greater conceſſions than could be expected from political views and motives." In a word, he ſo artfully repreſented the project to the young prince, naturally of a warm and ſanguine complexion, and who had early taken a liking to romances, where heroes break forth with double luſtre out of diſtreſſes, dangers, and diſguiſes, that he looked upon this as an adventure worthy his blood, his courage, and his paſſion. He immediately agreed to ſolicit the permiſſion of his father, and, in concert with Buckingham, choſe the time when James was in the moſt kind and jovial humour, and, more by their importunities than the force of their reaſons, they extorted an haſty and unguarded conſent to their undertaking.

Many pages would be taken up, ſhould I attend the two adventurers from their mournful parting with James (who would fain have retracted his raſh permiſſion) to their unexpected arrival in Spain. I muſt therefore refer my readers to learn from other authors, the celerity of their diſpatch from England; their being happily unobſerved at Paris, where they had the indiſcretion to venture

† Theſe two millions, however, were only pieces of eight, amounting to about ſix hundred thouſand pounds.

into

into a court-ball, where Charles ſaw the princeſs Henrietta, whom he afterwards married; their happy eſcape out of that country, where they had no reaſon to think themſelves in ſafety; and their arrival on the ſixth of March, 1623 (eleven days only from their leaving London), at Madrid, where they ſurprized every one by their unlooked-for preſence. From the like motive of conciſeneſs, I ſhall omit the particulars of the reception of the Engliſh prince at that court, which was ſuch as might be expected from a rich, generous, and powerful monarch, who had a full ſenſe of the confidence repoſed in him, and who was ſtudious to employ every expedient to ſhew the reſpect he had for his royal gueſt; and ſhall now haſten to the material part, the prince's conduct and negotiation there, both with regard to the marriage and the reſtitution of the Palatinate.

The imperious temper of Buckingham was on this occaſion of ſervice; for he bluntly broke through all the formal evaſions of the conde Olivarez, by demanding at once, "whether they intended to give the infanta to the prince, and upon what terms?" The Spaniſh miniſter finding himſelf beaten out of his guard, frankly told him, that it was expected in Spain, that the prince ſhould change his religion, and that it was generally ſuppoſed that he had come to Spain on that account. Buckingham cut off all hopes of this kind, and gave Olivarez a laſting hatred for his perſon by his impetuous manner of proceeding, and preſſing for a peremptory anſwer, without any regard to the tergiverſations and ſhufflings of the court of Rome or Madrid.

We find that Olivarez, and ſome other of the Spaniſh miniſtry, were for making the beſt of the prince, now they had him in their power; but the king, having more virtue, rejected this propoſal, though he was not againſt bringing the prince to as near a conformity in religion as poſſible. They were encouraged in this by a kind of correſpondence entered into between James, the prince, and Buckingham, on the one part, and the court of Rome on the other: in this correſpondence they go hand in hand with his holineſs (to uſe James's expreſſion) "uſque ad aras—to the very altar." But I will not venture to give, as genuine, thoſe letters from one to the other which have been publiſhed as ſuch by hiſtorians and collectors: certain it is, that both James and his ſon laboured to diſguiſe and dreſs up the deformities of popery; and that it had been reſolved by them, with the privacy of Buckingham, to make ſome farther conceſſions than had ever yet appeared in public. This appears from the many extracts from the letters between James, his ſon, and his favourite, publiſhed by Dr. Wellwood.

Mean while pope Gregory XV. who had granted the diſpenſation, died, and Urban VIII. ſucceeded in his place. Upon this event the papal nuncio at the court of Spain refuſed to deliver the diſpenſation until it ſhould be confirmed by Urban. This was made uſe of as an argument for farther delay. The affair of the Palatinate was another obſtacle which the Spaniards made uſe of for their own conveniency. The prince honeſtly made it an indiſpenſable condition of this marriage; but the Spaniards ſometimes pretended, that when the marriage was ſettled, that would follow of courſe; ſometimes, when they ſaw the prince inclined to be ſatisfied on that head, they preſſed to have it ſettled before the marriage; and ſometimes they offered him carte blanche, to make his own conditions.

The prince was greatly chagrined at this delay; he and Buckingham deſpaired of ſucceſs ſo much, that they were thinking of privately withdrawing from Spain, when they received intelligence, that the roads to the frontiers of France and the ſea-ports were beſet with troops, to intercept the prince in caſe he ſhould attempt to make his eſcape. Alarmed at this advice, Charles ſent a meſſage, by one Graham, to James, which Graham was to deliver if he ſhould hear the prince was arreſted, "that if his majeſty ſhould receive any advertiſement that he was detained by that ſtate as a priſoner, he would be pleaſed, for his ſake, never to think on him any longer as a ſon, but to reflect with all his royal thoughts upon the good of his ſiſter, and the ſafety of his own kingdoms." But the true deſign of the Spaniards was to keep the infanta in Spain till next year, in hopes of his converſion. However, it is upon all hands agreed, that the prince, by his prudence, affability, and modeſty, endeared himſelf ſo much to the court and people of Spain, that he was as popular as Buckingham (who had received a patent from James, creating him duke) was odious amongſt them; and this popularity wrought out his deliverance from them. Buckingham, ſenſible that he had incurred the hatred of the Spaniards, by his ſhameful and debauched pleaſures, his haughty, arrogant, and overbearing temper, which he either could not or would not diſguiſe, and which all of them were qualities that to the Spaniards were peculiarly hateful and diſguſting, and dreading the influence which that nation would naturally have after the arrival of the infanta, determined to employ all his credit to defeat the marriage: but by what arguments he could perſuade the prince to offer ſuch an inſult to the Spaniſh nation, from whom he had received ſuch generous treatment, and, above all, by what arts he could prevail with James to relinquiſh a project, which, during ſo many years, had been the object of his wiſhes, and which he had now ſo nearly brought to a ſucceſsful and happy iſſue; theſe are circumſtances which have never tranſpired to the public. However this might be, we find that all at once, whether alarmed with the report that the court of Spain intended to detain the prince, or whether wrought upon by the inſinuations of his favourite, James peremptorily wrote to Buckingham, charging him to bring home the prince immediately, and forthwith diſpatched veſſels to St. Andero, in Biſcay, to take them on board. The duke immediately communicated this order to Philip, alleging the prince's return was abſolutely neceſſary to quiet the fears and ſuſpicions of the Engliſh people; but in the mean time he would leave a proxy to eſpouſe the infanta, as ſoon as the confirmed diſpenſation ſhould arrive. The king of Spain made no objection to his return, but offered to be the prince's proxy. A procuration was for this purpoſe drawn up, and ſigned by the prince of Wales, who delivered it to the earl of Briſtol, with orders to put it into the hands of Philip ten days after receipt of the diſpenſation. The Spaniſh monarch accompanied his gueſt as far as the Eſcurial, where he was royally regaled, and erected a pillar on the ſpot where they parted, as a monument of their friendſhip. The prince,

before he embarked, diſpatched one of his domeſtics with a letter to the earl of Briſtol, at Madrid, deſiring that he would not part with the procuration until he (Charles) ſhould be ſatisfied that the infanta, after the ceremony, ſhould not take the veil.

Upon this the prince and Buckingham embarked, and after eſcaping a dangerous ſtorm, arrived at Portſmouth on the fifth of October, and from thence he and the duke poſted immediately to James, who received them with infinite joy, which was diffuſed throughout the whole nation. The firſt deliberation in the cabinet at Royſton, where the court then reſided, was how to break off the match (for that was now fully reſolved upon) with a good grace. Luckily, the pope's approbation came from Spain, but ſomewhat altered, which gave James a better pretext for his proceedings than he could have expected; but he received a more material one from the Spaniards altering the ſum of the infanta's portion, which, from ſix hundred thouſand pounds in ready money, they now brought down to eighty thouſand, ſome jewels, and a penſion of twenty thouſand pounds a year. Briſtol would have ſurmounted all theſe difficulties, had it not been that the Spaniards neither could nor would undertake for the reſtitution of the Palatinate; and Buckingham, having the prince's concurrence, made his own uſe of this circumſtance, and drew a peremptory order from James to Briſtol for breaking off all negociations, juſt at the time when that miniſter had, to all appearance, accommodated all differences between the contracting parties, and the Spaniards were ready to deliver up the infanta. Philip perfectly well comprehended the meaning of theſe proceedings: he had been informed of the diſguſt conceived by Buckingham, and the animoſity ſubſiſting between him and Olivarez; and judging him a man capable of ſacrificing to his own ungovernable paſſions the greateſt intereſts of his king and country, he ſuſpected that the unbounded ambition of that favourite would be employed to foment a quarrel between the two nations. Reſolved, however, to throw the whole blame of the rupture on the Engliſh, he ſent to the earl of Briſtol a written promiſe, dated the eighth of January, 1624, by which he engaged to procure the reſtoration of the Palatinate, either by treaty, or by any other poſſible means; but when he found that this conceſſion was utterly diſregarded, he ordered the infanta to lay aſide the title of princeſs of Wales, which ſhe had borne ever ſince the arrival of the diſpenſation from Rome, and to drop the ſtudy of the Engliſh language, which ſhe had been learning for a conſiderable time; and thinking that ſuch precipitate counſels as now influenced the court of England, would not ſtop at the violation of the marriage-treaty, he ordered preparations for war to be made throughout all his dominions.

Thus terminated the affair of the Spaniſh match, after having employed all James's attention for upwards of ſix years. His reſolution to break it off at laſt was no ſooner known to the people, than they celebrated the rupture with bonfires and other demonſtrations of joy. The two houſes, then ſitting, petitioned the king to execute the laws againſt Jeſuits and Roman prieſts; to give order for ſeizing the arms of popiſh recuſants, and obliging them to retire from London; to revoke all licences granted to ſuch recuſants, and put a ſtop to the great concourſe of people who reſorted to maſs in the chapels of ambaſſadors; to deprive all papiſts of the poſts which they enjoyed; and not to relax the laws againſt popiſh recuſants on any account whatever. To this petition the king ſent a very complaiſant anſwer, aſſuring them in general that he would comply with their demands; but he artfully avoided explaining himſelf touching thoſe articles that mentioned the removal of the papiſts from London, and their being diveſted of all employments. Buckingham's mother and wife, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, and many perſons poſſeſſed of very conſiderable offices, were either profeſſed or reputed Roman catholics: the commons preſented a liſt of fifty-ſeven to the king, but he would not ſignify his ſentiments on this ſubject, and they did not inſiſt upon ſatisfaction.

In the mean time the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg grew extremely uneaſy at the growing greatneſs of the houſe of Bavaria, and at the untractable haughtineſs of the emperor. They had proteſted againſt the tranſlation of the electoral dignity; and James, after renewing his round of negociation, brought matters to ſuch a criſis, that he wrote a letter to the king of Bohemia, wherein he urged him to lay down his arms, and ſubmit to an arbitration between him and the emperor; but Frederic would not hearken to ſuch advice, and James now ſeemed inclinable to have aſſiſted him powerfully, could he have been ſure of the Dutch or the French; but, amidſt theſe good diſpoſitions, difficulties intervened which blaſted all their efforts, for in February 1623, a cruel ſcene was acted at Amboyna, in the Eaſt Indies: a treaty was concluded in 1619 between England and the United Provinces, whereby, among other things, it was agreed, that in regard to the great trouble and coſt pretended to have been beſtowed by the Dutch in gaining the trade to the Molucca iſlands, Banda, and Amboyna, from the Spaniards and Portugueſe, the Dutch ſhould enjoy two thirds of that trade, and the Engliſh one third. In conſequence of this agreement Engliſh factories were erected at the Moluccas, at Banda, and at Amboyna: the latter is the principal place in the Eaſt-Indies where nutmegs, mace, cinnamon, cloves, and other ſpices grow. Here the Engliſh had been ſettled about two years; when the Dutch, in order to deprive them of their ſhare of the ſpice-trade, pretended a plot was formed between the Engliſh and the natives, to take poſſeſſion of the Dutch fort at Amboyna; whereupon the Engliſh were tortured by the Dutch, both with fire and water, in a moſt cruel and barbarous manner; and, on February the twenty-ſeventh, captain Gabriel Towerſon, and nine other Engliſhmen, with nine Japoneſe and one Portugueſe, were ignominiouſly executed for this pretended conſpiracy, though they proteſted their innocency to the laſt. For this inſolent affront no reparation was obtained till the year 1654, when Cromwell made the Dutch pay three hundred thouſand pounds upon that account.

Much has been blindly ſaid concerning a paper of accuſation put into James's hand by the marquis of Inviosa and don Carlos, the Spaniſh ambaſſadors; the truth is, James by this time was fully convinced that Buckingham had been the author of the failure of the marriage treaty; and

though he diſſembled his reſentment, he now began to eſtrange himſelf from a man, who, through his ambition or vanity, was perpetually traverſing all his meaſures; he affected, in ſpeaking to the prince and duke, to uſe broken and myſterious expreſſions, which ſhewed that ſomething lay heavy on his mind: at laſt, the king going one day to Windſor, and taking coach at St. James's, ordered the duke, on ſome ſlight pretence, to ſtay behind; the duke looking upon this as a certain ſign of his approaching diſgrace, returned to his own houſe, overwhelmed with anxiety; but, by the advice of ſome of his friends, he ſoon followed the king to Windſor, where he found means to remove his majeſty's diſguſt, at leaſt to outward appearance; but in reality James only diſſembled his ſentiments through fear of the duke's reſentment; he impatiently longed for the arrival of Briſtol, and it was by the advice of that miniſter, whoſe fidelity he knew, and whoſe abilities he reſpected, that he hoped to extricate himſelf from thoſe difficulties in which he was at preſent involved. It was the intereſt of Buckingham to exert his utmoſt endeavours to keep Briſtol at a diſtance from the king and the prince, leſt the voice of truth, enforced with that oratory which the earl poſſeſſed in an eminent manner, ſhould diſcloſe ſcenes which it was his intereſt to wiſh buried beyond the reach of their knowlege. Accordingly, he no ſooner heard of the earl's arrival in England, than he made uſe of all that deſpotiſm he had acquired over the mind of his weak ſovereign to procure an order for committing Briſtol to the Tower, till he had anſwered certain queſtions which ſhould be put to him by the council. He was, however, ſoon after releaſed, but ordered to retire to his own houſe, and not approach the king and court. The earl wrote to James, loudly demanding an opportunity of vindicating himſelf, and of laying his whole conduct before his maſter on all occaſions; he aſſerted his own innocence, and caſt on Buckingham the blame of every miſcarriage. Hereupon the favourite thought it conſiſtent with his honour and intereſt to defend his tranſactions, and he preſented, to a committee of both houſes, a long narrative, which he affirmed to be full and complete, of every ſtep taken in the treaty with Philip: but, partly by concealing ſome facts, and partly by miſrepreſenting others, the narrative was calculated to deceive the parliament, and to load the court of Spain with the reproach of artifice and inſincerity.

He alleged, that, after a negociation of many years, the king ſtill found himſelf as far from his purpoſe as ever, and that Briſtol had never brought the matter beyond general promiſes and profeſſions: that the prince, ſuſpecting the intentions of Spain, determined, at laſt, to go to Madrid, and put the matter to a final trial: that he there met with ſuch artificial dealing, as convinced him that all the ſteps taken towards the marriage were falſe and deceitful: that the reſtoration of the Palatine, which had ever been conſidered by the king as an eſſential article, was never ſeriouſly intended by Spain: and that, after ſuffering much ill treatment, the prince was forced to return to England, without any hopes either of procuring the infanta, or of reinſtating the Palatine in the poſſeſſion of his dominions. This narrative, which, conſidering the importance of the ſubject, and the auguſt nature of that aſſembly to which it was preſented, deſerves great blame, was yet vouched for truth by the prince of Wales, who was preſent; and even the king himſelf ſeemed tacitly to approve it, by aſſuring the parliament that Buckingham had laid the matter before them by his expreſs order; and notwithſtanding that ſo many extraordinary circumſtances appeared therein, yet ſo agreeable was it to the bent and inclination of the parliament, that they received it without heſitation, and even joined in an addreſs to the king in favour of Buckingham, which concludes as follows: "And ſo, without your further trouble, we do humbly beſeech your moſt excellent majeſty to interpret fair of this our repreſentation, which we hold ourſelves bound to offer unto your majeſty for the clearing of ſo amiable a perſon, who, as we verily believe, hath in his negociation well deſerved of your majeſty and the commonwealth." Had Briſtol been heard in parliament, he would undoubtedly have given a new complexion to affairs; for many, out of hatred to Buckingham, would gladly have laid hold of the ſmalleſt opportunity to oppoſe him; and had James, ſituated as he then was, ſeen but the ſhadow of an oppoſition, he would have put himſelf at its head, in which caſe it would have quickly become a majority; but Buckingham ruled the cabinet, and dictated to the inclinations of a king who now feared, if he did not hate, him. He was the idol of a parliament to whom the name of a ſole miniſter was execrable. Though in his actions and converſation he had every mark of vice, yet he was the boſom favourite of a young prince who was the very pattern of modeſty and virtue.

The parliament being prorogued on the twenty-ninth of May, it was neceſſary to make ſome preparation to oppoſe the warlike armament fitting out by the court of Spain, and alſo to aſſiſt the elector Palatine. The aid granted the king was very conſiderable; three fifteenths and tenths from the laity, and four intire ſubſidies from the clergy. Of the laity's aid, eight citizens of London were appointed to be treaſurers, and ten other perſons of his majeſty's council for war; without whoſe warrant no money was to be iſſued out by the treaſurers, nor upon any other account but for the war, and both were to be accountable to the commons in parliament. With this money it was computed that the king might ſend twenty-five thouſand men into the Palatinate, under the command of an Engliſh general. However, only ſix thouſand men were ſent into Holland, to ſerve in the army of the States under the command of the prince of Orange, and other troops were levied by count Mansfeldt, who was, during the war, to open himſelf a paſſage into the Palatinate.

During theſe tranſactions, the earl of Holland, who had been diſpatched into France, having ſent word that Lewis XIII. was inclined to liſten to an overture of marriage between the prince of Wales and his ſiſter, the princeſs Henrietta Maria, the king appointed the earl of Carliſle to go and negociate the affair, jointly with the earl of Holland. The two ambaſſadors repairing to Compeigne, where the court of France was, commiſſioners were appointed to treat with them, of whom the marquis de la Vieuville, ſuperintendant of the finances, was the firſt. When theſe conferences began, the king, purſuant to his promiſe, was putting the laws in force againſt popiſh recuſants,

particularly againſt friars and prieſts, ſome of whom were thrown into priſon; but James was now become apprehenſive leſt his ſon ſhould be altogether diſappointed of a bride; and therefore, as ſoon as the moſt Chriſtian king interpoſed his mediation in behalf of thoſe of his own faith, James gave orders for the releaſe of all the popiſh recuſants who had been impriſoned ſince the parliament's petition. In ſhort, ſuch was the earneſtneſs of the Engliſh monarch to terminate this affair, that by the tenth of November this year, the marriage articles were ſigned at Paris, and were in ſubſtance much the ſame as thoſe which had been concluded with Spain; for as Lewis only required, for the honour of his crown, the ſame conditions which had been granted to the catholic monarch, James made no ſcruple to comply. And as the prince, while in Spain, had given a verbal promiſe to leave the infanta the education of her children till the age of thirteen, this article was alſo inſerted in the treaty; and to that imprudent conceſſion is generally, and perhaps juſtly, aſcribed the preſent diſtreſſed condition of the Stuart family.

While this affair was depending, count Mansfeldt came over to England, where he was received with extraordinary careſſes, and lodged by the prince in his palace of St. James's. After ſome conferences, it was agreed that Mansfeldt ſhould have twelve thouſand men to carry the war into the Lower Palatinate. During the negociation with France, the miniſtry of that court had made mighty promiſes, though in general terms, not only of affording a free paſſage to the Engliſh troops, but alſo of reinforcing them with powerful ſuccours in their march towards the Palatinate; but, on the arrival of thoſe troops, under the command of count Mansfeldt, before Calais, they found that no orders had come for their admiſſion. This occaſioned many diſpatches backward and forwards; but the French inſiſted that they had given no poſitive orders under their hands, and that the granting the count a paſſage through France was a matter not to be haſtily reſolved upon: in fine, this debate laſted ſo long, that a peſtilental diſeaſe crept aboard the ſhips, and carried off great numbers of the Engliſh; and thoſe who remained, weakened by ſickneſs and diſcouraged by misfortunes, appeared too ſmall a body to lead into the Palatinate. Such was the ſhameful iſſue of this expedition, which reflected the higheſt diſgrace on the Engliſh miniſtry, who were ſo weak as to conſider Gallic profeſſions as ſolemn engagements: juſtice, however, obliges us to confeſs, that this was the only public diſaſter that befel England, during the quiet reign of the peaceful James.

We cannot conclude the hiſtory of this reign, which draws to its period, without taking ſome notice of the ſtate of affairs in Ireland, where the Spaniards kept a conſtant intelligence with the diſaffected papiſts, and put the Engliſh government under perpetual alarms. The earl of Tyrone having been received into favour by James, at the beginning of his reign, and aſſured of the royal protection, provided he did not relapſe into his former traitorous practices, returned to his own country; but conſtruing all the marks of liberality he had received as the effects of fear, he had the boldneſs, ſoon after, to petition the king for a toleration of the popiſh religion: his requeſt being refuſed, he, with the earl of Tyrconnel, and other heads of the Iriſh Roman catholics, began to intrigue anew againſt the Engliſh government, and a deſperate confederacy was formed amongſt the Iriſh of Ulſter, for murdering the lord-deputy (then ſir Anthony Chicheſter) and the council, and extirpating the Engliſh out of Ireland. This conſpiracy was diſcovered by a letter dropped in the council-chamber, and Tyrone, Tyrconnel, M^c^ Guire, and other chief conſpirators, fled to France; but the moſt Chriſtian king not giving them any great encouragement, the rebels retired, without going to Paris or ſeeing the French monarch, to Bruſſels. The archduke was not ſo reſerved; he gave them a noble reception, and ſettled upon them large penſions, by order of the court of Spain, who ſoon found its intereſt in furniſhing them with money to blow up another rebellion, which Tyrone, in the year 1613, actually undertook to effect; and his deſign appeared ſo practicable, that the marquis Spinola, one of the beſt officers of the age, offered to head an expedition: but the deſign was diſcovered, and Tyrone's correſpondents were taken and executed in the year 1615.

Sir Oliver St. John, afterwards viſcount of Grandiſon, was ſworn in lord-deputy of Ireland, in the year 1616, and acted with ſo much vigour againſt the papiſts, that he procured himſelf many enemies even at the court of England. Though he was a brave and active magiſtrate, and James knew him to be ſo, yet he made a handle of the complaints againſt him, to iſſue out the commiſſion we have already taken notice of, to ſome diſcontented members of the houſe of commons; viz. ſir Dudley Diggs, ſir Thomas Carew, ſir Nathaniel Rich, ſir James Perrot, and others, "to enquire of ſundry matters concerning his majeſty's ſervice in Ireland, as well in the point of government eccleſiaſtical and civil, as of revenue, and to inſpect the ſtate of the kingdom, propagate religion, ſettle the government, and improve the Exchequer." Before theſe commiſſioners arrived in Ireland, the differences between the lord-deputy and the privy-council there aroſe ſo high, that the latter demanded of James that he ſhould be removed. James obſtinately refuſed this for a long time; but at length the party againſt the lord-deputy prevailed, and lord viſcount Falkland was ſworn lord-deputy in his ſtead. In the mean time the commiſſioners were buſied in endeavouring to improve the revenue; but, although all of them were men of experience in the genius and manners of the Iriſh, all their attempts were rather plauſible than practicable. The papiſts, ſupported by Rome and Spain, ſtill continued to act with great inſolence, and in ſome churches exerciſed their own religion. This drew a ſevere proclamation from the government towards the end of this reign, ordering all the regulars to depart out of Ireland; and the famous Dr. Uſher, archbiſhop of Armagh, was highly ſerviceable to the proteſtant intereſt, by his learned and vigorous ſermons againſt popery.

In the ſpring of the year 1625, James was ſeized with a tertian ague; but though ſuch agues are not held dangerous in that ſeaſon of the year, he was ſo reduced by repeated fits, that he died at Theobalds, his favourite reſidence, on the twenty-ſeventh of March, 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after reigning over England twenty-two years and three days, and over Scotland almoſt from his cradle. Authors in general have been extremely

extremely ſevere on Buckingham, as if he had haſtened the end of James by poiſon; but this reſts only on the credit of ill-informed ſpiteful writers: it cannot, indeed, be denied that improper applications were made to James during his laſt illneſs; and perhaps even the phyſicians themſelves miſtook his diſeaſe. What confirms this ſuſpicion is a note of biſhop Laud's, entered into his Diary, and which, I think, has never been obſerved by any hiſtorian of this reign, in which "he fears the king's diſeaſe, though to all appearance it was a tertian ague, was the gout, and that a wrong application of medicines had driven it from his feet to his inward vital parts." The counteſs of Buckingham, and ſome other ladies, who had no opinion of regular phyſicians, but thought that life might be rendered immortal by the ſecrets of mountebanks, attended James, who, being impatient for health, fell into the ſame fatal miſtake. Buckingham had been, ſome time before, ill of an ague, and had been cured by a vomit, a plaſter, and a poſſet-drink; which James inſiſted ſhould now be adminiſtered to himſelf: according to Buckingham's defence againſt the charge on this head brought againſt him by the commons, he did all he could to diſſuade the king from taking any thing that was not preſcribed by his phyſicians; but James obſtinately ſent for the plaſter and the drink, which were applied in Buckingham's abſence. If James (as ſome paſſionate authors pretend he did) entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of Buckingham, he would not have failed to communicate it to the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the lord-keeper Williams, who attended him on his death-bed, nor (as both of them hated Buckingham) would they have failed to have divulged it afterwards.

The character of James has been variouſly handled by different hiſtorians, moſt of whom appear to have wrote under the influence of favourable prepoſſeſſions or extreme prejudice: ſome repreſent him as the perfect pattern of a good king; others have loaded him with reproaches by aggravating his failings. The reaſon of this diverſity proceeds from the hiſtory of this reign being penned at a time when the animoſity of parties was at a great height; therefore the character of this prince muſt not be formed either on the praiſes of the one, or the invectives of the other, but upon the manner of his governing, upon his ſpeeches and actions; and this our readers will be perfectly able to do for themſelves, by recollecting the principal circumſtances of his reign: we ſhall therefore content ourſelves with obſerving in general, that he was endowed with many virtues, but no one of them pure or free from the contagion of the neighbouring vices. His liberality degenerated into profuſion, his learning into pedantry, his love of peace into puſillanimity, his wiſdom into cunning, and his friendſhip into light fancy and boyiſh fondneſs. He was certainly a great diſſembler; this failing accompanied him even in the moſt common tranſactions of life, and made him paſs for a worſe man than he really was; he frequently miſſed a favourite point by his duplicity, which he might have ſecured by openneſs and reſolution. His too great averſion to war, which has from ſome got him the reproach of want of courage, was certainly a defect productive of the moſt happy conſequences to the nation he governed; the people were bleſſed with a moſt profound peace, which no troubles interrupted; they were enriched by an extenſive commerce, which few taxes oppreſſed; and, freed from the care of foreign affairs, they had leiſure to attend to their own concerns, and ſecure their liberties by many excellent and wiſe regulations*.

James, by his wife, Anne of Denmark, had ſeven children:

1. Henry, already mentioned.
2. Robert, who died in his infancy.
3. Charles, who ſucceeded him on the throne.
4. Elizabeth, married to the elector Palatine.
5. Margaret,
6. Mary, and
7. Sophia, who all died infants.

He had no illegitimate iſſue; and what may appear ſurprizing, though he is ſaid to have been extremely fond of obſcene and immodeſt language, he never diſcovered the leaſt tendency towards a paſſion for any miſtreſs.

Remarkable Occurrences.

What chiefly diſtinguiſhes the reign of James, is the commencement of the Engliſh colonies in America, which have now increaſed to ſuch an amazing height of power and grandeur. Queen Elizabeth had done little more than given a name to the continent of Virginia; and after her planting one feeble colony, which ſoon decayed, that country was entirely abandoned. In 1606, Newport carried over a colony, and began a ſettlement; which the company, eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe in London and Briſtol, took care to furniſh with yearly ſupplies of proviſions, utenſils, and new inhabitants. About 1609, Argal diſcovered a ſhorter and more direct paſſage to Virginia, than had hitherto been known, and left the tract of the ancient navigators, who had firſt directed their courſe ſouthward to the tropic, ſailed weſtward by means of the trade-winds, and then turned northward till they arrived at the Engliſh ſettlements. The ſame year, ſir Thomas Gates and ſir George Somers ſet ſail with a company of five hundred perſons for Virginia: Somers, being attacked by a ſtorm, was driven into Bermudas, and laid the foundation of a ſettlement in thoſe iſlainds.

Lord Delawar afterwards undertook the government of the Engliſh colonies: but notwithſtanding all his care, aſſiſted by ſupplies from James, and by money from the firſt lottery ever known in England, the ſettlement of theſe countries was attended with ſuch difficulties, that, in 1614, there were not alive above four hundred men of all that had been ſent thither. After ſupplying themſelves with proviſions more immediately neceſſary for the ſupport of life, the new planters began to cultivate tobacco; and James, notwithſtanding his averſion to that drug, gave them leave to import it into England; and forbad, by a public proclamation, all importation from Spain. By degrees more colonies were planted on that continent, and gave names to the places where they were eſtabliſhed, leaving that of Virginia to the province firſt ſettled. The iſland of Barbadoes was alſo planted in this reign.

In the fourth year of king James, A. D. 1607, there was ſo great an inundation from the river

† Carte, Hume, Smollett.

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CHARLES I.

Severn, in ſome parts of Somerſetſhire and Gloceſterſhire, that the water roſe above the tops of the houſes, inſomuch that there periſhed by this fatal accident no leſs than eighty perſons, and the damages done upon the whole amounted to upwards of twenty thouſand pounds.

In his ſixth year, 1609, a froſt began in December, which laſted till April following, with ſuch violence, that not only the Thames was ſo frozen that heavy carriages paſſed over it as on dry land, but many animals, eſpecially birds, periſhed; and almoſt all the garden herbage was deſtroyed.

CHARLES I. The ſecond King of ENGLAND of the Houſe of STUART. A.D. 1625.

THE death of James cauſed very little alteration in the Engliſh court, as that monarch had, before his deceaſe, been altogether under the guidance of the prince and Buckingham: their friends were in full poſſeſſion of the court and cabinet, and all the great officers of ſtate were continued. The council meeting immediately after notice given of the king's deceaſe, they cauſed Charles prince of Wales, his only ſon, then living, and now in the twenty-fifth year of his age, to be proclaimed king, to the univerſal ſatisfaction of the nation, as a prince of admirable endowments both of mind and body. The funeral obſequies of the deceaſed king were celebrated on the ſeventh of May, being carried from Somerſet-houſe (to which palace it had been conveyed from Theobalds) to Weſtminſter, where it was interred in St. Peter's church with great funeral pomp and ſolemnity: the young king himſelf performed the office of chief mourner, which, though it was contrary to the cuſtom of crowned heads, yet he choſe rather to relinquiſh ſome part of his ſtate, than be ſeen wanting in filial piety.

No ſooner were the funeral obſequies performed, than the king ſent to haſten the coming over of the princeſs Henrietta Maria of France, his deſtined conſort, to whom, on Sunday the firſt of May, he had, by his proxy the duke of Chevreuſe, been eſpouſed, in the church of Nôtre Dame, at Paris, the cardinal de Richelieu performing the nuptial ceremony. Soon after the queen began her journey towards England, being accompanied as far as Amiens by the queen her mother, the duke of Orleans her brother, and the duke and ducheſs of Chevreuſe, and a great train of French nobility, together with the duke of Buckingham, the earls of Carliſle, Holland, Montgomery, and many of the Engliſh gentry, who were ſent over for that purpoſe. From Amiens they proceeded to Boulogne, where a fleet of twenty-one Engliſh ſhips were waiting to take her on board, with the ducheſs of Buckingham and other Engliſh ladies of quality, to ſerve her as attendants. On Trinity Sunday, June 12, late at night, ſhe arrived at Dover; which being ſignified to the king, then at Canterbury, he went the next morning to meet her, and that evening the marriage was conſummated at Canterbury. The ſixteenth of the ſame month, the king and queen made their entry into London; but the plague then raging in the capital, abated conſiderably of the pomp and ſolemnity. But neither that, nor any thing elſe could divert the king's attention from the weighty concerns of the realm; for the great aſſembly of the nation meeting two days after his arrival in London, he went thither, and opened his firſt parliament with the following ſpeech.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"You are not ignorant, that, at your earneſt intreaty, March 23, 1623, my father (of happy memory) firſt took up arms for the recovery of the Palatinate; for which purpoſe, by your aſſiſtance, he began to form a conſiderable army, and to prepare a goodly armada and navy royal: but death intervening between him and the atchievement, the war, with the crown, is devolved upon me; to the proſecution thereof as I am obliged both in nature and honour, ſo I queſtion not but the ſame neceſſity continuing, you will cheriſh the action with the like affection, and further it with a ready contribution. True it is, you furniſhed my father with affectionate ſupplies, but they held no ſymmetry or proportion with the charge of ſo great an enterprize: for thoſe your donatives are all diſburſed to a penny, and I am enforced to ſummons you hither to tell you, that neither can the army advance, nor the fleet ſet forth, without farther aid. Conſider, I pray you, that the eyes of all Europe are fixed upon me, to whom I ſhall appear ridiculous, as though I were unable to outgo muſter and oſtentation, if you now deſert me: conſider, it is my firſt attempt, wherein if I ſuſtain a foil, it will blemiſh all my future honour. If mine cannot, let your reputation move you to deliver and expedite me fairly out of this war, wherewith you have encumbered me (let it never be ſaid, whereinto you have betrayed me): I deſire, therefore, your ſpeedy ſupply. The ſun you know is entering into his declining point, ſo it will ſoon be too late to ſet forth, when it will be rather not too ſoon to return. Again, I muſt mind you of the mortality regnant in this city, which ſhould it (as ſo it may, and no breach of privilege neither) arreſt any one member of either houſe, it would ſoon put a period both to the conſultation and ſeſſion; ſo that your own preſervation neceſſitates an early reſolution; in ſum, three of the beſt rhetoricians, Honour, Opportunity, and Safety, are all of a plot, and plead, you ſee, for expedition. Perhaps it may be expected I ſhould ſay ſomething in way of account of my religion, as alſo of the temper and tenor of my future government; but as I hope I have not been guilty of any thing which may juſtly ſtart the leaſt queſtion in either, ſo I deſire you would repoſe in this aſſurance, that I will in neither vary from thoſe principles wherein I have been inſtituted at the feet of that eminent Gamaliel, my late father."

This ſpeech was very well received, and though it did not produce ſo great a ſupply as the exigency of affairs required, yet the commons gave two ſubſidies without any condition, and the clergy three; and in the grant of the laity, the papiſts were to pay double. The king very graciouſly accepted the gift, as an earneſt of the good affections of his people, in reference to greater ſums which he expected to follow; but the plague increaſing in London, the parliament, on the eleventh of October, was adjourned to Oxford, to be held there on the firſt of Auguſt.

King James, a little before his death, promiſed to ſend the king of France five or ſix ſhips, to be employed againſt the Genoeſe; but, afterwards, Lewis XIII. wanting theſe ſhips for the ſiege of Rochelle, prevailed with Charles I. by Buckingham's means, that he might employ them where he pleaſed; and, accordingly, they were ſent to Dieppe, under the command of vice-admiral Pennington. The commanders of theſe ſhips diſcovering that they were to go againſt Rochelle, weighed anchor, and ſailed back to England. Pennington informing the duke of Buckingham of it, received an expreſs order, confirmed by another from the king himſelf, to return to Dieppe with the ſhips, and put them into the hands of the French; which was done accordingly: but the mariners all deſerted, utterly refuſing to ſerve againſt Rochelle.

This affair made a great noiſe at Oxford, where the parliament was to be aſſembled. Buckingham's ill conduct in this, and other reſpects, was loudly complained of, and the commons put in a very ill humour. On the day appointed, the king ſent for the two houſes, to attend him in Chriſt-church hall; where, in a ſhort ſpeech, he acquainted them with his wants for fitting out the fleet, and other neceſſary matters; adding, that the eyes of all Chriſtendom were fixed upon his conduct.

The commons, upon their return from the king to their houſe, had ſeveral long debates upon the ſubſtance of his ſpeech, and the preſent condition of the kingdom, all tending to arraign the meaſures of government. The truth is, that Charles had, in his ſpeech, ſuffered thoſe arbitrary principles which he inherited from his father, and which at length wrought his own ruin, to eſcape from him too clearly for any one to miſtake them. While he meant to beg, he ſeemed to threaten; by declaring, as he did, that civil treatment would endear to him the uſe of parliaments, he might be ſuppoſed to inſinuate, that harſh treatment would eſtrange him from thoſe popular aſſemblies, and perhaps induce him to diſcontinue them intirely: a power, which, however deſirous he might be to uſurp, the commons were by no means willing to allow him; and their great ſecret was now to ſtraiten the king, as the only way to make themſelves of importance. On this occaſion, ſir Edward Coke took the lead: he obſerved, "that if the king's neceſſities aroſe through improvidence (which he proved to be the caſe in many inſtances), the parliament had no cauſe to give:" he then fell upon the management of the court, the frauds in the cuſtoms, the miſmanagement of the treaty with Spain, large fees annexed to the new invented offices, old uſeleſs offices continued, the multiplicity of offices in one man (meaning the duke of Buckingham), the vaſt increaſe of penſions, and the immoderate luxury of the courtiers. He enforced all theſe, and many more political abuſes with ſo great keenneſs, that they reſolved to appoint a committee to conſider of the preſent ſtate of the nation, and to invite the duke of Buckingham to it, to anſwer the objections againſt him. But it was very viſible, from the ſpirit the houſe ſhewed, that the duke was to expect little favour there; for though they contended for an immediate declaration againſt the king of Spain, for the neceſſity of recovering the Palatinate, and of reforming the king's council, yet they abſolutely refuſed to ſaddle the nation with any more ſubſidies, or to anticipate their grants of money. This drew a ſmart ſpeech from one Clark, a member, (perhaps the ſame who had been employed by Buckingham in Spain), as if the ſpeeches thrown out on that occaſion had too much invective bitterneſs in them, and were unſeaſonable for the time. Though thoſe are the only expreſſions charged in the Journal of the houſe upon Clark, yet, the friends to the freedom of ſpeech in the parliament would have expelled him the houſe, had it not been for ſome moderate members, who prevailed to have him only committed to the ſerjeant at arms for two nights, and acknowlege his error at the bar of the houſe upon his knees. In fine, before they would agree to any anſwer to what the king requeſted of them, they proceeded to the redreſs of grievances, and drew up a petition againſt popiſh recuſants, which was preſented to his majeſty by their ſpeaker, who returned the parliament a very gracious and ſatisfactory anſwer. Nevertheleſs, this condeſcenſion in the king did not at all win upon them; for, when the matter of a ſupply came again to be debated, the ſame oppoſition was made, and the majority inſiſted on a redreſs of grievances before granting a ſupply. The king, ſeeing what courſe the commons were taking, was extremely offended; firſt, as by their ſlowneſs they broke all his meaſures for the preſent campaign; ſecondly, he deemed it a manifeſt affront and contempt of his perſon, to preſume openly to attack his ſervants and miniſters, or rather himſelf under their name: ſo, perceiving no likelihood of a ſpeedy ſupply, which was the ſole end of calling the parliament, he was determined to diſſolve it, and thereupon went to the houſe for that purpoſe. The commons were reſolved into a grand committee, when the uſher of the black rod came to demand their preſence in the lords houſe; but having notice of his errand, before they would admit the ſpeaker to reſume the chair, to ſit as a houſe, Mr. Glanville, one of the members, ſtood up, and declared the ſenſe of the houſe in theſe words; "That thanks be given to his majeſty for his gracious anſwer to our petition for religion; next, for the care of our health, in giving us leave to depart at this dangerous time; laſtly, we make the moſt dutiful declaration of our affection and loyalty, and purpoſe to ſupply his majeſty in a parliamentary way in a fitting and convenient time." This being done, the uſher was called in, and delivered his meſſage; and the diſſolution of the parliament immediately enſued *.

* On the twelfth of Auguſt, not having ſat full three weeks to do buſineſs, both at Weſtminſter and Oxford.

Soon

Soon after this, a proclamation was iſſued for putting in execution the laws againſt popiſh recuſants; commanding the return, by a prefixed day, of children of noblemen, and others, ſent to be educated in popiſh ſchools, or ſeminaries, abroad; and all of the king's ſubjects under the pay of the emperor, the king of Spain, and the archduke, who then governed the Spaniſh Netherlands, were ſpeedily enjoined to return to their native country, to be employed in the king's ſervice; for the refractorineſs of the parliament did not hinder the king from purſuing his deſign of continuing, or rather of beginning, the war with Spain. For though the late king had taken ſome meaſures which tended to a war, there had not, however, been any hoſtilities committed ſince the breach of the treaty. Charles reſolving therefore to undertake this war, ſent the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Holland ambaſſadors to the United Provinces; where they met, at the Hague, the ambaſſadors of France and Denmark, and concluded a league with them and the States for reſtoring the liberties of Germany. In the mean time, to ſupply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles iſſued privy-ſeals for borrowing money from his ſubjects. The advantage derived from this expedient, was but a poor compenſation for the odium with which it was attended. By means, however, of that ſupply, the king was at laſt enabled to fit out his fleet.

It conſiſted of eighty good ſhips, with the addition of ſome Dutch veſſels; and ſhould have been ſent out early in the ſummer, to make an attempt upon the coaſt of Spain; but, through want of money, and other obſtacles, it was the beginning of October before it was ready to leave the ports. Sir Edward Cecil, lately promoted to the title of viſcount Wimbleton, was appointed commander: and had under him the earl of Eſſex as his vice-admiral.

After putting to ſea, they were overtaken by a ſtorm, which not only diſperſed them, but alſo the Engliſh ſhips which blocked up Dunkirk: the fleet, however, met at the rendezvous off Cape St. Vincent, where a council of war was held; for ſo undetermined was the whole expedition, that the officers were yet ignorant of their deſtination. The brave earl of Eſſex naturally gave his voice for attacking Cadiz, the ſcene of his father's glory; and his propoſal being carried by a majority of voices, they bore towards that port. But by this time all Spain was alarmed, and ſo dreadful to the Spaniards was the Engliſh valour under Elizabeth, that their king was ready in perſon to have marched down, at the head of a royal army, to the defence of his coaſt. When the Engliſh arrived at the place, they found every thing in readineſs to give them a warm reception; and the attack of Port Puntal was, with twenty Engliſh and five Dutch ſhips, committed to the earl of Eſſex, who was ſo eager upon it, that he was afterwards accuſed by lord Wimbleton of ſuffering the ſhipping which lay under its guns, and which drew out to fight him, to eſcape. Whatever ground there might be for this charge, it is certain that the ſhipping of the Spaniards, which conſiſted of ſeventeen ſtout ſhips and eight or ten gallies, finding that they were an unequal match for the whole of the Engliſh fleet, if it ſhould come up, retired to Port Real; and the earl of Eſſex, after ſpending a great deal of powder and ſhot, found it impracticable to take Puntal on that ſide. Upon this, ſir John Burroughs, an old Engliſh officer, landed with his regiment, and driving ſome companies of Spaniards, who had oppoſed his landing, back to the fort, the Spaniſh governor ſurrendered it. But the taking of this fort was of no other conſequence than as it opened a paſſage to Cadiz itſelf; and it commanding a large extent of villages and country round, the raw Engliſh troops could not reſiſt the deliciouſneſs of the Spaniſh wines, which proved a loſs to the expedition; for when a ſquadron, under the command of ſir Samuel Argale, was ſent to attack the ſhips that had retired to Port Real, the deſign miſcarried; whilſt diſſenſions amongſt the officers increaſing with diſeaſes amongſt the ſoldiers, the lord Wimbleton abandoned the fort they had taken, and reimbarked his troops, which were now greatly weakened by ſickneſs. The fleet then, in purſuance to inſtructions, cruiſed for ſome days off St. Vincent, for the Spaniſh plate-fleet, then on its return from America; and, after narrowly miſſing it, Wimbleton brought back nothing but infected crews, ſickly companies, a broken reputation, diſheartened officers, leaky ſhips, and national diſhonour, about the beginning of December.

Charles, having miſſed ſo rich a prize, was again obliged to have recourſe to parliament, though his authority was weakened by this miſcarriage of his enterprizes, and the imprudence of the Spaniſh war became every day more apparent: but though his growing neceſſities encreaſed his dependence, and made him leſs liable to withſtand the encroachment of the commons, he was determined to try once more that regular and conſtitutional method of ſupply; however, the ſolemnity of his coronation was firſt to be performed, which was celebrated on the ſecond of February, 1626. To ſave expence, and to prevent the danger of popular concourſe, as the plague, though greatly decreaſed, was not quite gone, the king omitted the riding in ſtate from the Tower to Whitehall. Sir Thomas Coventry an able lawyer, who had ſucceeded Williams as keeper of the great ſeal, officiated as ſuch on this occaſion.

Four days after the coronation, viz. on the ſixth of February, the parliament met, and was opened by a very miniſterial ſpeech from the new lord-keeper, greatly extolling the piety and wiſdom of the king, and acquainting the two houſes, that as his majeſty intended the ſeſſion ſhould be very ſhort, he expected they would make all imaginable diſpatch in granting ſupplies. But the commons, with their ſpeaker, ſir Heneage Finch, being returned to their houſe, inſtead of paying any regard to the lord-keeper's ſpeech, thanked his majeſty for his zeal for religion, and began, where they had left off at Oxford, with an enquiry into the national grievances, and the malverſations of government. In order that the grievances might be examined with more regularity and clearneſs, committees were appointed; one for ſecret affairs, one for grievances, and one for religion. The latter, of which Mr. Pym was chairman, called in queſtion certain books written by Mr. Montague, one of the king's chaplains, which they reported to the houſe to be erroneous, falſe, and full of papiſtical and Arminian opinions, contrary to the articles of the Engliſh church. The grievances, as reported by Mr. Whitby, chairman of that committee, were ſtated under four heads.

"I. The

" I. The ſtate of the king in the conſtant revenue of the crown.

" II. The condition of the ſubject in his freedom.

" III. The cauſe of the nation's good ſucceſs in former times.

" IV. The preſent condition of the kingdom."

Under the firſt head was conſidered the great diſpoſitions of lands and penſions, " mero motu," and other exorbitant expences. In the ſecond, the bringing in of new impoſitions, the multiplying monopolies, and the levying tonnage and poundage without an act of parliament. Under the third they aſcribed the great renown and reputation of the nation in former times, to the wiſdom and gravity of the counſellors, when nothing was ordered but by public debate; whence aroſe readineſs in the ſubject to aſſiſt their ſovereign in purſe and perſon. In the fourth was repreſented the loſs of the nation's wonted reputation, in the expedition to Cadiz, and others, which was imputed to the want of ſuch counſels as were heretofore uſed; foraſmuch as men, through difference in ſucceſs, were backward either to venture their perſons or their purſes.

From generals the houſe proceeded to particulars, and at laſt Buckingham was openly named as the ſource of all the national grievances and indignities. Nothing could ſhew the mutability of human affairs, and how little dependence is to be placed on the affections of the people, more than this conduct of the commons; for in the laſt parliament of king James, this very duke of Buckingham, againſt whom every voice was now open, was extolled as the great ornament and honour of the Engliſh nation, and the chief preſerver of the kingdom from the Spaniſh practices; and no honour was thought great enough to requite his merits. No ſooner, however, was the preſent diſpoſitions of that houſe divulged, than informations from all the officious buſy heads in the kingdom flocked in againſt Buckingham; and the commons proceeded with the greateſt warmth and acrimony in the enquiries againſt the duke, who had notice ſent him of what they were about. In the courſe of theſe debates, Dr. Turner, a phyſician, propoſed the following queries againſt Buckingham:

" I. Whether the duke, being admiral, be not the cauſe of the loſs of the king's royalty in the Narrow Seas?

" II. Whether the unreaſonable, exorbitant, and immenſe gifts of money and lands beſtowed upon the duke and his kindred, be not the cauſe of impairing the king's revenues, and impoveriſhing the crown?

" III. Whether the multiplicity of offices conferred upon the duke, and others depending upon him (whereof they were not capable), be not the cauſe of the evil government of this kingdom?

" IV. Whether recuſants in general, by a kind of connivance, be not borne out and increaſed by reaſon of the duke's mother and father-in-law being known papiſts?

" V. Whether the ſale of honours, offices, and places of judicature and eccleſiaſtical livings and promotions (a ſcandal and hurt to the kingdom), be not through the duke?

" VI. Whether the duke's ſtaying at home, being admiral and general in the fleet of the ſea and land-army, were not the cauſe of the bad ſucceſs and overthrow of that action; and whether he did give good direction for that deſign?"

In the mean while the ſpeaker received a letter from the king, in which he repreſented his neceſſities to the houſe, and demanded a ſupply; and at the ſame time promiſed to do every thing in his power to ſatisfy his faithful commons, and redreſs the grievances they complained of. To give the more ſtrength to this letter, ſir Edward Weſton, chancellor of the Exchequer, delivered to the houſe of commons a meſſage, in which he laid before them five articles of expence to be provided for. Upon the receipt of this letter and meſſage, the commons returned an anſwer full of reſpect, ſubmiſſion, expreſſions of zeal for his majeſty's ſervice, and even promiſes of aſſiſting him in his wants; however they artfully intimated to him, that redreſs of grievances ought to precede the ſupply they intended to grant him, and that this was the only condition on which he could expect any aſſiſtance. It was the misfortune of Charles to conſider this anſwer of the commons as the reſult, not of duty, but of fear; and he thought that a few additional big words in reply, would quiet all oppoſition; he therefore ſent the ſpeaker the following letter.

" Mr. Speaker,

" The anſwer of the commons, delivered by you, I like well of, and do take it for a full and ſatisfactory anſwer, and I thank them for it; and I hope you will, with all expedition, take a courſe for performance thereof, the which will turn to your own good as well as mine: but for your clauſe therein for preſenting of grievances, I take that but for a parentheſis in your ſpeech, and not a condition; and yet, for an anſwer for that part, I will tell you I will be as willing to hear your grievances as my predeceſſors have been, ſo that you will apply yourſelves to redreſs grievances, and not to enquire after grievances: I muſt let you know, that I will not allow any of my ſervants to be queſtioned amongſt you, much leſs ſuch as are of eminent place, and near unto me. The old queſtion was, What ſhall be done to the man the king will honour? but now it hath been the labour of ſome, to ſeek what may be done againſt him whom the king thinks fit to honour. I ſee you eſpecially aim at the duke of Buckingham: I wonder what hath altered your affections towards him. I do well remember, that in the laſt parliament in my father's time, when he was an inſtrument to break the treaties, all of you (as yet I cannot ſay all, for I know ſome of you are changed, but yet the houſe of commons is always the ſame) did ſo much honour and reſpect him, that all the honour conferred upon him was too little; and what he hath done ſince to alter and change your minds, I cannot ſay; but can aſſure you he hath not meddled or done any thing concerning the public or commonwealth, but by ſpecial direction and appointment, and as my ſervant; and is ſo far from gaining or improving his eſtate thereby, that I verily think he hath rather impaired the ſame. I would you would haſten my ſupply, or elſe it will be worſe for yourſelves; for if any ill happen, I think I ſhall be the laſt that ſhall feel it."

And leſt this ſtyle, which was rather that of an eaſtern monarch than an Engliſh ſovereign, ſhould not be ſufficiently underſtood, he ſent to demand

ſatisfaction of Mr. Cook for certain words he had ſpoken, and of Dr. Turner for the queries he had preſented. At the ſame time he prohibited them from touching his miniſter and ſervant, Buckingham, and commanded them to finiſh in a few days the ſubſidy-bill, otherwiſe they muſt expect to be immediately diſſolved. Theſe proceedings ſet the whole houſe in a flame; and though Buckingham, a few days afterwards, endeavoured to ſoften the rigour of theſe harſh commands by a plauſible and ſpecious oration, the impreſſion which they made was not ſo eaſily effaced, and produced a remonſtrance from the commons to this effect:

"That, with extreme joy and comfort, they acknowleged the favour of his majeſty's moſt gracious expreſſion of affection to his people and this preſent parliament: that, concerning Mr. Cook, it is true he let fall ſome few words that might admit an ill conſtruction, and that the houſe was diſpleaſed therewith, as they declared by a general check at the very time he ſpoke them; and though Mr. Cook's explanation of his mind more clearly, did ſomewhat abate the offence of the houſe, yet were they reſolved to take it into farther conſideration, and ſo have done; the effect whereof had appeared ere this, had it not been interrupted by this his majeſty's meſſage; and the like interruption in the buſineſs of Dr. Turner.

"As concerning the examination of the letters of his ſecretary of ſtate, as alſo of his majeſty's own, and ſearching the ſignet-office, and other records, they had done nothing therein not warranted by the precedents of former parliaments upon the like occaſions.

"That concerning the duke, they did humbly beſeech his majeſty to be informed, that it hath been the conſtant and undoubted uſage of parliaments, to queſtion and complain of any perſon, of what degree ſoever; and what they ſhould do in relation to him, they little doubted but it would redound to the honour of the crown and ſafety of the kingdom.

"Laſtly, as to the matter of ſupply, that if a petition may be made of other things, importing his ſervice, then in conſultations amongſt them, they were reſolved ſo to ſupply him, as might evidence the truth of their intentions, and make them ſafe at home and formidable abroad."

To this the king anſwered briefly, that he would have them conſult about matters of the greateſt importance in the firſt place, and that they ſhould have time enough for other matters afterwards: but this ſtopped not the proceedings againſt the duke of Buckingham, to which the earl of Briſtol alſo contributed not a little in the houſe of lords.

As long as James lived, Briſtol, ſecure of the ſecret favour of that monarch, behaved with great duty and ſubmiſſion; in hopes that an opportunity would ſome time occur of regaining his former credit and authority; nor did he entirely deſpair, even after the acceſſion of Charles. In obedience to the king's order he continued at his country-ſeat, and refrained from attending in parliament. Many attempts he made to recover the good opinion of his maſter; but finding them all ineffectual, and perceiving Charles to be entirely ruled by Buckingham, his inveterate enemy, he determined no longer to keep any meaſure with the court. When the parliament was ſummoned, Charles, by a ſtretch of prerogative, had ordered, that no writ, as uſual, ſhould be ſent to Briſtol. That nobleman preſented a petition to the lords; and entreated their good offices with the king for obtaining what was his due as a peer of the realm. His writ was accordingly ſent him; but accompanied with a letter from the lord-keeper Coventry, forbidding him, in the king's name, to attend in parliament. This letter Briſtol tranſmitted to the lords; and begged their advice with regard to his conduct in ſo delicate a matter. The king's prohibition was ſuperſeded, and Briſtol took his ſeat in the houſe. Enraged at theſe repeated inſtances of courage, which the court called contumacy, Charles cauſed his attorney-general to prefer an impeachment of high-treaſon againſt Briſtol. In return Briſtol accuſed Buckingham of high-treaſon. The earl's defence of himſelf and accuſation of the duke are both extant; and, together with ſome original letters, which are likewiſe preſerved, exhibit the cleareſt and moſt diſtinct views of all the negociations with Spain. From the whole it appears, that the duke had been guilty of many acts of folly and preſumption; but it would be difficult to collect thence any action which in the eye of the law could be held a crime; much leſs could convict him of high-treaſon.

The impeachment of the commons was ſtill leſs dangerous to the duke, if it be examined by the ſtandard of law and equity. The houſe, after having voted, upon the queries of Dr. Turner, "that common fame was a ſufficient ground of accuſation by the commons," proceeded to draw up a ſet of articles againſt Buckingham.

They accuſed him "of having engroſſed many offices in his perſon; of having bought two of them; of neglecting to guard the ſeas, inſomuch that many merchant ſhips had been taken by the enemy; of furniſhing ſhips to the French king, in order to ſerve againſt the Huguenots; of being concerned in the ſale of honours and offices; of procuring extenſive grants from the crown; of obtaining many titles of honour for his kindred; and of giving phyſic to the late king without the knowlege of his phyſicians." All theſe articles appear, from a careful compariſon of the charge and reply, to be either frivolous or falſe, or both.

The only article of importance was, "that he had compelled the Eaſt India company to pay him the ſum of ten thouſand pounds; that he had confiſcated ſome goods belonging to French merchants, on pretence of their being the property of Spaniſh ſubjects." The trial was never brought to full concluſion; ſo that it is difficult for us to form any diſtinct opinion with regard to theſe articles: but it muſt be acknowleged, that the duke's anſwer, in theſe particulars, as in all the reſt, is abundantly clear and ſatisfactory.

In the mean while Charles having ordered ſir Dudley Diggs, who had introduced the impeachment againſt Buckingham, and ſir John Elliot, who had wound it up with great violence and vehemence, to be committed to priſon; the commons immediately declared that they would deſiſt from all farther buſineſs, till ſatisfaction ſhould be given them for this violation of their privileges. Charles alleged in excuſe, that thoſe members, in their accuſations of the duke, had dropped ſome ſeditious expreſſions touching majeſty itſelf: upon enquiry it appeared, that no ſuch expreſſions had been uſed; the members were diſcharged, and the

king inſtead of gaining any advantage by this attempt, only exhibited a freſh inſtance of his arbitrary diſpoſition, and expoſed himſelf ſtill more to the reſentment of the commons.

The ill temper of the lower houſe ſeems to have infected the peers, though not to ſo great a degree. The Stuart family imitated their great predeceſſor Elizabeth in ſome of her weakneſſes, and Charles, upon a ſuſpicion that the earl of Arundel had conſented to a marriage between lord Maltravers and the ſiſter of the duke of Lenox, had ordered him, without expreſſing his offence in the commitment, to the Tower. The lords looking upon this as a breach of their privileges, began to conſider the caſe, when Charles, according to his wonted but fatal policy, made the affair perſonal to himſelf, by ordering the lord-keeper to inform the houſe, "that the earl of Arundel was reſtrained for a miſdemeanor which was perſonal to his majeſty, and lay in the proper knowlege of his majeſty, and had no relation to matters of parliament. Notwithſtanding this meſſage, the houſe continued to ſearch for precedents, and the ſame meſſage was renewed from the king by the lord-treaſurer. The houſe ſtill proceeded in their enquiry, and found themſelves deprived of five proxies by the impriſonment of the earl of Arundel, and that there was but one precedent of a peer being committed, the parliament ſitting, without trial or judgment of the peers in parliament. After ſome reſearches, the houſe preſented a petition and remonſtrance to his majeſty, ſetting forth, "that it was their undoubted right, that no peer, ſitting in parliament, is to be impriſoned without orders from the houſe of peers, unleſs it be for treaſon, felony, or refuſing to give ſecurity for the peace." Many debates paſſed in the houſe of lords upon this petition, and upon ſundry meſſages from the king about this privilege, which laſted from the fourteenth of March till the eighth of June: at length they voted to proceed upon no buſineſs, and even refuſed to hear the duke of Buckingham's defence (whoſe impeachment was then depending), until they were righted as to their privileges in that matter. This unuſual firmneſs of the peers, which they ſeemed to have copied from the commons, at laſt produced the deliverance of the earl of Arundel. This was the ſecond inſtance in which the ſpirit of the two houſes had triumphed over the authority of the king; and it is hard to ſay, whether the unſeaſonable obſtinacy or compliances of Charles did him moſt hurt.

The commons made another attack this ſeſſion, which, had it ſucceeded, would have given a ſevere blow to the royal prerogative: they were forming a remonſtrance againſt the practice of levying tonnage and poundage without conſent of parliament. This article, together with the new duties laid on merchandize, compoſed near one half of the crown-revenue; and by ſtripping the king of theſe reſources, they would have reduced him to a total dependence on his ſubjects. Charles being informed of theſe vigorous proceedings, immediately determined to diſſolve the parliament. When this reſolution was known, the peers, who had all along behaved with great loyalty and ſubmiſſion to his majeſty, endeavoured to employ their good offices between him and the commons, and prepared a moſt excellent petition, intreating the king to allow the parliament to ſit ſome time longer; but Charles had ſuch a diſlike to this parliament, that he would not admit the lords into his preſence to preſent their petition; and, on the fifteenth of June, cauſed the parliament to be diſſolved by a commiſſion under the great-ſeal. Shortly after, the king publiſhed a declaration concerning the reaſons for the diſſolution of this and the former parliament: and a few days after, he commanded all perſons who had any copies of the commons remonſtrances, to burn the ſame, on pain of his higheſt diſpleaſure. The ſecond proclamation contained very expreſs commands not to preach or diſpute upon the controverted points of Arminianiſm, either for or againſt them, as it only tended to breed contention.

Mean while an information was preferred, by the king's ſpecial command, in the Star-chamber againſt the duke of Buckingham, for applying a plaſter to the late king: but it was ſo managed that the cauſe never came to a hearing.

As the king had received no aid from the parliament, he was reduced to great ſtraits for want of money: he had a war with the houſe of Auſtria to maintain, beſides ſupplying his allies with the promiſed ſuccours, and to put his kingdom in a poſture of defence; all this could not be done with the ordinary revenues, recourſe was therefore to be had to expedients for raiſing money.

A freſh incumbrance happened from the king of Denmark, his majeſty's uncle, whom he had engaged in a war with the emperor, but was entirely defeated on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt, by the Imperial troops, and loſt all his baggage and train of artillery. This accident obliged Charles to ſupport the Daniſh monarch, who was in a very ill ſituation, and could not avoid making peace with the emperor, unleſs ſpeedily relieved. The method judged moſt proper to raiſe money on this urgent occaſion, was by a general loan from the ſubject, according as every man was aſſeſſed in the rolls of the laſt ſubſidy.

The council on this occaſion iſſued a proclamation in the king's name, wherein, among other articles, is the following very remarkable one: "If any perſon or perſons whatſoever ſhall refuſe to pay the duties, cuſtoms, ſubſidies, or impoſts aforeſaid, unto our farmers, collectors, or officers, in manner aforeſaid, then our will and pleaſure is, and we do farther grant, by theſe preſents, unto the lords and others of our privy-council for the time being, or unto the lord-treaſurer of England, or chancellor of the Exchequer, now or for the time being, full power and authority to commit all and every ſuch perſon and perſons to priſon, who ſhall diſobey this our order and declaration, there to continue until they, and every of them, ſo diſobeying, ſhall have conformed and ſubmitted themſelves unto due obedience concerning the premiſes."

The reader is to obſerve, that this proclamation and thoſe powers were only to be enforced "until ſuch time as by parliament, as in former times, it might receive an abſolute ſettling:" and in another part of the proclamation the taxes are ordered "to be received as fully as heretofore they have been levied, gathered, and renewed, by authority of parliament." From thoſe clauſes two things are fairly deducible; firſt, that there was no ſhadow of authority from parliament for levying theſe taxes; and ſecondly, that Charles expreſly declared

clared his proclamation to have the force of an act of parliament.

In order to advance the loan, care was taken to publiſh a liſt of ſuch as had freely ſubſcribed, for a good example to others; and all the peers and gentlemen were ordered to repair to their country-ſeats, that their abſence might cauſe no delay or obſtacle to the ſubſcriptions. Sir Randolph Crew, lord chief-juſtice, ſhewing no zeal for advancing this loan, was removed, and his place given to ſir Nicholas Hide.

This example of the king's diſpleaſure was not, however, ſufficient for the purpoſe; ſo that the court was obliged to uſe violent remedies in order to force thoſe that were obſtinate. The common people who refuſed to ſubſcribe to the loan were enrolled as ſoldiers, and ordered to ſerve in his majeſty's troops; as for perſons of birth and rank, they were ſummoned to appear before the council, and, upon a ſecond refuſal to lend money, were confined to places at a great diſtance from their habitations; and ſuch as refuſed to be ſo confined, were committed to the ſeveral priſons in London. Sir Thomas Wentworth, who was afterwards earl of Strafford, and a moſt zealous adherent to the king, was among the impriſoned.

At the ſame time, in order to fit out a fleet, the maritime towns were commanded, by an order of council, to equip a certain number of veſſels: the city of London was rated at twenty ſhips. This is the firſt inſtance in Charles's reign of ſhip-money; a taxation which had been impoſed by Elizabeth, but which, after being puſhed ſome ſteps higher by Charles, occaſioned ſuch violent murmurs. The court had alſo means from whence they expected great advantages, but which proved more detrimental than beneficial to the king; this was to cauſe miniſters to preach, as a Scripture doctrine, that ſubjects were obliged to obey the king's commands without examination. Among theſe preachers Dr. Sibthorp and Dr. Manwaring diſtinguiſhed themſelves. On this occaſion, the king, by a lordly ſtretch of prerogative, ſequeſtered Abbot, archbiſhop of Canterbury, from his juriſdiction, and confined him to his houſe at Ford, for refuſing to licenſe the printing the ſermons of theſe tools of arbitrary power.

While theſe things were tranſacting at home, the French king, in order to improve the difference between the Dutch and the Spaniards, and promote a war between them, concluded a treaty at the Hague, by the baron de Coupet, concerning the equipping a fleet of twenty ſhips, under the admiral Hautin, with a deſign to block up Genoa by ſea, while the conſtable Leſdiguieres ſhould beſiege it by land; and the French ambaſſador in London obtained of king Charles an Engliſh man of war and ſeventeen merchant ſhips, to be employed in the ſame expedition; but ſhortly after theſe Engliſh ſhips were received into the pay of France, monſieur de Soubiſe, taking advantage of the French army's advance towards Italy, invited the proteſtant inhabitants of Rochelle to take arms againſt the French government, by whom they had of late been greatly oppreſſed; and he, with ſome ſhips he got together, ſeized on the Iſle of Rhé, as alſo on ſeveral ſail of French ſhips lying in the harbour. Lewis XIII. was ſo incenſed at this act, that, abandoning his deſign upon Italy, he turned all his thoughts towards reducing the rebellious Rochellers: and this occaſioned another treaty at the Hague, between d'Epeſſes, the French ambaſſador, and the States, which was concluded on the twelfth of April this year, whereby it was agreed, that the twenty ſhips under Hautin were to be employed againſt Rochelle and the prince de Soubiſe. The proteſtants of France, with juſt reaſon, took great offence at the Dutch, for giving their aſſiſtance againſt the Rochellers; but their alliance with France, and intereſts of ſtate, prevailed over all other conſiderations with the ſelfiſh Hollanders. The French admiral, Montmorency, being thus ſtrengthened with the Dutch fleet and the ſeven Engliſh ſhips, ſoon obliged Soubiſe to take refuge in the Iſle of Oleron, and retook moſt of the ſhips from him; at the ſame time they formed the blockade of Rochelle by ſea, whilſt the French army marched to inveſt it on the land-ſide. Charles was greatly offended that the ſhips he had lent the court of France ſhould be employed in this manner, having granted them upon condition only of their being uſed againſt the Spaniards; and, accordingly, ſent an expoſtulatory meſſage to the king of France, demanding reſtitution of the ſhips; and the French not returning a ſatisfactory anſwer, he cauſed a rich French ſhip, named the Newhaven, to be ſeized here in England. This occaſioned great clamour in France; and that court, by way of retaliation, laid an embargo upon the Engliſh merchant ſhips and goods in their harbours; but in a ſhort time matters were compromiſed, and the Engliſh ſhips were ſent home: thus affairs remained upon a pacific footing for ſome time. But, towards the end of this year, the king, upon ſome diſguſt againſt the queen's chaplains and domeſtics, diſmiſſed them all, after paying them their wages and ſalaries. The king of France, highly reſenting this breach of the marriage articles, ſeized on all the merchant ſhips which lay in the river of Bourdeaux; and the Engliſh miniſtry laid hold of this event to engage Charles in a war with France, at a time they were ſenſible he hardly knew how to continue that he had begun againſt the houſe of Auſtria. The duke de Soubiſe, and Mr. St. Blancard, a gentleman of Languedoc, came over to England in the beginning of the following year, to manage this affair, and to engage Charles to aſſiſt the Rochellers with a fleet, who were now threatened with a ſiege.

It was not till the month of May that this fleet was fitted out: and now every thing was made ready for the expedition, it required no little art to draw up a declaration of war againſt France: which declaration was, however, at laſt, iſſued; and imported in ſubſtance, "That the houſe of Auſtria (conſpiring the ruin of all thoſe of the reformed religion throughout Chriſtendom, as he ſaid plainly appeared in the affairs of Germany) had ſuch an influence upon the council of France, as to prevail with them to obſtruct the ſending of the count of Mansfeldt's army, contrary to promiſe, with whom the French ſhould have joined forces, for the relief of the Palatinate and the German princes; which failure of performance in them proved the ruin of that army, the greateſt part whereof periſhed, and was, by conſequence, the loſs of the whole proteſtant party in Germany.

"His majeſty farther declared, that having, by his mediation, prevailed for a peace between the French king and his proteſtant ſubjects, and engaged his word that the proteſtants ſhould obſerve the articles of agreement; nevertheleſs, the king of France, contrary to the ſaid articles of agreement, blocked up their towns, garriſons, and forts, and had committed many ſpoils upon them, when they had done nothing in violation of the edict of peace. And that the king of France had committed an example of great injuſtice, in full peace to ſeize upon one hundred and twenty Engliſh ſhips, with all their merchandize and artillery: for which reaſons, the king was reſolved to ſend a powerful army and navy to require ſatisfaction."

The command of the fleet was then given to the duke of Buckingham, by whoſe inſtigation the rupture with France had been reſolved upon: however, in his commiſſion, no mention was made of France, but that the expedition was intended for the relief and reſtoration of the king of Bohemia and his family; and that the fleet was to be employed as well by way of offence as defence, as ſhould be moſt conducive to the ſervice of the ſaid prince; which plainly ſhews its true deſtination was to be a ſecret.

This fleet, conſiſting of above an hundred ſhips, having on board ſeven thouſand ſoldiers, ſailed from Portſmouth the ſeventh of June, 1627, and on the twentieth of July appeared before Rochelle. At the duke's approach, the Rochellers ſhut their gates, for fear of a ſurprize, as having no notice an Engliſh fleet was to come ſo near them. Preſently after arrived the duke de Soubiſe, with Sir William Becher, who told them, from the duke of Buckingham, that the king of England, out of compaſſion to their ſufferings, had ſent a fleet and army to their aſſiſtance; and if they refuſed his aid, he declared he was fully quit of his engagements of honour and conſcience for their relief. The mayor replied, in the name of the inhabitants, that they moſt humbly thanked his majeſty for his care of them, but being in ſtrict union with all the reſt of the proteſtants in that kingdom, they could not receive into the city the offered ſuccours, without conſulting their friends, and without the previous conſent of the whole body of the Huguenots. The duke of Buckingham, finding by this anſwer it would be difficult to get his troops into Rochelle, directed his courſe to the iſland of Rhé, where Foiras commanded; who, at firſt, endeavoured to hinder the landing of the Engliſh troops; but, his forces being few, he was obliged to retreat to his citadel of St. Martin's, which was in a good ſtate of defence. Had the duke underſtood the art of war, he would, without loſing a moment, have marched to the fort, and by that means prevented Foiras from getting his proviſions; but he ſpent ſo much time in landing his men, and in preparing to march, that Foiras had leiſure to get a large quantity of proviſions and ammunition into the place. At laſt the duke marched to St. Martin's, and beſieged it in form, but with very little ſucceſs; for Foiras, being a man of more experience than his antagoniſt, found means to keep him employed in the ſiege till November; he then ſent the king word he ſhould be maſter of it in eight days. Mean while, the French king, who had not expected this invaſion, ordered his troops to march with all expedition towards the ſea, and came in perſon to haſten the relief of the iſland of Rhé. When every thing was ready, count Schomberg paſſed into the iſle at the head of ſix or ſeven thouſand men, without any oppoſition from the Engliſh fleet, and immediately marched to St. Martin's; the ſiege whereof the duke of Buckingham raiſed with precipitation, being vigorouſly puſhed by the French to the ſea-ſide; and it was with great difficulty that he re-embarked the remainder of his troops. Thus ended the expedition to the Iſle of Rhé, in which it is ſaid near five thouſand men periſhed, and amongſt the reſt major-general Burroughs, the beſt officer in England.

The ſhameful miſcarriage of this expedition contributed ſtill farther to inflame the ill humour of the people. Their liberties they believed were deſtroyed, illegal taxes impoſed, their commerce, which had ſuffered extremely by the Spaniards, was in a manner ruined by the French war; all theſe misfortunes were imputed to the obſtinacy of Charles, in following the counſels of Buckingham; a man, who neither by his birth, age, ſervices, or merit, appeared to have any title to that unbounded authority which he now poſſeſſed.

It will readily be imagined, that neither the king or the duke were deſirous of convoking a parliament, while the tide of popular diſcontent ran ſo rapidly againſt them; but, totally unable to procure the means of executing the other military operations they had in view without a conſiderable aid of money, neceſſity compelled them to have recourſe to that diſagreeable expedient; and it was at length reſolved that Buckingham ſhould be the firſt perſon to propoſe in council the aſſembling a new parliament; as it was hoped that by this popular act he might be excuſed and pardoned former offences, and regain ſome part of his loſt credit with the nation. His advice was followed; and the duke having acted his part, the parliament was ſummoned, by the unanimous reſolution of the council, to meet on the ſeventeenth of March following. Immediately after, warrants were ſent to all parts, to releaſe the gentlemen who had been impriſoned for the affair of the loan-money; and the king had the mortification to ſee almoſt all of them, to the amount of twenty-ſeven, choſen to ſerve as repreſentatives in the enſuing parliament. Writs of ſummons were alſo ſent to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had been confined to his country-houſe for refuſing to licenſe Sibthorpe's ſermons, and to Williams, biſhop of Lincoln, late lord-keeper, who was priſoner in the Tower for having oppoſed the court meaſures; and every thing was done that could be deviſed, to bring the great aſſembly of the nation together in good humour.

The two houſes being met on the ſeventeenth of March, 1628, were addreſſed by Charles in a ſpeech, in which he pathetically ſets forth the neceſſities of the times, and requires the aſſiſtance of his parliament; but, with the ſame breath, he moſt impoliticly uſes the following expreſſions: "Every man muſt now do according to his conſcience; wherefore if you (which God forbid) ſhould not do your duties, in contributing what the ſtate at this time needs, I muſt, in diſcharge of my conſcience, uſe thoſe other means God hath put into my hands, to ſave that which the follies

of particular men may otherwiſe hazard to loſe. Take not this as a threatening, for I ſcorn to threaten any but my equals, but as an admonition from him, who by nature and duty has moſt care of your preſervation and proſperity."

When Charles had ended his ſpeech, the lord-keeper began a long harangue upon the ſtate of affairs in Europe, ſetting forth the dangerous power of the houſe of Auſtria, and the motives (which the reader has already ſeen in the declaration of war) of England's interpoſing between the French king and his proteſtant ſubjects. Having expatiated on thoſe matters, he concludes his ſpeech thus; "his majeſty, as he has told you, hath choſe this way of parliamentary ſupplies, not as the only way, but as the fitteſt; not becauſe he is deſtitute of others, but becauſe it is moſt agreeable to the goodneſs of his own gracious diſpoſition, and to the deſire and will of his people: if this be deferred, neceſſity, and the ſword of the enemy, may make way to the other. Remember his majeſty's admonition; I ſay, remember it."

Theſe two ſpeeches need no comment, ſince they plainly ſpeak both the king's principles concerning the uſe of parliaments, and his intention in caſe he received not from the preſent parliament the ſatisfaction he expected; but, notwithſtanding the provocation this great aſſembly received from this manner of treating it, the commons reſolved to proceed with the utmoſt calmneſs and moderation, in redreſſing the grievances of the public, in reſtraining the exerciſe of arbitrary power, in fixing the limits of the royal prerogative, and in aſſerting the rights and privileges of the people.

But before they entered into debate, the two houſes petitioned the king for a faſt, which being over, the commons proceeded to buſineſs; when it ſoon appeared with what ſpirit they were met; for in ſettling the proper committees for the diſpatch of buſineſs, great complaints were made concerning the influence of the deputy-lieutenants and ſome juſtices of the peace, particularly in Cornwall, in violating the freedom of elections by quartering ſoldiers, and other oppreſſions, upon electors who oppoſed the court: they then ordered all their members to lay before the houſe the names of the popiſh recuſants within their ſeveral provinces of repreſentation; and reſolved to proceed upon the king's ſupply, but ſo as it ſhould go hand in hand with the redreſs of grievances. The chief ſpeakers upon this important debate were ſir Francis Seymour, ſir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards the famous earl of Strafford), ſir Benjamin Rudyard, ſir Edward Coke, Mr. Cromwell, ſir Humphrey May, and Mr. ſecretary Cook; which two laſt were for poſtponing the redreſs of grievances, and immediately granting the ſupply. It would ſwell this work too much was I to inſert all that was ſaid on this great occaſion; it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that the ſpeeches made by the gentlemen of the oppoſition are perhaps the fineſt extant in any language, and may be found in a collection intitled, "The Sovereign's Preſervative and the Subjects Privilege," printed in 1657, to which Mr. Ruſhworth has been greatly obliged, and has copied from it great part of his Collection: it is from them that the Engliſh reader can collect the trueſt notion of the Engliſh conſtitution, and the nobleſt ſentiments of liberty, both perſonal and political.

In the courſe of theſe debates, it was found that when ſir John Hevingham, and ſome other gentlemen, impriſoned on the ſubject of the loan, brought their Habeas corpus, they were, notwithſtanding, remanded back to priſon, upon this principle, laid down by the attorney-general, that perſons committed by the king and council, were never bailed till his majeſty's pleaſure was firſt known. This produced many long and warm debates upon the liberty of the ſubject; and on the third of April, the following reſolution appears entered upon the Journals:

"Firſt, Reſolved upon queſtion, that no freeman ought to be committed or detained in priſon, or otherwiſe reſtrained, by the command of the king or the privy-council, or any other, unleſs ſome cauſe of the commitment, detainer, or reſtraint, be expreſſed, for which, by law, he ought to be committed, detained, or reſtrained: without one negative.

"Secondly, Reſolved upon queſtion, that the writ of Habeas corpus may not be denied, but ought to be granted to every man that is committed or detained in priſon, or otherwiſe reſtrained, though it be by the command of the king, the privy-council, or any other, he praying the ſame: without one negative.

"Thirdly, Reſolved upon queſtion, that if a freeman be committed or detained in priſon, or otherwiſe reſtrained, by the command of the king, the privy-council, or any other, no cauſe of commitment, detainder, or reſtraint, being expreſſed, for which, by law, he ought to be committed, detained, or reſtrained, and the ſame being returned upon a Habeas corpus granted for the ſame party, that the man ought to be delivered or bailed: without one negative.

Fourthly, Reſolved upon queſtion, that the ancient and undoubted right of every freeman is, that he hath a full and abſolute property in his goods and eſtate, and that no tax, tallage, loan, benevolence, or other like charge, ought to be commanded or levied by the king, or any of his miniſters, without common aſſent by act of parliament: agreed, nemine contradicente."

While theſe diſpoſitions were making by the commons to defend their civil and perſonal liberties, they were equally zealous concerning religion, and both houſes preſented a petition to his majeſty on the thirty-firſt of May, againſt recuſants; who was pleaſed to return for anſwer, "That he recommended to them to think of a law againſt popery; and aſſures his parliament, that the lenity hitherto ſhewn to the Engliſh papiſts, was only with a view to procure ſuitable advantages to Engliſh proteſtants in popiſh countries, in which expectation he had been deceived; and promiſes, that unleſs he ſaw better fruits for the future, he would execute the laws againſt the papiſts to a greater degree of ſeverity than was craved in that petition." This anſwer ſo pleaſed the commons, that they forthwith proceeded to the buſineſs of the ſupply; and in order to convince his majeſty that they were ſufficiently diſpoſed to relieve his neceſſities, provided he would gratify them in their juſt demands, they voted him no leſs than five entire ſubſidies; whereof when ſecretary Cook informed the king, Charles aſked him by how many voices it had been carried, "By one," replied the ſecretary; at which perceiving the king

change countenance, "Sir, added he, your majeſty hath herein the greater cauſe to rejoice, for the houſe was ſo unanimous as to make but one voice;" at which the king was exceedingly pleaſed; and charged the ſecretary to tell the houſe, in his name, "that he would deny them nothing of their liberties which any of his predeceſſors had granted."

The ſupply, however, thus voted, was not yet paſſed into a law; and the commons determined to employ the interval in providing ſome barrier to their rights and liberties: forced loans, benevolences, taxes without conſent of parliament, arbitrary impriſonments, billeting ſoldiers, and martial law, which were the chief grievances the nation complained of, and againſt which a permanent remedy was to be provided by ſome act that was to receive the ſanction of the whole legiſlature. On the fourth of April therefore, the commons reſolved to deſire a conference with the lords, concerning certain ancient and fundamental liberties of England; and four members, each of whom was to chuſe two aſſiſtants, were appointed to manage the conference. The managers were ſir Dudly Diggs, who choſe for his aſſiſtants ſir Benjamin Rudyard and Mr. Pym; Sir Edward Coke, who made choice of Mr. Rolles and Mr. Hackwill to aſſiſt him; Mr. Selden, whoſe aſſiſtants were Mr. Herbert and Mr. Whitby; and Mr. Littleton, who had with him Sir Robert Philips and Mr. Charles Jones. Thus the management of this conference, which may be ſaid to be deciſive of the laws and liberties of England, was committed to men of as much ſpirit and learning as ever the nation produced.

The king was no ſooner informed of the intention of the commons than he employed every expedient in order to divert them from their purpoſe; and all the time the conference was depending, endeavoured to amuſe them by repeated meſſages, begging them to leave off talking of grievances, and to proceed upon the ſupplies; promiſing, upon his royal word, that they ſhould then receive all due ſatisfaction. It would tire the reader, ſhould I repeat the particulars of all thoſe meſſages which the commons received, with a ſeeming deference to the king's perſon, but with a manifeſt contempt of his menaces, and an invincible diſtruſt of his promiſes. The peers, who, though during the whole of theſe violent ſtruggles they aſſumed in the main a laudable impartiality, were yet, as is natural, ſomewhat prejudiced in favour of monarchy, began to apprehend that the commons would go too far in their projected reform, and therefore recommended to them to conſider of his majeſty's aſſurances, and depend upon them: this occaſioned ſeveral debates, and many arguments were urged on both ſides of the queſtion; but ſir Thomas Wentworth reconciled all parties, by ſaying, "That never houſe of commons, ſo far as concerned themſelves, had greater confidence than the preſent in the goodneſs of their ſovereign: but we are all ambitious, ſaid he, that his majeſty's goodneſs ſhould deſcend to poſterity, and we are accountable for a public truſt. There hath been a public violation of the laws, by the king's miniſters; and nothing can ſatisfy the nation, but a public reparation. Our deſire to ſecure the ſubjects right by bill, will carry us no farther than what is contained in former laws, with ſome modeſt proviſion for inſtruction, performance, and execution." Theſe ſentiments were ſo agreeable to the whole houſe, that the ſecretary was deſired to conſider them as an anſwer to his meſſage. And now the commons went upon two petitions for the king, one againſt billeting of ſoldiers, and the other, the famous Petition of Rights, which was the reſult of all the conferences they had held with the lords upon the point of perſonal liberty. As the ſubſidy-bill was not yet paſſed, Charles was greatly perplexed how to behave; but he was at laſt obliged to receive the petition concerning billeting of ſoldiers, which was drawn up in very ſtrong and affecting terms, complaining of the miſeries which the kingdom ſuffered by the ſubjects being obliged to lodge and maintain ſuch numbers of diſſolute fellows. Charles could not help expreſſing his diſcontent in pretty ſtrong terms, upon their preſenting this petition; and, inſtead of anſwering it, he exhorted them to proceed, without loſs of time, upon the ſupplies. Their obſtinacy increaſed in proportion to his impatience: they determined not to gratify the king till he had done them juſtice; and the Petition of Right being by this time finiſhed, they ſent it up to the lords for their peruſal and concurrence. The upper-houſe, for reaſons I have already given, deſirous to abate the over-zeal of the commons, propoſed the plan of a remonſtrance more moderate, which they recommended to their conſideration; but the lower-houſe was by no means ſatisfied with this plan, which they aſſerted would leave their liberties in a ſtill more precarious ſituation than at preſent, and therefore abſolutely rejected it; but not without giving the lords ample and ſatisfactory reaſons for ſo doing: and all obſtacles being finally removed, the Petition of Right paſſed the commons, and was ſent up to the lords for their approbation, who immediately paſſed the ſame, without any material alteration. This petition, which may be called the ſecond Great Charter of England, is of ſo great importance, and forms ſo eſſential a part of the Engliſh conſtitution, that we ſhould deem ourſelves inexcuſable ſhould we deny our readers the ſatisfaction of peruſing it at full length, which they may do in the ſubjoined note *.

The

* This petition, as agreed to by both houſes, ſtood as follows.

"I. Humbly ſhew unto our ſovereign lord the king, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament aſſembled, that whereas it is declared and enacted, by a ſtatute made in the reign of king Edward I. commonly called "Statutum de Tallagio non concedendo," that no tallage or aid ſhall be laid or levied by the king, or his heirs in this realm, without the good-will and aſſent of the archbiſhops, biſhops, earls, barons, knights, burgeſſes, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm: and, by authority of parliament held in the twenty-fifth year of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, that, from henceforth, no perſon ſhould be compelled to make any loans to the king againſt his will, becauſe ſuch loans were againſt reaſon, and the franchiſe of the land: and, by other laws of this realm, it is provided, that none ſhall be charged with any charge or impoſition called a benevolence, or by ſuch like charge: by which the ſtatutes beforementioned, and other the good laws and ſtatutes of this realm, your ſubjects have inherited this freedom, that they ſhould not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge, not ſet by common conſent in parliament.

II. Yet, nevertheleſs, of late, divers commiſſions directed to ſundry commiſſioners in ſeveral counties, with inſtructions, have

The petition was delivered on the twenty-eighth of May, and on the second of June the king gave the following answer: "The king willeth, that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the performance whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged, as of his prerogative." This answer proved very unsatisfactory to the parliament, for, on the seventh of June, after great debates in both houses, the lords desired a conference with the commons, and it was agreed that they should join together in a petition to his majesty, "for a clear and satisfactory answer to the Petition of Right, in full parliament." While these debates subsisted, another message came to the commons, acquainting them, that his majesty designed in a few days to put an end to the session, and pressing them not to enter on any new matter. This was occasioned by the commons vigourously prosecuting Dr. Manwaring, a favourite of the king's, whom they obliged to make an abject submission, and recant the detestable doctrines of absolute power and non-resistance, which he had preached up*: but more particularly by a motion made in the house by sir Edward Coke, for impeaching the duke of Buckingham as the author of many of those grievances under which the nation laboured. The commons, enraged at this message from the king, which they looked upon as prescribing to them their method of proceeding, immediately fell in with sir Edward's motion, and the matter was carried on so warmly, that a remonstrance was almost finished against the duke, when Charles, apprized of the storm that threatened his favourite, resolved, if possible, to divert it by gratifying their wishes with regard to the Petition of Right. Accordingly, on the seventh of June, he came to the house of peers, and

have issued; by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled and required to lend certain sums of money unto your majesty; and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them, not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give attendance before your privy-council, and in other places; and others of them have been, therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted: and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people, in several counties, by lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace, and others, by command or direction from your majesty, or your privy-council, against the laws and free customs of this realm.

III. And whereas also, by the statute called "The Great Charter of the Liberties of England," it is declared and enacted, that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseized of his freehold or liberties, or his free customs, or be out-lawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

IV. And in the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it was declared and enacted, by authority of parliament, that no man, of what estate or condition soever that he be, should be put out of his land or tenement, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death, without being brought to answer by due process of law.

V. Nevertheless, against the tenour of the said statutes, and others the good laws and statutes of your realm, to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause shewed: and when for their deliverance, they were brought before a justice, by your majesty's writs of Habeas Corpus, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your majesty's special command, signified by the lords of your privy-council, and yet, were returned back to their several prisons, without being charged with any thing to which they might make answer according to law.

VI. And whereas of late, great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants, against their wills, have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

VII. And whereas also, by authority of parliament, in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of king Edward III. it is declared and enacted, that no man should be fore-judged of life or limb, against the form of the Great Charter and the law of the land; and by the said Great Charter, and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be judged to death, but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of this realm or by acts of parliament; and whereas no offender, of what kind soever, is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm: nevertheless, of late, divers commissions, under your majesty's great-seal, have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners, with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the justice of martial law, against such soldiers and mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or outrage or misdemeanor whatsoever, and by such summary course and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is used in armies in the time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death, according to law martial.

VIII. By pretext whereof, some of your majesty's subjects have been, by some of the said commissioners, put to death: when and where, if, by the laws and statutes of the land, they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought, to have been judged and executed.

IX. And also sundry grievous offenders, by colour thereof claiming exemption, have escaped the punishment due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused or forborn to proceed against such offenders, according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretence that the said officers were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid: which commissions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm.

X. They, therefore, humbly pray your most excellent majesty, that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of parliament: and that none be called to make an answer, or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof: and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained: and that your majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burthened in time to come: and that the aforesaid commissions, for proceeding by martial law, be revoked and annulled: and that, hereafter, no commissions, of like nature, may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever, to be executed as aforesaid; lest, by colour of them, any of your majesty's subjects be destroyed, or put to death, contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

XI. All which they must humbly pray of your most excellent majesty, as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of this realm: and that your majesty would also vouchsafe to declare, that the awards, doings, and proceedings, to the prejudice of your people in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example: and that your majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the further comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure, that, in the things aforesaid, all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honour of your majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom. Stat. 4 Car. I. cap. xiv.

* Manwaring had preached a sermon, which appeared, upon enquiry, to have been printed by the special command of his majesty; and, when examined, it was found to contain doctrines destructive of all civil liberty. It was there affirmed, "that though property was commonly lodged in the hands of the subject; yet, upon any urgent necessity, all property was transferred to the king; that the sovereign might impose taxes without consent of parliament; and that the divine law enjoined compliance with every demand, however unjust, which the prince should think proper to make upon the people."

pronouncing the uſual form of words, "Soit droit fait comme il eſt deſiré--Let it be law, as deſired," gave full ſanction and authority to the petition.

This conceſſion was received with loud acclamations and public rejoicings; and the commons could no longer delay the bill of ſubſidies, which was immediately paſſed; but their ill humour did not abate: though they had granted the king this aid, yet they ſtill retained a pledge in their hands, which, they imagined, would enſure the ſucceſs of all their applications. Tonnage and poundage had not yet been granted by parliament; and the commons had artfully concealed their intention of attacking that branch of revenue, till the royal aſſent had been given to the Petition of Right, which they juſtly conſidered as of the utmoſt importance. They then boldly affirmed, that the levying tonnage and poundage without conſent of parliament, was an evident violation of all the ancient privileges of the people; and they propoſed to preſent a remonſtrance to that purpoſe. They next reſumed their cenſure of Buckingham's conduct, againſt whom they had conceived the moſt implacable hatred, and drew up a remonſtrance of ſeveral late miſcarriages in the government, in the concluſion whereof they aſſerted, "the excluſſive power of the ſaid duke, and the abuſe of that power, to be the principal cauſe of all the evils and dangers therein maintained; and therefore they humbly ſubmitted it to his majeſty's wiſdom, whether it can be ſafe for himſelf, or for his kingdom, that ſo great power, both by ſea and land, as reſts in him ſhould be truſted in the hands of any one ſubject whatſoever."

On the ſeventeenth of June this addreſs was preſented to the king, with the bill of ſubſidies, at the Banqueting-houſe, at Whitehall, who received it with the moſt ſenſible chagrin, and afterwards gave the lower-houſe to underſtand, that he would ſhortly put an end to the ſeſſion. The commons hereupon ſet about putting the finiſhing hand to the remonſtrance againſt tonnage and poundage. Great was the indignation of Charles, when he heard of this remonſtrance; and well knowing, by experience, what effects it would have, if completed by the commons and rejected by him, he reſolved to cut the ſeſſion ſhort before it could be perfected: he therefore, on the twenty-ſecond of June, while the remonſtrance was reading in the lower houſe, ſuddenly came to the houſe of peers, and ſending for the commons, prorogued the ſeſſion to the twentieth of October. On this occaſion he addreſſed himſelf to both houſes in the following ſpeech.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"It may ſeem ſtrange that I come ſo ſuddenly to end this ſeſſion, therefore, before I give my aſſent to the bills, I will tell you the cauſe (though I muſt avow I owe an account of my actions to none but God alone.) It is known to every one, that awhile ago the houſe of commons gave me a remonſtance; how acceptable every man may judge, and for the merit of it I will not call that in queſtion, for I am ſure no wiſe man can juſtify it. Now, ſince I am certainly informed that a ſecond remonſtrance is preparing for me, to take away my profit of tonnage and poundage (one of the chief maintenances of the crown), by alleging that I have given away my right thereof by my anſwer to your petition.

"This is ſo prejudicial to me, as I am forced to end this ſeſſion ſome few hours before I meant it, being willing not to receive any more remonſtrances to which I muſt give an harſh anſwer.

"And ſince I ſee that even the houſe of commons begins already to make falſe conſtructions of what I granted in your petition; leſt it be worſe interpreted in the country, I now make a declaration concerning the true intent thereof.

"The profeſſions of both houſes in the time of hammering this petition, was no ways to trench upon my prerogative, ſaying, they had neither intention nor power to hurt it.

"Therefore it muſt needs be conceived, that I have granted no new, but only confirmed the ancient liberties of my ſubjects; yet, to ſhew the clearneſs of my intentions, that I neither repent nor mean to recede from any thing I have promiſed you, I do here declare, that thoſe things which have been done, whereby men had cauſe to ſuſpect the liberty of the ſubject to be trenched upon (which indeed was the true and firſt ground of their petition), ſhall not hereafter be drawn into example for prejudice, and in time to come (on the word of a king) you ſhall not have the like cauſe to complain.

"But as for tonnage and poundage, it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to aſk, never meant (I am ſure) by me to grant. To conclude: I command you all that are here, to take notice of what I have ſpoken at this time, to be the true meaning of what I granted you in your petition; but eſpecially you, my lords the judges, for to you only, under me, belongs the interpretation of the laws; for none of the houſes of parliament, either joint or ſeparate (what new doctrine ſoever may be raiſed), have any power either to make or declare a law without my conſent."

The reader of himſelf will be apt enough to make reflections upon the infatuation which poſſeſſed both the king and commons in the latter part of this ſeſſion. If, on one hand, Charles has been taxed with a deſign to render himſelf abſolute, it muſt likewiſe be owned that the leaders in the parliament ſeemed bent upon infringing and reducing his undoubted prerogative. His confirmation of their rights and privileges was ſo well received in all parts of the kingdom, that the violent party began to fear the king would become popular; they therefore reſolved, in drawing up the remonſtrance, to inſert in it every ſhadow or ſuſpicion of a grievance, which might help to inſpire the ſubject with an hatred and contempt of the ſovereign. In ſhort, I can by no means think the commons are to be juſtified in preſſing their remonſtrances before they ſaw ſome freſh invaſion of their national liberty, or ſome freſh abuſes of regal power, on which they could ground their proceedings. Poſſibly Charles, upon ſuch forbearance of the commons, might have followed his too great propenſity to arbritary rule, and have given them cauſe of complaint; but I am inclined to believe, that had they forborne theſe remonſtrances, they would then have left all the blame with Charles, nor would the public have been ſo much divided in their ſentiments, as they afterwards were, to the deluging their country

BRITISH
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MUSEUM

The Duke of Buckingham Stab'd by Felton.

S. Wale delin. C. Grignion sculp.

To the most Noble Chas. Watson Wentworth,
Marquis of Rockingham,
This Plate is most humbly Inscribed.

country with the blood of her own ſons and the utter overthrow of the conſtitution.

Rochelle had been for ſome time beſieged by the French; and it appeared, by cardinal Richelieu's taking the conduct of it upon himſelf, that he intended to exterminate the Huguenots, whoſe whole dependance lay now upon Charles. In May, this year, the preſence of Buckingham being neceſſary in parliament, at the preſſing inſtances of the duke of Soubiſe, and deputies ſent from Rochelle, the earl of Denbigh was diſpatched, with a fleet, to the relief of this place; but neglecting to attack the French fleet, had returned with diſhonour. In order to wipe out this ſtain, the duke of Buckingham reſolved to take the command upon himſelf, and repaired to Portſmouth, where the fleet and forces were rendezvouſed: but before he could ſet out on his expedition, he met with that fate from the hand of an aſſaſſin, which, had he ſurvived much longer, he would probably have ſuffered from the general reſentment of the nation. This aſſaſſin was John Felton, a gentleman by birth, who had been a lieutenant of infantry, and diſappointed in his expectation of a captain's commiſſion, which Buckingham had beſtowed upon another. This man was a fanatic in religion, and in this caſe his revenge ſeems to have co-oporated with his enthuſiaſm. The duke was walking with ſir Thomas Fryer, through an entry, from one apartment to another, when Felton, coming behind him, ſtabbed him with a knife, which he left ſticking in the wound; Buckingham exclaimed, "The villain hath killed me!" and, pulling out the knife, dropped down and died on the floor. The aſſaſſin might have eſcaped, but ſeemed to glory in his crime, and ſurrendered himſelf immediately to juſtice.

Charles was at a gentleman's ſeat, within four miles of Portſmouth (whither he had come, by his preſence to haſten the preparations) when his favourite was killed, and he received the news of it while he was at church; but he was ſo intent in his devotions, that no diſcompoſure appeared in his action, nor alteration in his countenance, till the ſervice was over, when he threw himſelf on his bed, and poured forth a flood of tears, and the moſt paſſionate expreſſions, for the memory of his beloved Buckingham, whom he always cheriſhed, and ſhewed his regard for, by a noble train of munificent acts towards his widow and family. When the firſt tranſports of grief were a little ſubſided, he ſent Dr. Hutcheſon, one of his chaplains in ordinary, to try if he could learn from the aſſaſſin by what inducement he had committed the horrid fact. Felton ſtrenuouſly denied his having been dealt with by any one for that purpoſe, declaring his only motive to have been, that the duke had been declared an enemy to the common-wealth in the late remonſtrances tendered to the king by the parliament; and this he perſiſted in, both at the time of his examination before the lords of the council and at his execution: that which excited this wretch to ſo horrid a murder, ſeems likewiſe to have influenced the people in general, who rejoiced at the death of the duke as of the greateſt enemy of their country.

Thus in the flower of life, being but thirty-ſix years of age, fell George Villers, duke of Buckingham, whoſe riſe was ſudden, his promotions rapid, and his end untimely. Notwithſtanding the load of public cenſure heaped upon this great favourite and miniſter, there appears good reaſons to induce us to believe that he meant well to both his maſter and his country; and that his chief misfortunes proceeded from jealouſy in others, who thought the great and extenſive power he enjoyed dangerous to the rights of a free people. It is poſſible, if he had lived a few years longer, he might have ſeen through the temptations of greatneſs, and have proved as great a pillar of this ſtate as any that ever went before him. He was of a moſt noble and generous diſpoſition: he ſeldom ſtudied to conceal his reſentments, either of love or hatred; in the former he was immoderate, in the latter he was not ſanguinary; but once offended, he never could forget: his courage was great, but it ſometimes tranſported him too far, for if he had a little yielded to the times, and withdrawn from thoſe ſtorms he could neither prevent nor allay, he might perhaps have found a milder fate.

The fatal event of the duke's death, which happened on the twenty-third of Auguſt, proved little or no obſtacle to the proceedings of the fleet; the next day the command of the expedition was given to the earl of Lindſey; and they ſet ſail from Portſmouth on the eighth of September; but by this time cardinal Richelieu had finiſhed his famous Digue, or mote, which entirely blockaded Rochelle; and the Engliſh fleet being unable to force the barricadoe, or gain entrance into the harbour, were obliged to return without effecting any thing for the relief of the beſieged, who, unable to hold out any longer, threw their gates open to the cardinal's army.

The ill humour this diſgraceful expedition threw the nation into, made Charles think it improper to let the parliament meet according to their adjournment, in the month of October this year, and therefore he farther prorogued that aſſembly to the twentieth of January following; and in the mean time archbiſhop Abbot was admitted to kiſs the king's hand, and commanded not to fail of his attendance at the council-table; which was done at this conjuncture to moderate the heats of certain eccleſiaſtics who made great diſturbance in the church by their ſcholaſtical controverſies concerning free-will, predeſtination, and the like. Both parties were countenanced by ſeveral biſhops, and each of them would inſiſt on their opinion being the true doctrine of the church, when in truth they were but the opinions of private men; for nothing can be called the doctrine of the church, that is not declared by the whole clergy lawfully aſſembled in convocation. Theſe ſectariſts were diſtinguiſhed by the names of Calviniſts and Arminians: the Calviniſts (which were the ſame with the Puritans) were countenanced by the commons in parliament and ſome few of the biſhops; while the Arminians had the greater part of the epiſcopal order, and even the king himſelf, on their ſide, as they were zealous aſſertors of the prerogative royal and the court-doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance. Charles, however, would gladly have put an end to theſe feuds, and reconciled both parties: with this view he cauſed the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England to be publiſhed, with a proclamation reſtraining all diſputes on the points controverted: he alſo iſſued an order for calling in a book written by one Montagu, in the late king's time, called an Appeal to Cæſar, for

which he had been made a biſhop. At the ſame time Dr. Potter, a known Calviniſt, was promoted to the ſee of Carliſle.

Not all thoſe acts of conceſſion on the part of the court could, however, molify the acrimony of the oppoſition; for the parliament aſſembling on the twentieth of January, 1629, the grand committees, which are uſually the firſt things ſettled at the opening of that aſſembly, were very buſy and active in traverſing whatever views they thought the council might have adopted: that of religion made great complaints of invaſions upon the church, which they pretended was much endangered by the growth of popery and Arminianiſm. They ſolicited the king to proclaim a faſt, and preſented an addreſs, containing a ſort of apology for their preferring the affairs of religion to any other article of buſineſs in their deliberations. Buckingham, the great object of their hatred, being now removed, their reſentment glowed with a double rancour againſt Laud, biſhop of London, who, as the king's ſpiritual director, encouraged all his high notions of hierarchy and prerogative. He was branded as a ſuperſtitious eccleſiaſtic, chief of the Arminian ſect, by whoſe intereſt Montagu, Cozens, Sibthorp, and Manwaring, had been pardoned, and even promoted to biſhoprics, or rich benefices; and they exclaimed againſt him as an implacable foe, not only to the puritans, but alſo to the liberty of his country.

While the committee was thus employed in examining religious grievances, the reſt of the houſe were no leſs active in their inquiſitions into the miſcarriages in civil affairs. Though the remonſtrance againſt tonnage and poundage had not been preſented to the king, it was, however, public, and ſufficient to ſhew the people what was the ſenſe of the houſe of commons. Upon this foundation, three merchants, among others, refuſed to pay this duty to the king; one of them, by name Rolles, a merchant of London and a member of the houſe of commons, had refuſed it, as contrary to law; whereupon his warehouſe had been ſealed up by the officers of the cuſtoms; and Chambers and Vaſſal, the other two merchants, were condemned by the barons of the Exchequer, who ordered their goods to be detained. The affair of Rolles was, by the commons, adjudged a breach of the privilege of their houſe, for which the cuſtom-houſe officers were ſummoned before the houſe, to anſwer their miſdemeanor therein. The king, willing to ſupport his authority, interpoſed in this matter, and ſent a meſſage to the houſe, informing them, that what had been done by the officers, was only in obedience to the orders they had received: "that as to himſelf, he did not mean to levy theſe duties as belonging to him by hereditary right, but out of a full perſuaſion that the houſe of commons, ſuitable to their large profeſſions, would grant them by bill, which he deſired they would diſpatch, to put an end to the diſpute."

The commons, however, were far from being ſatisfied with this acknowlegement of the king; they ſtill inſiſted, as an indiſpenſible condition, that he ſhould entirely forbear the levying of thoſe duties; after which they would take into conſideration upon what terms they would reſtore to him a revenue, which he had once fairly reſigned. On this occaſion debates in the houſe ran very high, and they reſolved to proceed to a remonſtrance againſt the ſubſidies of tonnage and poundage, "not being granted by act of parliament." Charles finding the commons thus refractory, immediately adjourned them to the twenty fifth of February, and afterwards to the ſecond of March. When they met again, the ſame affair was brought upon the carpet; and ſo eager were they to vent their paſſion, that they locked the door of the houſe, and gave the key to ſir Miles Hobart, one of their members, to keep, and refuſed to admit the uſher of the black rod, whom the king had ſent with a meſſage to them; whereat he was ſo much offended, that he ſent for the captain of the band of penſioners, and the guards, to force an entrance. In the mean time the heads of a remonſtrance were offered to ſir John Finch, the ſpeaker, to be put to the queſtion, which he refuſed, declaring that the king had given him an order to adjourn the houſe to the tenth of March, and to put no queſtion, nor admit of any debate; upon which he roſe and left the chair. The whole houſe was now in an uproar; the ſpeaker was forced back into the chair, and held in it by Mr. Denzil Holles, and ſir Peter Hayman, till the following proteſtation was drawn up and read.

"Proteſtation of the Houſe of Commons.

"I. Whoſoever ſhall bring in an innovation of religion, or by favour ſeek to introduce popery, or Arminianiſm, or other opinions diſagreeing from the true and orthodox church, ſhall be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth.

"II. Whoſoever ſhall counſel or adviſe the taking or levying, of the ſubſidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or ſhall be an actor or inſtrument therein, ſhall likewiſe be reputed a common enemy to the commonwealth.

"III. If any man ſhall voluntarily yield to pay the ſaid ſubſidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, ſhall be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy to this commonwealth."

This being paſſed in a tumultuous manner, they roſe before the penſioners and guards came, and the houſe was adjourned to the tenth of March. In the intermediate time a proclamation was drawn, but not publiſhed, for the diſſolution of the parliament, and on the third of March, Denzil Holles, eſq. ſir Miles Hobart, ſir John Elliot, ſir Peter Hayman, John Seldon, eſq. William Coriton, Walter Long, William Stroude, and Benjamin Valentine, were ordered next day to appear before the council. Theſe gentlemen had diſtinguiſhed their zeal through the whole ſeſſion, but more particularly on the laſt day: and Mr. Holles, ſir John Elliot, Mr. Coriton, and Mr. Valentine, attended the council, but refuſing to anſwer out of parliament, which was ſtill ſitting, they were committed cloſe priſoners to the Tower. Warrants were then iſſued for apprehending the reſt, and for ſealing up their ſtudies.

On the tenth of March the king came in his robes to the houſe of lords, who attended in theirs; and made a ſpeech, in which he twice called the gentlemen in the oppoſition "vipers," and commended his own party, and the houſe of in particular for their dutiful demeanor; and then diſſolved the parliament.

These are all the proceedings of this famous parliament, that are worthy either of praise or imitation. Their heats concerning religion, their protestations relating to it, and their bitterness against all who were suspected of what they termed Arminianism, were as unjustifiable and undutiful, as the noble stand they made for the personal liberties and properties of the subject, was memorable and glorious. However, Charles, that he might not seem to exert a despotic power of punishing those who headed the opposition against his measures, and to persuade the people that he intended to conform himself to the law as much as possible, appointed the judges to assemble, on the twenty-first of April, at Serjeant's Inn, where he caused certain questions to be proposed to them; and, according to their answers, ordered the attorney-general to raise a process against the imprisoned members, for their violent, unlawful, and seditious behaviour in the house of commons. Alderman Chambers was prosecuted in the Star-chamber, for having said "that the merchants were more oppressed in England than in Turky," and was condemned to an exorbitant fine, the payment of which reduced him to extreme poverty. Long was sentenced to pay two thousand pounds for having violated his oath in sitting as a member of the lower-house, after he had been sworn sheriff of Wiltshire. The imprisoned members demanded the privilege of the Habeas corpus; they were detained in confinement from March to October; and then the court of King's Bench decreed, that they should remain in prison during the king's pleasure: Ellot was moreover cast in a fine of two thousand pounds; Valentine in one of five hundred; and Holles obliged to pay one thousand marks.

Charles, deprived of all hopes of supply from parliament, was now obliged to conclude a peace with the two crowns against whom he had hitherto carried on a war, begun without necessity, and conducted without glory. The crown of France, though victorious over its protestant subjects, was weakened by civil dissentions among the princes of the blood: it was threatened by the greatness of the house of Austria, and upon the point of being engaged in a war with Italy; in short, Lewis wanted a peace as much or more than Charles did; and it was privately agreed, that the Venetians should interpose their good offices for a peace between the two crowns. Georgi and Castarini, the two ministers employed by the republic for that purpose, had therefore very little more to settle than mere matters of form in their negotiation. At last, on the fourteenth of April, the articles were agreed on; but contain nothing in them remarkable enough to claim a place here. In Charles's present circumstances, he could not pretend to insist on any terms for the Huguenots; and they were accordingly left to the mercy of their sovereign.

Peace was soon after made with Spain. It is said that Reubens, the famous Flemish painter, who was then in England, painting a kind of apotheosis of James, for the roof of the noble banqueting-house of Whitehall, was ordered by the archduchess to sound the inclinations of Charles. This is by no means unlikely. The war, which about two years before had broke out in Italy on account of the successions to the duchies of Mantua and Montferrat, had been unfavourable to the Spaniards; and that court, suspecting they should be deserted by the emperor, and being assured of the dispositions of Charles for peace, gave a public character to don Carlos de Colomos, for putting an end to the negociations which Reubens had begun. It required very little dexterity to conclude this peace; the articles of which only confirmed the former treaties we have already seen, and was sworn to on the seventeenth of December, sir Francis Cottington being sent to Spain to take that sharp oath and ratification of the same.

In this peace nothing was stipulated in favour of the prince Palatine, except that Philip III. promised in general to employ his good offices for the restoration of the elector. Charles, however, did not desist from his endeavours to procure some relief to that unhappy family; he had a great affection for his sister, and had supported her husband and her in a court at the Hague, at a vast expence, and had expended large sums, as subsidies, in her service. Having settled his plan of governing without a parliament, he now imagined it would be in his power to give them effectual assistance. With this view, in the Spring of the year 1630 *, in conjunction with France, he brought about a peace between the kings of Sweden and Poland, in hopes of inducing the former to undertake the cause of the protestants in Germany.

This was the famous Gustavus Adolphus, whose heroic genius, assisted by the wisest policy, rendered him, in a little time, the most celebrated monarch of the age. To encourage and support him in his intended invasion of Germany, Charles engaged to furnish him with six thousand men; but, that he might save appearances with the house of Austria, he employed the name of the marquis of Hamilton, a nobleman allied to the crown. Hamilton entered into an agreement with Gustavus; and, having levied these troops in England and Scotland, at Charles's expence, he landed them in the Elbe.

Soon after was fought the important battle of Leipsic; where the Imperial army, under count Tilly, was totally defeated by the victorious Swede. Gustavus proceeded in his conquests with such an amazing and rapid progress, as is scarce to be paralleled either in ancient or modern history; and, in a short time, made himself master of the greatest part of Germany.

Charles was all this while studying the means of raising money, and establishing his own power by making examples of those who durst oppose it. Among other methods practised by Charles to raise money, was that of appointing commissioners to compound with those who, though summoned at his coronation to come and receive the honour of knighthood, had neglected to appear. In the reign of Edward II. an old custom was enacted into a law, importing, that every man possessed of twenty pounds a year in land, should be knighted: almost all the succeeding monarchs had put this law in execution. Charles, considering the

* On the twenty-ninth day of May this year, the queen was delivered of a prince, who was baptised by the name of Charles; and was afterwards king Charles II.

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difference of value in money between that reign and the preſent time, ſummoned thoſe only whoſe yearly rent amounted to forty pounds; yet, even this mitigation was deemed a hardſhip, becauſe the value of twenty pounds in the days of Edward, was equal to four times that ſum in the reign of Charles: a great number had therefore refuſed to obey the mandate, and theſe were now fined for their diſobedience. A conſiderable ſum was likewiſe exacted, by way of compoſition, from thoſe who declined the order.

If theſe proceedings cauſed great diſcontents and murmurings among the people, they were not a little encreaſed by Charles's giving orders for tonnage and poundage to be levied with great rigour. The cuſtom-houſe officers were empowered to enter houſes, and break open warehouſes, cheſts, and cloſets, to ſearch for goods which had not paid the duty: and, on this pretence of ſearching, they committed numberleſs acts of fraud and oppreſſion. In order to prevent the popular clamours from producing inſurrections, the council iſſued orders for arming and reviewing the militia, that the people might be intimidated by their appearance; while, on the other hand, they were amuſed with public orders for putting the laws in execution againſt papiſts. At the ſame time, the king endeavoured to fill his coffers by granting excluſive privileges for the ſale of commodities and proviſions; ſo that the whole kingdom was filled with monopolies, to the unſpeakable prejudice of trade and manufactures. Preſbyterianiſm having made great progreſs in England, the king, by the advice of biſhop Laud, ſent inſtructions to the prelates of the kingdom, enjoining them, among other things, to take eſpecial care that no puritan miniſter ſhould be admitted into the church; and to diſcover all ſuch as ſhould neglect the rites preſcribed by the canons. The preſbyterians conceived the moſt implacable hatred againſt Laud, for this, and other inſtances of his enmity; and he ſeverely felt their reſentment in the ſequel.

In the ſpring of the year 1631, Mervin Touchet, lord Audley in England, and earl of Caſtlehaven in Ireland, was tried before his peers, for rapes and practices upon the body of his wife, which he partly forced and partly invited others to commit; which out-did the moſt ſhocking ideas of luſt and infamous contrivance; and was found guilty. He was a nobleman deſcended from the illuſtrious lord Audley, the friend and companion in all his wars to Edward III. He had been ingenious enough to debauch the mind, as well as proſtitute the body, of his lady; for, after his execution, ſhe was pardoned for adultery, in terms not very advantageous to her virtue. On this occaſion, Charles ſhewed a ſeaſonable piece of juſtice, as he would grant no other favour to the criminal, than to change his puniſhment from hanging into beheading. But neither this exhibition of impartiality, nor the great zeal which Charles diſcovered in repairing and rebuilding the cathedral church of St. Paul (which had been lately burnt down), atoned, with men of ſenſe and property, for his other impolitical and unpopular meaſures. Laud was ſo much in favour with him, that he acted as if his head had been turned, by introducing into religious worſhip many popiſh fopperies: for the particulars of which the reader may conſult the common collections and hiſtories of the times.

In giving an account of the third parliament held in this reign, we have often mentioned ſir Thomas Wentworth, knight of the ſhire for the county of York: this gentleman ſeveral times, in the houſe of commons, gave proof of his zeal for the maintenance of the liberties of the people, and the privilege of parliament. By this means he became formidable to the court; though he took care not to run into any exceſs with regard to the king and his miniſter; on the contrary, he always ſoftened his opinion with ſome honourable and reſpectful expreſſions, though he ſeldom failed to oppoſe the pretenſions of the court. As he was one of the greateſt geniuſes then in England, the king ſoon perceived that his parts and capacity might be very ſerviceable to him, if he could gain him to his intereſt; he endeavoured it, therefore, after, or perhaps before, the diſſolution of the parliament, and ſucceeded ſo well, that Wentworth became one of the moſt zealous promoters of the royal authority. About the ſame time alſo were gained ſir John Saville, who was made a lord, and comptroller of the houſhold; ſir Dudley Diggs, who was promoted to the maſterſhip of the Rolls, and was alſo made attorney-general; and ſir Edward Littleton, who was made ſollicitor. Sir John Elliot, ſome time before his death, was tampered with, but he was proof againſt the temptation.

As ſir Thomas Wentworth, ſince his converſion, had ſhewed himſelf a zealous defender of the prerogatives of the crown, the king thought him the fitteſt perſon to be truſted with the preſidentſhip of the council in the North; a court of judicature eſtabliſhed at York in the reign of Henry VIII. for the relief of poor ſuitors in the counties of York, Cumberland, Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, and the biſhopric of Durham, who could not afford to bring their cauſes into the courts of Weſtminſter. This council had long acted chiefly as a criminal court; but, beſides ſome innovations introduced by James, Charles ventured, at this time, to enlarge its powers, and to inveſt it with a kind of civil juriſdiction, which, in ſome reſpects, was even unparliamentary. In conſequence of this illegal meaſure, all the northern counties were deprived of the protection of the common-law, and ſubjected to an authority which was wholly arbitrary.

It was now the year 1632, in which the great Guſtavus, continuing his victorious projects through Germany, at laſt brought the elector Palatine to Munich. This unfortunate prince now ſaw himſelf on the point of being reſtored to his palatinate, and even to the crown of Bohemia, by the hand of the conqueror; when, in the ſecond battle near Leipſic, fought in the plains of Lutzen, on November the ſixth, this year, Guſtavus was ſlain in the midſt of a victory he had already gained.

His death proved fatal to the palatine Frederic, who now deſpairing of any farther reſource, fell into a fever, occaſioned by his immoderate grief, which, in a few months, put a period to a life of continual croſſes and diſappointments. This year Wentworth was created viſcount Wentworth, and ſent over lord-lieutenant of Ireland; where affairs were ſtill in great diſorder, through the inſolence of the Roman catholics, who greatly abuſed the royal clemency in relaxing certain penal ſtatutes againſt them.

The king having now governed the nation three or four years without a parliament, began to find himſelf more at eaſe than he had ever been ſince his acceſſion to the throne; and therefore choſe this ſeaſon of tranquility to viſit his ancient kingdom of Scotland: he accordingly ſet out for that kingdom in the month of May, 1633, where he was received with great magnificence; and the Scottiſh parliament, aſſembled at Edinburgh, granted a larger ſubſidy than ever had been given to any other king of that realm. Charles inherited his father's deſign, of bringing religion in Scotland to a conformity with the Engliſh church; and biſhop Laud accompanied him in his journey, to facilitate the execution of his ſcheme. As a preparatory ſtep, he paſſed two acts in the Scottiſh parliament, the firſt intituled, "An act concerning the king's prerogative, and the habit of the clergy:" this was no other than the confirmation of a ſtatute enacted in the preceding reign, impowering the king to give ſuch directions as he ſhould think proper, with regard to the dreſs of the clergy. The other ratified and improved all the ſtatutes which had been made concerning the liberties and franchiſes of the true church of God, and of the religion at preſent profeſſed in the kingdom. Both theſe acts met with oppoſition from the preſbyterians; they looked upon the firſt as a prelude to the uſe of the ſurplice, which was an abomination to their eyes; and the words "at preſent profeſſed," they conſidered as an equivocal expreſſion, calculated to reſtore epiſcopal government. Their church was governed by provincial ſynods and general aſſemblies; but the biſhops ſtill ſubſiſted, though without the leaſt juriſdiction or influence. The bills were paſſed, but they produced heats and diſcontent in the nation.

The Scottiſh religioniſts were not miſtaken in their conjectures; the king's purpoſe was really to introduce the rites of the Engliſh church, and reeſtabliſh epiſcopacy in its former power and ſplendor. Biſhop Laud preached, in the royal chapel at Edinburgh, on the benefit of conformity, and the reverend ceremonies of the church. He propoſed to the Scottiſh biſhops, that the Engliſh liturgy ſhould be received into their ſervice. They objected to this propoſal, that ſuch a ſtep would alarm the jealouſy of the nation, which would be apt to look upon the Engliſh liturgy as the forerunner of Engliſh laws, and an encroachment upon the independency of the kingdom: they therefore deſired that another might be compoſed for the uſe of the Scottiſh church, that ſhould be the ſame in ſubſtance, but different in ſome immaterial particulars. The king embraced this advice, though contrary to the inclination of Laud: he was himſelf jealous of the independency of his native kingdom, and appointed a ſelect number of the Scottiſh biſhops to form a new liturgy for their own ſervice. He erected Edinburgh into a biſhopric, created the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's chancellor of the kingdom, and he admitted ſeveral other prelates to ſeats in the privy council, and in the college of juſtice; a very unſeaſonable mark of his regard for the hierarchy; for the biſhops, by this promotion, incurred the hatred and envy of the noblemen, who, though they reſpected them in their eccleſiaſtical capacities, could not bear to ſee them in civil ſtations, to which they thought themſelves better entitled.

Charles returning to England in the autumn of this year, beſtowed the dignity of archbiſhop of archbiſhop of Canterbury (vacant by the death of Abbot in his abſence) on his favourite Laud; who, by this acceſſion of authority, was now enabled to ſupport eccleſiaſtical diſcipline with great rigor: and to inflame the general diſcontent of the nation, the Book of Sports to be uſed on Sundays after evening prayers, was again ordered to be read in churches; and many miniſters, for refuſing to read it, were either ſuſpended, deprived, or proſecuted, before the high-commiſſion. The articles of viſitation publiſhed by Neale, biſhop of Wincheſter, one of Laud's party, were no other than ſo many traps, contrived for bringing all whom Laud hated into the eccleſiaſtical den, where they ſeldom met with mercy. Writers in proſe and verſe, in polemics and politics, were treated with the like ſeverity; of which the reader will find particular inſtances in the collections of thoſe days.

There is little more to add to the tranſactions of this languid year, unleſs it were to ſwell the work with proclamations, which now ſupplied the place of acts of parliament. As to the concerns of Charles's family, he had this year ſent the earl of Ormond with a generous invitation for the queen of Bohemia and her family to come into England; but the loſs that princeſs had ſuſtained by the death of her huſband, was too recent for her ſorrows to ſuffer her to accept of the invitation for that time. It muſt not be forgotten, that on the thirteenth of October, this year, the ſecond ſon of Charles, afterwards the unhappy James II. was born.

We ſhall begin the year 1634 with an account of a cauſe which came to a ſolemn hearing in the month of February, which made a great noiſe, and which ſhewed the extreme ſeverity of the court againſt ſuch as were thought to fail ever ſo little in the ſubmiſſion expected from them; the caſe was this: Mr. William Prynne, a barriſter of Lincoln's Inn, had compoſed a large quarto, of a thouſand pages, which he entitled Hiſtrio Maſtyx. Its profeſſed deſign was to decry tragedies, comedies, interludes, muſic, and dancing; but the author had likewiſe directed his ſatire againſt hunting, public feſtivals, Chriſtmas-keeping, bonfires, and May poles.

He had obtained a licence from archbiſhop Abbot's chaplain, for printing this book; yet he was indicted in the Star-chamber as a libeller. It was thought ſomewhat hard, that general invectives againſt plays, ſhould be conſtrued into ſatires againſt the king and queen, merely becauſe they frequented theſe amuſements, and becauſe the queen ſometimes acted a part in paſtorals and interludes, which were repreſented at court.

The author, indeed, had taken occaſion, in the moſt violent manner, to condemn the hierarchy, the ceremonies, the innovations in religious worſhip, and the ſuperſtitions introduced by Laud. In the courſe of his work, he gave ſuch evident ſpecimens of his fanaticiſm, or rather, indeed, of his frenzy, that his moſt proper puniſhment would have been to have ſent him to Bedlam; but he was condemned to be put from the bar; to ſtand on the pillory in two places, Weſtminſter and Cheapſide; to loſe both his ears, one in each place; to pay a fine of five thouſand pounds to the king; and to be impriſoned during life.

The Dutch were at this time improving, equally with the Engliſh, in matters of commerce; and they were plainly rivals to one another in trade: flushed with ſucceſs, the Hollanders, about this time, flatly aſſerted a right to fiſh on the Britiſh coaſts, founded upon immemorial poſſeſſion. Charles, ſhocked at the independent airs of that haughty republic, which had been nurſed by the blood, and fed by the bounty, of England; and glad of a juſt and popular pretext for humbling her, reſolved to fit out a fleet which ſhould drive her ſubjects out of the Narrow ſeas. But the vigorous preparations neceſſary for this undertaking required to be ſupplied by a proportionable income, which Charles was by no means maſter of; he therefore referred it to Mr. Noy, attorney-general, to find out the ways and means; and Noy fell upon an expedient for raiſing an extraordinary ſupply, without the aſſiſtance of a parliament; which was, by the impoſition of a tax upon the people, for furniſhing a certain number of ſhips, for the defence of the ſeas. Noy died before the effects of his projects were known, after having engaged his maſter in an affair, which made him loſe his people's confidence, and was one of the principal cauſes of his ruin.

The death of the attorney-general did not, however, hinder the king from putting his ſcheme in practice: to that end, writs were iſſued in October, this year, to all the port-towns and maritime counties of the kingdom, to furniſh a certain number of ſhips, manned, victualled, and furniſhed with all neceſſary ammunition, for the defence of the realm. With theſe writs went inſtructions and directions, from the lords of the council, for the aſſeſſing and levying the ſhip-money. Theſe inſtructions were directed to the ſheriffs of the ſeveral counties; and by them it appears, that the ſhips aſſeſſed on the counties of Middleſex and Hertford were to coſt three thouſand pounds; and thoſe who refuſed payment of their portion, were to be diſtreſſed, and their goods ſold for the payment; and this without any reſpect of perſons. The reſt of thoſe inſtructions contain only the particular manner of levying the tax, and gave very arbitrary powers to the officers of the peace. The writ being ſerved on the lord-mayor of London, he immediately called a common-council, who voted the following petition to be preſented to the king.

"To the king's moſt excellent majeſty,

"The humble petition of your faithful ſubjects, the mayor, commonalty, and citizens, of your city of London, moſt humbly ſhewing,

"That whereas your writ, bearing teſte 20 Octobris laſt, commanded your petitioners, at their charge, to provide ſeven ſhips of war, furniſhed with men, victuals, and all warlike proviſions, to be at Portſmouth the firſt of March next, and continue thence by the ſpace of twenty-ſix weeks in your majeſty's ſervice, upon the defence of the ſeas, and other cauſes in the ſaid writ mentioned.

"Your petitioners do, in all ſubmiſſive humbleneſs, and with acknowledgments of your ſacred majeſty's favours unto our ſaid city, inform your majeſty, that they conceive, that by ancient privileges, grants, and acts of parliaments (which they are ready humbly to ſhew forth) they are exempt, and uſed to be freed from that charge.

"And do moſt humbly pray,

"That your majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed, that the petitioners, with your princely grace and favour, may enjoy the ſame privileges and exemptions, and be freed from providing the ſaid ſhips and proviſions.

"And they ſhall pray, &c."

Notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the city of London, Charles went on as if ſhip-money had been a matter of courſe, and not likely to give any diſguſt; and, his neceſſities increaſing, he reſolved that this tax ſhould be extended to the inland, as well as the maritime, counties; but ſo great was the diſlike that the nation ſhewed to this meaſure, which they thought to be againſt law, and a direct contradiction, on the part of Charles, of the Petition of Right he had granted in their favour, that the court thought itſelf under a neceſſity to quiet the people, by the uſe made of the money; for, in May of the following year, 1635, a fleet of forty ſail was fitted out, under the command of the earl of Lindſey, admiral; ſir William Monſon, vice-admiral; ſir John Pennington, rear admiral: and a ſquadron of twenty ſhips was fitted out, under the earl of Eſſex. The admiral's inſtructions were to ſecure the Narrow ſeas, and the trade of England; and, on the twenty-ſixth of May, the fleet ſet ſail, in queſt of the French and Dutch fleets, who were joined off Portland, as if they would have fought the Engliſh fleets: but Richelieu was too well informed by his ſpies, not to know that the real deſign of Charles was to drive the confederates out of the Narrow ſeas, and to deſtroy the growing marine of France, whom he conſidered as the prompter of the Dutch in all their inſolencies: he looked upon the preſervation of the ſea-ports in Flanders to the crown of Spain, as being now of importance to his own crown; and his people likewiſe began to be extremely uneaſy at Richelieu's ambition. The united fleets, at the approach of that of England, withdrew towards their own harbours; and the Engliſh admiral ſent after them a bark, on the coaſt of Brittany, to obſerve their motions; which were all this year ſo pacific, that the Engliſh remained indiſputed maſters of the Narrow ſeas, to the infinite benefit of the nation. For the court of Spain reverted now to its natural connexions with England, who this year had, in all probability, ſaved the Auſtrian Netherlands from being over-run; and the immenſe benefits which the commons of England received by this friendſhip with Spain, would, if any thing could, have made the people overlook the proceedings of the court in the caſe of ſhip-money

The king finding ſome inconvenience in the management of his treaſury by commiſſions, which he had appointed on the death of the lord treaſurer Weſton, earl of Portland, laſt year, gave the office to Juxton, biſhop of London, a creature of Laud's, who had perſuaded the king, that he could not make a better choice than of that churchman, who having no family to raiſe, nor dependants to provide for, might better manage the income of the treaſury to his advantage than had formerly been done by thoſe who ſought only to create vaſt eſtates to themſelves. We ſhall conclude the tranſactions of this year, with obſerving, that Laud attempted to bring all the foreigners ſettled

ſettled in England to a conformity with her church, notwithſtanding all the privileges and indulgences they had received from former princes, and the infinite benefit the nation acquired by their ſet tling here. This attempt was vigorouſly oppoſed by the French and Dutch churches, who were joined by all the puritans; and they refuſed to pay any deference to Laud's authority, on account of the exemptions and privileges they had received from the crown. After many debates, Laud prevailed ſo far, that though the foreigners of the firſt deſcent were ſuffered to continue in their own way, yet, their deſcendants, born in England, of foreign parents, were ordered by the king, to repair to their ſeveral pariſh churches, under the penalty of being proceeded againſt by the eccleſiaſtical laws. In like manner, Laud endeavoured to oblige the factories abroad to conform themſelves to the worſhip and exerciſe of the Engliſh church; but many of the merchants neglecting ſuch conformity, he obtained the king's orders for it.

I ſhall only add, that Charles, prince elector Palatine, ſon of the deceaſed king of Bohemia, came this year into England, to viſit his uncle, and to conſult with him concerning his reſtitution to the Palatinate; and ſhortly after him arrived his brother, prince Rupert, whom, in the courſe of a few years, we ſhall find making a conſiderable figure, in the defence of Charles, againſt his rebellious ſubjects.

The great figure which Charles had made upon the ſeas in the year 1635, raiſed his hopes to a great pitch; and nothing could have defamed him, but his having made ſhip-money a tax aſſeſſible upon the inland, as well as the maritime, counties, and enjoined the collectors to levy it in the ſame manner, and with the ſame rigor, as if it had been a tax impoſed by parliament: however, this expedient had, for the preſent, ſo far ſucceeded, that, in the ſpring of the year 1636, he was enabled to ſend to ſea a fleet of ſixty ſail of large ſhips, which was the greateſt naval force that England had ever ſeen of her own; the command of this fleet was given to Algernoon Piercy, Earl of Northumberland, who, for the great attachment of his anceſtors to the Stuart family, was, by Charles, created lord high-admiral of England. The earl, ſetting ſail in May, came up with ſome of the Dutch ſhips, and ſunk all he met who refuſed to leave the Britiſh coaſts, and to diſcontinue their fiſhing. This ſpirited conduct ſtruck ſuch a terror into all Europe, that even the haughty Richelieu was obliged to drop his ſcheme of ſetting the Dutch and French up as rivals to the Engliſh upon the ſea. The Dutch themſelves applied to Charles in the moſt earneſt manner; and, at laſt, conſented to pay thirty thouſand pounds for licence to fiſh that year, until a proper regulation ſhould be made, by fixing an annual tribute for the like licence for the future.

But no advantages of commerce, reputation, or tranquility, could now make the people digeſt the odious tax of ſhip-money. Charles finding that doubts, difficulties, and dangers, multiplied every day, and was at length become ſo general, that there was an evident diſpoſition in the nation, rather to ſubmit to the inſults of foreigners, than to chaſtize them at the expence of law and liberty; he endeavoured to remove all manner of objections, by getting the deciſion of the judges on his ſide; he therefore ſent the caſe to be reſolved by them, which he thus ſtated:

"Carolus Rex.

"Where the good and ſafety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole kingdom in danger, whether may not the king, by writ under the great-ſeal of England, command all the ſubjects of our kingdom, at their charge, to provide and furniſh ſuch a number of ſhips, with men, victuals, and munition, and for ſuch a time as we ſhall think fit, for the defence and ſafeguard of the kingdom, from ſuch danger and peril, and by law compel the doing thereof, in caſe of refuſal or refractorineſs; and whether, in ſuch a caſe, the king is not the ſole judge, both of the danger, and when and how the ſame is to be prevented and avoided?"

To which they returned the following opinion.

"May it pleaſe your moſt excellent majeſty.

"We have, according to your majeſty's command, every man by himſelf, and all of us together, taken into ſerious conſideration the caſe and queſtion ſignified by your majeſty, and incloſed in your royal letter; and we are of opinion, that when the good and ſafety of the kingdom is in danger, your majeſty may, by writ under the great-ſeal of England, command all your ſubjects of this your kingdom, at their charge, to provide and furniſh ſuch a number ſhips, with men, victuals, and munition, and for ſuch a time that your majeſty ſhall think fit, for the trafic, defence, and ſafeguard of this kingdom from ſuch danger and peril; and that by law your majeſty may compel the doing thereof, in caſe of refuſal or refractorineſs; and we are all of opinion, that in ſuch caſe, your majeſty is the ſole judge, both of the danger, and when and how the ſame is to be prevented and avoided.

John Bramſton,	George Crooke,
John Smith,	Thomas Trevor,
Humphrey Davenport,	George Vernon,
John Denham,	Francis Crawley,
Richard Hutton,	Robert Berkley,
William Jones,	Richard Weſton.

This deciſion Charles took eſpecial care to have publiſhed and circulated through the kingdom. Notwithſtanding this opinion, one Mr. Hampden, being taxed in twenty ſhillings, for an eſtate he had in Buckinghamſhire, reſolved to ſtand ſuit rather than comply with an impoſition ſo contrary to the laws of the realm and the liberties of the ſubject. The cauſe was pleaded in the court of Exchequer, before all the judges, with great ſolemnity; and was, undoubtedly, the moſt important diſpute that ever was handled in any court of juſtice; for the buſineſs was to aſcertain or deſtroy one of the moſt valuable privileges of the ſubject; as ſuch it was conſidered by every ſenſible individual of the nation; it became the univerſal topic of converſation, and people expected the iſſue with the moſt anxious impatience. After ſeveral hearings, protracted from November till June, the judges decreed that Mr. Hampden ſhould pay the tax; and the whole kingdom was filled with indignation. Burton, a divine, and Baſtwick, a phyſician, were condemned by the Star-

chamber to the ſame puniſhment which Prynne had undergone, for having publiſhed ſeditious and ſchiſmatical libels: and Prynne himſelf, for a ſecond offence, was ſentenced to pay a fine of five thouſand pounds, and loſe the mutilated remainder of his ears *.

While the intereſting affair of Mr. Hampden and ſhip-money was depending, the public uneaſineſs was farther encreaſed by a torrent of diviſions in the church of Scotland.

Charles reſolved to perfect his deſigns with reſpect to religion as well as the ſtate; epiſcopacy had not been aboliſhed in Scotland at the time of the reformation before Mary Stuart, but the proteſtant biſhops had always been kept in ſubjection by the preſbyterians. The Scots were governed by a kind of republic of prieſts, who were all upon an equality with one another: this was the only country, perhaps, in the world, where riches and honours did not make the higher clergy powerful. The biſhops retained their ſeats in parliament, their honorary rights, and the revenues of their ſees; but they were paſtors without flocks, and peers without credit. The Scottiſh parliament, which was wholly compoſed of preſbyterians, only ſuffered the biſhops to retain their dignity, in order to debaſe them. The ancient abbyes were all in the hands of ſeculars, who had ſeats in parliament in virtue of the title of abbot. By degrees, the number of theſe titular abbots was diminiſhed. James I. (and VIth of Scotland), reſtored epiſcopacy, with all its privileges. The king of England was not acknowle ged as head of the church of Scotland; but being born in that country, and having laviſhed Engliſh money in penſions and places to ſeveral of its members, he was more maſter at Edinburgh than at London. The preſbyterian (or, as it is called, the general) aſſembly, ſtill ſubſiſted as before, notwithſtanding the reſtoration of epiſcopacy; theſe two different bodies were always threatening each other; and the ſynodic republic generally got the better of the epiſcopal hierarchy. James, who looked upon the biſhops as a body devoted to the crown, and the preſbyterians as enemies to the regal prerogative, thought that he ſhould be able to reconcile his Scottiſh ſubjects to epiſcopal government, by bringing their church to a perfect conformity with the Engliſh. With this view he had, in the year 1616, obtained an act of the general aſſembly, for the compiling a liturgy, or book of common-prayer, which was to be firſt preſented to the king, and, after his approbation, univerſally received through the kingdom. This book was accordingly framed, and ſent up to the king; who having peruſed and conſiderably altered it, in conjunction with his Engliſh clergy, it was returned to Scotland, to be recommended to the uſe of that church. His death prevented the accompliſhment of his deſign, which his ſon reſumed; and in order to effect this purpoſe with greater eaſe, he endeavoured to encreaſe the authority of the prelates, and had even made an attempt to revive the firſt inſtitution of the college of juſtice, that divided equally between the clergy and laity the whole judicial authority.

The liturgy which Charles, of his own authority, intended to introduce into Scotland, was copied from that of England; but, not to ſhock the pride of his ancient ſubjects by a ſervile imitation of their ſouthern neighbours, he cauſed a few alterations to be made in it, by the aſſiſtance of archbiſhop Laud and others, and in that form tranſmitted it to the biſhop of Edinburgh, with orders to begin the uſe of it. Eaſter-day, 1637, was by proclamation, appointed for the firſt reading of the ſervice; but, in order to ſound the diſpoſitions of the people, the council poſtponed the matter till the twenty-third day of July, and they even gave notice the Sunday before of their deſign to commence the uſe of the new liturgy. As this intimation had been received quietly, they imagined that they might ſafely proceed in their purpoſe, and accordingly, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, the dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his ſurplice, began the ſervice; both archbiſhops, many of the privy-council, and others of the beſt quality in Edinburgh, being preſent.

But no ſooner had the dean opened the book, than a number of the meaner ſort, with clapping their hands and outcries, made a great uproar; and one of them, called Jane or Jannot Gaddis, flung a little folding ſtool, whereon ſhe had ſat, at the dean's head, ſaying, "Out, thou falſe thief! doſt thou ſay the maſs at my lug!" which was followed with ſo great a noiſe and confuſion, that none could hear or be heard; whereupon the biſhop of Edinburgh ſtept into the pulpit, and, hoping to appeaſe the people, by putting them in mind that the place in which they were was holy ground, and by intreating them to deſiſt from the profanation of it, they were the more enraged, throwing at him cudgels, ſtools, and what elſe was at hand, even to the endangering his life. Upon this the biſhop of St. Andrew's, the chancellor, called down the provoſt and bailiffs of the city from their ſeats to their aſſiſtance, who (not without ſome difficulty) put the unruly people out of the church, and made faſt the doors. This done, the dean proceeded to read the liturgy, the multitude the mean while rapping and pelting the windows with ſtones, to diſturb the ſervice; but, notwithſtanding all their clamour the ſervice was ended; though not the people's rage, who waiting the biſhop's retiring to his lodging, ſo aſſaulted him, as (had he not been reſcued by a ſtrong hand) he had probably periſhed by their violence.

The ſame morning the ſervice-book was read in the next church to St. Giles's, though not without noiſe and tumult, yet not ſo great as in the latter: in the Gray Friars church, Mr. Ramſey refuſed to read it, and was afterwards ſuſpended for the ſame; but the elect biſhop of Argyll, his colleague began to read it, but was ſo menaced, curſed, and exclaimed againſt, that he was forced to give over.

In the college-church of Rollock, one of the preachers, who the Sunday before, at the intimation of the reading, had much commended the book, and undertaken this day to read it, upon notice how it was received at the church of St. Giles, broke the promiſe he had made to read it, chuſing rather to incur the cenſure of thoſe of his fraternity, than to offend the multitude, whoſe favour he ſought: but he was likewiſe ſuſpended. The morning this paſſed, the council aſſembled at the lord-chancellor's lodgings, and ſent for the provoſt and bailiffs, to adviſe with them how to prevent the like tumults in the afternoon; which they promiſed to endeavour, and was ſo effected that the book was read in the

* The operation having been but partially performed the firſt time. See p. 529.

church of St. Giles, and ſome other churches, without any ſuch diſturbance as it had in the morning; only the biſhop of Edinburgh, in his return to his lodging, was rudely treated by the populace.

No perſon of any rank was concerned in theſe violent proceedings, and every one affected to condemn the licentiouſneſs of the giddy multitude: it was judged imprudent, however, to hazard a new inſult, by any freſh attempt to read this liturgy, and the populace ſeemed for the preſent to be perfectly ſatisfied; but when it was known that the king, notwithſtanding repreſentations made to him on this head, ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution of eſtabliſhing that worſhip, men began to contract a more inveterate prejudice againſt it; and the concourſe of all ranks of people to Edinburgh on the firſt of October (the day on which the term begins there) was ſo great, that the council began to fear another riot, and publiſhed proclamations, ſignifying that the council ſhould be transferred to Dundee; commanding all ſtrangers to quit the city; and prohibiting a book, written againſt the Engliſh and popiſh ceremonies impoſed upon the church of Scotland. Theſe proclamations rather fomented than allayed the flame then begun; and the day after their publication, October 18, the populace broke out into the moſt violent diſorder: they aſſaulted the biſhop of Galloway, the earl of Traquair, lord high-treaſurer, in the ſtreets, and chaſed them into the chamber where the privy-council were ſitting, and attacked the council itſelf: they treated the town-council in the ſame manner; and had it not been for the interpoſition of ſome popular lords, who had great influence with them, they would probably have proceeded to acts of the moſt deſperate outrage. In this ſedition the actors were of ſome better condition than in the former; though no perſon of rank ſeemed, as yet, to countenance them. Nevertheleſs the ſpirit of the people appeared ſo alarming, that the earl of Traquair repaired to London, in order to acquaint the king more fully of the matter: but Charles, liſtening only to the counſels of Laud, a man who ſeemed born for his deſtruction, reſolved to carry every thing with a high hand, and to puniſh ſeverely the authors of the late tumults, and ordered the earl of Traquair, on his return to Scotland, to publiſh a proclamation "declaring his abhorrence of popiſh ſuperſtition, and his intention to introduce nothing but what ſhould tend to the advancement of religion in the kingdom of Scotland." He afterwards ſent another to the council, which had been removed to Stirling, ſignifying his being willing to pardon the crime which the people had committed, in aſſembling, compoſing, ſigning, and preſenting ſuch petitions to the chancellor, provided they would return to their own houſes, and live for the future as good and faithful ſubjects. He forbad them to aſſemble again, on pain of treaſon; ordered that no perſon ſhould preſume to approach Stirling without permiſſion; and commanded all the noblemen, gentlemen, and others, not belonging to the council, or courts of juſtice, to quit that town in ſix hours; otherwiſe they ſhould be declared traitors.

In the mean while the council had removed to Stirling, at a greater diſtance from Edinburgh.

Immediately after the publication of the proclamation, the earl of Hume and the lord Lindſey, accompanied by many other noblemen and a great concourſe of people, repaired to the market-croſs (of Stirling), and, without regarding the preſence and authority of the council, read publicly a proteſt, importing, "that they inſiſted upon preſenting their grievances to the king: that they would not ſubmit to the biſhops or judges, until they ſhould have acquitted themſelves of the crimes laid to their charge: that no proclamation, or act of council, reſolved upon in preſence of thoſe prelates, ſhould prejudice the proteſtors: that none of their aſſociates ſhould be expoſed to any dangers in their lives and fortunes, nor incur any penalty, civil or eccleſiaſtical, for having refuſed to acquieſce in the ſaid acts, books, canons, rites, juriſdictions, and proclamations, compoſed and publiſhed contrary to the decrees of the general aſſembly, or againſt the laws of the realm: that in caſe this diſpute ſhould occaſion any diſorder, it ſhould not be imputed to them, inaſmuch as the council refuſed to receive a remonſtrance and declinatory, which they had lately preſented: and that their petitions tended to nothing but the maintenance of the true religion in Scotland and to the honour of his majeſty." The ſame proteſt was read at Linlithgow and Edinburgh.

This was the firſt time that the men of quality had appeared to countenance the proceedings of the people; but the ſpirit of diſcontent, which had been gradually ſpreading among all ranks of men, now blazed out at once, and the authority of the king and council were treated with equal contempt; for the next ſtep of theſe mutineers was to eſtabliſh four tables, as they called them, at Edinburgh; one was compoſed of nobility, another of gentry, a third of miniſters, and a fourth of burgeſſes: the table of gentry conſiſted of ſeveral ſubordinate tables, according to their different counties; orders were iſſued by them, and every where executed with the moſt implicit obedience. Among the very firſt acts of this new-fangled inſtitution was the Solemn League and Covenant, as if all laws, divine and human, were about to be aboliſhed; and thus the natural deſire of the great to ſupport their own ſchemes on one ſide, and the fury of popular oppoſition on the other, lighted up the flames of civil war, which ſoon after deſolated this wretched iſland.

The Solemn League and Covenant was no ſooner publiſhed, than the people ran in crowds to ſubſcribe it, and it was ſigned by almoſt all the perſons of conſequence in the kingdom, except the privy-counſellors, the judges, the biſhops, and thoſe who enjoyed places under the crown. There was prefixed to it the confeſſion of faith of the kirk of Scotland, which had been ſigned by the late king James and his houſhold, when he was about fourteen years of age, and had been renewed ten years afterwards: then, after a long recital of the acts of parliament, and a great deal of jargon againſt popery, and in praiſe of preſbyterian purity and of proteſtant perſecution on religious accounts, this inſtrument mentions the coronation-oath, which obliges the king "carefully to root out of his empire all heretics and enemies to the true worſhip of God, who ſhall be convicted by the true ſpirit of God of the aforeſaid crimes:" and then it declares the true worſhip of God and the regal authority to be ſo ſtrongly joined, as that they had the ſame common enemies, and did ſtand and fall together. The aſſociates then proceeded to declare,

but in general terms, againſt all innovations in religion that had been introduced ſince the eſtabliſhment of preſbytery in that country; but without taking notice that the chief of thoſe innovations had as much ſanction, both from eccleſiaſtical and civil authority, as that eſtabliſhment had, if not more. They then proceeded as follows to the material part of this aſſociation "We promiſe and ſwear, by the great name of the Lord our God, to continue in the profeſſion and obedience of the foreſaid religion; that we ſhall defend the ſame, and reſiſt all thoſe contrary errors and corruptions, according to our vocation, and to the utmoſt of that power which God hath put in our hands, all the days of our life. And in like manner, with the ſame heart, we declare before God and men, that we have no intention nor deſire to attempt any thing that may turn to the diſhonour of God, or to the diminution of the king's greatneſs and authority; but, on the contrary, we promiſe and ſwear that we ſhall, to the uttermoſt of our power, with our means and lives, ſtand to the defence of our dread ſovereign the king's majeſty's perſon and authority, in the defence and preſervation of the foreſaid true religion, liberties, and laws of the kingdom; as alſo to the mutual defence and aſſiſtance of every one of us of another, in the ſame cauſe of maintaining true religion and his majeſty's authority with our beſt counſel, bodies, means, and whole power, againſt all ſorts of perſons whatſoever; ſo that whatſoever ſhall be done to the leaſt of us for that cauſe, ſhall be taken as done to us all in general, and every one of us in particular: and that we ſhall not directly or indirectly ſuffer ourſelves to be divided or withdrawn, with whatſoever ſuggeſtion, combination, allurement, or terror, from this bleſſed and loyal conjunction; nor ſhall caſt in any lett or impediment that may ſtay or hinder any ſuch reſolution, as by common conſent ſhall be found to conduce for ſome good ends: but, on the contrary ſhall, by all lawful means, labour to further and promote the ſame. And if any ſuch dangerous and deluſive motion ſhall be made to us, by word or writ, we, and every one of us, ſhall either ſuppreſs it, or, if need be, ſhall incontinent make the ſame known, that it may be timeouſly obviated. Neither do we fear the foul aſperſions of rebellion, combination, or what elſe our adverſaries, from their own craft and malice, would put upon us, ſeeing what we do is ſo well warranted, and ariſeth from an unfeigned deſire to maintain the true worſhip of God, the majeſty of our king, and the peace of the kingdom, for the common happineſs of ourſelves and poſterity."

I thought it indiſpenſably neceſſary to give the reader ſome idea of this famous Solemn League and Covenant, which was ſo much extolled by its admirers, and decried by its oppoſers. Some writers have been pleaſed to repreſent it as a juſtifiable national effort, in defence of religion, and liberty; as the eſtabliſhment of epiſcopal authority in Scotland had, according to them, been impoſed by arbitrary power, the recognition of the people obtained by compulſion, in diametrical oppoſition to the ſenſe of the nation: but, by the favour of theſe gentlemen, the civil liberties of the Scots had, ſo far as can be found by records, never been attacked by power; nor had prerogative (as in England) encroached upon the privileges handed down to them by their anceſtors. The ſtory of this famous Covenant lay in a kind of latent defeaſance to the royal authority, when not employed in defence and propagation of what they called, or fancied, the true religion; the king muſt not only comply with all the abſurdities of the aſſociators, but he muſt draw the ſword againſt every man who ſhould preſume to differ from them in point of religion. This was a matter ſo endleſs, that it is plain the Covenant, conſidered as an act of the people, independent of the royal authority, was calculated for a pretext to withdraw their obedience from lawful government, by giving them the power to preſcribe their own terms for their return to it: nor can I apprehend the reproach or cenſure of men of candor and enlightened underſtanding, in declaring it as my opinion, that it was as daring an inſult as ever was offered to a king, and as rebellious a meaſure as ever was formed by a people. But to return from this digreſſion, which I hope the reader will the more readily pardon, as it is meant to remove the miſt of prejudice, aud weaken the power of ſounds, which are too often found to captivate the vulgar and unwary.

It was not then known who fomented the diſturbances in Scotland, that prepared the way for the tragical end of Charles I. It was cardinal Richelieu, the moſt daring and moſt inſolent miniſter that perhaps ever appeared in Europe. He had formed connexions with the prince of Orange and the States General for reducing the houſe of Auſtria; but deſpairing of ſucceſs, unleſs he could prevail on Charles to ſtand neutral, he ſent the count d'Eſtrades to England, the laſt year, to offer Charles his own terms, if he would engage in the intereſts of France; but having received a refuſal from that monarch, rather more haughty than politic, it had exaſperated him. There is a letter of the cardinal to d'Eſtrades (dated December 2, 1637,) in which are theſe remarkable words: "before the end of twelve months, the king and queen of England ſhall repent their having refuſed the offers you made them from his majeſty, and ſhall ſoon know that I am not deſpicable." He had a prieſt, one Chambers by name, and by birth a Scotchman, who was his almoner; this man he ſent to London and Edinburgh, in order to ſtir up a ſpirit of diſcontent among the preſbyterians, partly by his rhetoric, and partly by the proper application of certain ſums of money: all which is inconteſtably proved by the above letter.

It was now the year 1638. The king began to be apprehenſive for the conſequences of the commotions in Scotland; he therefore ſent the marquis of Hamilton as his high-commiſſioner, and empowered him to treat with the covenaters, and offered them, in his name, a ſuſpenſion of the canons and the liturgy, until they could be introduced in a fair and legal manner. Nothing is ſo deſpicable as a hated government when it becomes impotent: the covenanters, now ſixty thouſand ſtrong, knew that Charles poſſeſſed no regular forces in either of his kingdoms; and therefore, when Hamilton propoſed their renouncing and aboliſhing the Covenant, as a rebellious and undutiful aſſociation againſt their ſovereign, they plainly told him, that "they could not acknowlege that they had ever departed from their obedience; and for their Covenant, they would rather renounce their baptiſm than abate one ſyllable thereof." Hamilton, finding all his endeavours to re-eſtabliſh quiet ineffectual,

effectual, returned to London, made another journey to Edinburgh, returned again to London, and was immediately ſent back with ſtill more ſatisfactory orders, importing, "that the king revoked the Liturgy, the Book of Canons, the High Commiſſion, and the Five Articles of Perth; that, for the future the biſhops ſhould be cenſurable by the general aſſembly; that all ſubjects of Scotland ſhould ſubſcribe the confeſſion of faith, with an oath annexed, very different from that of the Covenant." Then he convoked a general aſſembly at Glaſgow, for the month of November; and a parliament at Edinburgh, to meet in May of the following year. The tables proteſted againſt the proclamation, becauſe the new oath, obliging them to maintain the religion at preſent profeſſed, would operate in favour of the innovations which had been confirmed by acts of parliament. An accuſation ſigned by a great number of noblemen, gentlemen, miniſters, and burghers, was preſented by the preſbytery of Edinburgh againſt the biſhops, alleging, "that they had not adhered to the conditions on which the general aſſembly at Montroſe, in the preceding reign conſented to their being admitted to parliament." By theſe they were obliged only to act as deputies of the church; to propoſe nothing without expreſs orders of the church: to conſent to nothing but what ſhould be to the advantage of the church, on pain of deprivation; and to be accountable to the general aſſembly for their conduct in parliament. When the day of meeting arrived, the commiſſioner plainly perceived that the lay intereſt predominated in the aſſembly, in the number of elders that were returned; and all that he could do for the ſervice of the king, was to encourage and promote diſputes, that would furniſh him with a pretence to diſſolve them. The biſhops preſented a declinatory, pronouncing the aſſembly null; and the commiſſioner entered a number of proteſts againſt their proceedings: at length, finding them determined to ſit in judgment upon the biſhops, he on the ſeventh day of their ſeſſion, diſſolved the aſſembly as illegal, "becauſe they had not introduced lay elders to vote in their deliberations; becauſe the members had been choſen by lay elders, contrary to cuſtom; becauſe thoſe few members to whom the tables were averſe, had been rejected, without reaſon; and the biſhops were in danger of being tried by thoſe who were their profeſſed enemies." Notwithſtanding this ſentence of diſſolution, the aſſembly of Glaſgow continued itſelf by virtue of its own authority, and paſſed acts, by which they not only condemned the liturgy, canons, and high-commiſſion, excommunicated fourteen biſhops, and abjured epiſcopal government; but they likewiſe preſumed to reverſe divers acts of parliament in favour of epiſcopacy, and to annul the ſubſcription of thoſe who had ſigned the confeſſion of faith, according to the king's order; nay, they even explained that confeſſion as virtually implying an abolition of epiſcopacy. The commiſſioner publiſhed another explanation, to prove that epiſcopacy did ſubſiſt, and that every perſon who ſigned the commiſſion was bound to ſupport it: and this again was anſwered by the aſſembly. In a word, the whole fabrick, which Charles and James, in a long courſe of years, had been rearing with ſo much care and induſtry, was at once thrown to the ground; the Covenant was alſo ordered to be ſubſcribed by every one, under pain of excommunication.

The marquis ſeeing all things tending to a preſent ruptute, ſent to deſire leave of the king to return to England, which he obtained: but before he went he ſaw an end to the Glaſgow aſſembly, which broke up after having, by their own authority, ordained annual aſſemblies, the firſt whereof was appointed to meet at Edinburgh, the firſt day of July in the following year. As ſoon the marquis was gone the aſſociators drew up a declaration, addreſſed to all good Chriſtians of England, to juſtify their intentions and actions, which had ſo many undutiful expreſſions in it, that it was ſuppreſſed by the king's authority, who publiſhed a declaration to ſatisfy his faithful ſubjects of the ſeditious practices of thoſe in Scotland who had, under pretext of religion, deſigned the ſubverſion of his royal authority; which was commanded to be read in all churches.

Such was the ſtate of affairs in Scotland at the end of the year 1638. As to the tranſactions in England, they are hardly worth mention, but ſo far as they relate to Scotland.

On the laſt of October this year, Mary de Medicis, widow of Henry IV. of France, and mother to the reigning monarch, Lewis XIII. having, by the cabals of cardinal Richelieu, the prime miniſter, been driven out of France, came into England, where ſhe met with a noble reception from Charles and his queen. While ſhe ſtaid here, ſhe was lodged in the king's palace of St. James's; but finding the king likely to be involved in great trouble to reduce his rebellious ſubjects in Scotland, after ſome months ſtay ſhe departed for Holland.

Laud this year commenced a proſecution againſt Williams, biſhop of Lincoln, late lord-keeper, to whom he was an implacable enemy; and, upon the ſhameful pretence of his having concealed a letter written to him by one Mr. Oſbaldiſton, in which mention was made of a "little urchin" and "a great man" which Laud interpreted to have been himſelf, was fined eight thouſand pounds for receiving libellous letters: and Oſbaldiſton, who was maſter of Weſtminſter ſchool, by flight eſcaped his cenſure, which was, to have his ears nailed to the pillory, before his own ſchool, and to be deprived of all his preferments, and fined five thouſand pounds to the king. This unjuſtifiable ſeverity ſwelled the load of popular clamour againſt Laud.

The laws of hiſtorical truth will not permit me to conceal, that Charles appears to have no great ſincerity in the conceſſion he had made to the Covenanters; and that he waited only for a fair opportunity to retract them. He had, for ſome months, by Hamilton's advice, been making warlike preparations, though with infinite caution and ſecrecy. When we conſider the intriguing genius of rebellion, and that Charles had commiſſioned his arms and ammunition from Holland, we can ſcarcely ſuppoſe the heads of the Covenanters not to have received, both from France and England, information of Charles's deſigns: this may account for their proceedings during the latter part of the preceding year, and the beginning of 1639, when they began to make vigorous preparations for war on their ſide. They ſent for ſuccours to ſuch of the neighbouring princes and ſtates from whom they could expect any aſ-

ſiſtance.

ſtance. They alſo invited home many eminent commanders of their nation from Sweden and Holland, to take employment in their armies; many of whom, at the beginning of the year came to them: they ſeized upon the caſtles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton, and all other places of ſtrength in the kingdom; and took out of Dalkeith all the king's arms and ammunition, laid up there the year before by the marquis of Hamilton. Next they choſe Alexander Leſly, an old experienced officer, to be captain-general of their armies, to whom all the chief of the confederates (who took arms) ſolemnly ſwore obedience in all orders of war; and he ſwore in like manner faithfully to exerciſe his charge. The marquis of Argyll was ſent to take care of the frontiers oppoſite to Ireland; the earl of Montroſe had the charge of Aberdeen and the moſt northern parts; and colonel Monro was ſent towards the Borders of England, to keep all things quiet till the levies were perfected.

When Charles found that his deſigns were diſcovered, and had received the copy of their laſt declaration, he loſt all patience, and formed a reſolution of proceeding openly in the way of arms, and on the twenty-ſixth of January, 1639, a writ was ſent to the nobility to attend the royal ſtandard at York. On this occaſion the king had recourſe to the Engliſh clergy, and even to the catholics of the kingdom, who equally hated the preſbyterians, and only furniſhed the king with money, becauſe they looked upon this as a religious war. The Engliſh nobility in general ſhewed great alacrity for his ſervice; and thoſe who ſecretly wiſhed well to the Covenanters were obliged to diſſemble, and vie with the others in forwardneſs; but nothing could exceed the generoſity and loyalty of thoſe noblemen who compoſed the king's privy-council, who, on this occaſion, contributed the greateſt part of their fortunes for their maſter's ſervice. Laud and the marquis of Hamilton ſignalized themſelves particularly by their contributions; and Wentworth, the lord-deputy of Ireland (about the ſame time created earl of Strafford) alone gave twenty-thouſad pounds; he alſo drew down a body of men towards the ſea-coaſts of that kindom, oppoſite to the earl of Argyll's country, who had now joined the Covenanters, and thereby prevented a very dangerous junction between the diſaffected of both kingdoms. Charles himſelf, by regular œconomy, had amaſſed a ſum of two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, which he reſerved for any ſudden emergency; and by all theſe means he was enabled to equip a very conſiderable fleet and army: the former conſiſted of ſixteen large ſhips, was furniſhed with five thouſand land forces, and was commanded by the marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to ſail to the Firth of Forth, and to make a diverſion in the forces of the enemy.

The army amounted to about twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and was conducted by the earl of Arundel, a nobleman of great family, but diſtinguiſhed neither for his military nor political abilities; the earl of Eſſex, a man of ſtrict honour, and extremely beloved by the ſoldiers, acted as lieutenant-general; and the earl of Holland was general of the horſe.

The king himſelf repaired to the camp, and ſummoned all the noblemen of England to attend him. The whole had rather the appearance of a ſplendid court than a military armament; and in this ſituation, carrying more ſhow than real force with it, the army arrived at Berwick on the twenty-eighth of May, with the king at its head, and there encamped. The Scottiſh army, which was nearly equal in number to that of the king, marched, at the ſame time, under general Leſly, towards the borders of England, and encamped within four miles of Berwick.

The king had, in the beginning of this year, ſet forth a declaration, containing his reaſons for this expedition, in which he diſplayed the inſolent treatment he had met with from the Covenanters, and his own readineſs to heal the diſorders of the ſtate, in ſuch terms, that it had a wonderful effect in his favour in Scotland. The marquis of Huntley declared for him, and this was no ſmall acceſſion of ſtrength, for Huntley had a large eſtate, but a much larger following; and was looked upon to be the only nobleman who could balance the numbers which Argyll could bring into the field. But, to the inexpreſſible misfortune of Charles's affairs, this nobleman was at this time, when he was moſt wanted, taken from his ſovereign; for the marquis of Montroſe, having enticed him to a conference, and poſitively refuſing to ſign the Covenant, he and his eldeſt ſon were ſent priſoners to the caſtle of Edinburgh. This unlucky accident was generally attributed to Hamilton, who having ſecured Holy Iſland to the king's obedience, had entered the Forth, and publiſhed a proclamation from Charles, offering pardon to the rebels who ſhould lay down their arms, but with orders to proſecute all others with fire and ſword. Hamilton continued a ſhameful inactivity; and, while in Holy Iſland, he received a viſit from his mother, a moſt rigid Covenanter. This, with the general tenor of his conduct, made many of the king's friends ſuſpect his integrity; and the Scots themſelves were commonly heard to ſay, "they knew the ſon of ſuch a mother would not do them hurt."

The troops under Leſly were but ill armed, for they had not three thouſand muſquets amongſt them all; ſo that, notwithſtanding their vapouring, they were much better prepared for a treaty than a battle. But their countrymen about the king's perſon and in his army, moſt infamouſly betrayed him, by magnifying the ſtrength of the rebels, and at the ſame time giving them intelligence of every thing that was tranſacted between Charles and his council; and the king ſeeing his noblemen and followers as generally averſe to the proſecution of the war, expreſſed his wiſhes for an opportunity to terminate it without bloodſhed. The Covenanters, apprized of his inclinations, wrote in a very humble ſtrain to the earls of Arundel, Eſſex, and Holland, imploring their good offices with his majeſty, and proteſting that nothing was farther from their thoughts than any deſign to invade England. Eſſex, who both hated and deſpiſed the Scots, would not deign to anſwer their letter, which he ſent to the king: but the other two noblemen were differently affected; they thought the Covenanters had reaſon on their ſide, and turned their thoughts towards a pacification. When thoſe letters had produced their effect, the lord Dumfermling arrived from the Scottiſh camp with a trumpet, and preſented to the king an humble application, beſeeching his majeſty to appoint commiſſioners for a treaty. Charles deſired that the laſt proclamation he ſent to Edinburgh ſhould be read in the

Scottiſh army; general Leſly complied with this requeſt; and then he appointed ſix commiſſioners to treat with the inſurgents. The conferences ſoon produced the following convention for peace, which was ſigned on the ſeventeenth of June.

"I. The forces of Scotland to be diſbanded and diſſolved within twenty-four hours after the agreement of the king's declaration.

"II. The king's caſtles, forts, and ammunition, to be delivered up, after the ſaid publication, ſo ſoon as he ſhall ſend to receive them.

"III. His ſhips to depart preſently after the delivery of the caſtles; and in the mean time no interruption of trade.

"IV. All perſons goods and ſhips detained by the king ſince the firſt of November, to be reſtored."

"V. No meetings, treatings, conſultations, or convocations, of any of the Scots, but ſuch as are warranted by act of parliament.

"VI. All fortifications to deſiſt, and to be remitted to the king's pleaſure.

"VII. To reſtore to every one therein, liberties, lands, houſes, goods, and means whatſoever, taken and detained from them by whatſoever means, ſince the firſt of November laſt."

The next day the king, on his part, ſigned a declaration, in which he was pleaſed to confirm all that had been granted by the marquis of Hamilton, and "that all matters eccleſiaſtical ſhall be determined by the aſſemblies of the kirk, and matters civil by the parliament, and other inferior judicatories eſtabliſhed by law; which aſſemblies ſhall be kept once a year, or as ſhall be agreed upon by the general aſſembly, and our commiſſioner for the time being."

"That a free and general aſſembly be kept at Edinburgh the ſixth day of Auguſt next, where we intend (God willing) to be perſonally preſent; and thereafter a parliament the twentieth of Auguſt, and there an act of oblivion to be paſſed; and that upon their diſarming and diſbanding of their forces, diſſolving and diſcharging all their pretended tabernacles and conventicles, and reſtoring to the king all his caſtles, forts, and ammunition, as alſo his royal honours; and to every one of his good ſubjects, their liberties, lands, houſes, goods, and means whatſoever, taken and detained ſince the late pretended general aſſembly; the king will, preſently thereafter, recall his fleet, and retire his forces, and cauſe reſtitution of their ſhips and goods, taken ſince the aforeſaid time."

The pacification being thus agreed, the king ſent for ſome of the Scots lords, and informed them, that he had given orders to the marquis of Hamilton to draw off the fleet, and did intend to have been at Edinburgh at the opening of the aſſembly; but that he had received letters from the queen, which intimated a neceſſity of his preſence in London about ſome parliamentary affairs; but he would depute the earl of Traquair, with full power and authority, as his high commiſſioner, to hold the aſſembly and the parliament.

It was generally thought, that the conceſſions made by the king would have brought the male-contents to a perfect ſubmiſſion, but they ſoon appeared to have entertained very different thoughts, and to have entered into treaty only to temporize, and that the overtures they made for a pacification were partly out of deference to their correſpondents in England, and partly with a view to fix the odium of any ſubſequent rupture upon the king and his council, for they did not punctually perform any one article; they diſbanded their troops in ſuch a manner that they could be re-aſſembled with the utmoſt facility and diſpatch. A great part of the walls of the caſtle of Edinburgh being fallen down, and the lord Ruthven, who held that fortreſs for the king, ſetting about to repair the breach, the covenanters would not ſuffer the workmen and materials to enter; at the ſame time that they themſelves went on repairing the ſtrong holds in their hands, continuing their meetings and conſultations, and terrifying or proſecuting all who were not their friends; and, in order to get the populace ſtill more on their ſide, they publiſhed and diſperſed a ſcandalous libel, intitled, "Some conditions of his majeſty's treaty with the ſubjects of Scotland before the Engliſh nobility."

This paper conſiſted of eight heads, which were pretended to be drawn out of notes taken upon the ſeveral diſcourſes held with the king about the ſubject of his declaration: the matter of it was highly ſcandalous, and derogatory to the king's honour; for all the ſubſtance of the royal declaration was thereby altered, and the intention of it perverted. This affair gave Charles great diſquiet; and on the fourth of Auguſt he called a council, in which the paper was read; and the counſellors who had been preſent at the conference upon the treaty, unanimouſly agreed, that the contents of the paper were "notoriouſly falſe, and contrary to what his majeſty clearly expreſſed at the pacification." His majeſty likewiſe declared (as appears by the minutes of the council which were afterwards turned into a proclamation) "That before his coming from Berwick, he ſhewed a copy of this ſcandalous paper to the earl of Lindſey, the earl of Holland, maſter treaſurer, and maſter ſecretary Cook, who fully concurred in the aforeſaid opinion with the lords; all which lords, and particularly the earl of Holland, avowed the falſeneſs thereof before the faces of thoſe Scottiſh lords who were believed to be the divulgers of it (the lords of the council of Scotland being there likewiſe preſent); all which conſidered, the whole board became humble petitioners to his majeſty, that this falſe and ſcandalous paper might be publicly burned by the hangman; and that his majeſty's pleaſure might be publiſhed by proclamation, "that no perſon or perſons hereafter, of what degree or condition ſoever, preſume to keep any copy thereof; but that within five days after the ſaid proclamation publiſhed, every ſuch perſon and perſons ſhall deliver to the next juſtice of the peace, at his or their dwelling, all and every copy and copies thereof; the ſame to be by the ſaid juſtices of peace immediately brought or ſent to one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries, on penalty of incurring the uttermoſt of ſuch puniſhment and penalties as by the law of this realm are to be inflicted upon thoſe that keep ſuch ſcandalous and ſeditious papers."

Upon the ſixth of Auguſt (old ſtile), the general aſſembly met at Edinburgh, according to the royal proclamation, and ſat till the twenty-fourth: the chief matters were, the confirmation of the act of the Glaſgow aſſembly, the aboliſhing of epiſcopacy, the five articles of Perth, the high-commiſſion court, the liturgy, and the book of canons; and it ended with an addreſs of thanks to the king, for his indulgence towards them, in the

aſſent of his commiſſioner to their acts; and then another aſſembly was appointed to be held at Aberdeen the next year, in the month of July.

The aſſembly now riſen, the parliament, which had been prorogued from the twentieth to the thirtieth of Auguſt, came together; the firſt four days of its ſeſſion produced a high debate about ſettling their conſtitution, to determine what eſtate ſhould ſupply the order of biſhops, now aboliſhed; which being at laſt agreed, they fell upon other matters and meaſures, tending rather totally to eclipſe the royal power, and new model the government, than to reform abuſes or reſtore the public tranquility; in fine, they were proceeding to the moſt unwarrantable, as well as undutiful, lengths, when Charles ſent orders to Traquair, the high commiſſioner, to interrupt their proceedings, by proroguing them till the ſecond day of June, in the following year; and, ſhould he meet with any oppoſition, to declare thoſe members who ſhould continue ſitting, guilty of high-treaſon. The parliament, upon receiving the order, immediately ſeparated; but not before the members had drawn up a declaration, importing, "That the earl of Traquair and the council had violated the privileges of parliament; that though they had a right to ſit, notwithſtanding the prorogation, they were willing to ſeparate, in order to give the king a proof of their obedience. Nevertheleſs, they left a committee to preſent an humble petition to his majeſty, which was accordingly tranſmitted to London by the earl of Dumfirmling and the lord Loudon, appointed their deputies for that purpoſe; but the king would not favour them with an audience, becauſe they had undertaken their journey without the leave of the high-commiſſioner. After their return to their own country, Traquair being called to court, reported to the council the tranſactions which had paſſed in Scotland; and it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the Scots ſhould be reduced to their duty by force of arms. And thus matters ſtood between the king and that people at the cloſe of the year 1639. Let us now look a little back to the affairs of England.

Charles, prince palatine of the Rhine, arrived at the court of England in July this year, in proſecution of a deſign he had to get the command of the army of Bernard duke of Saxe Weymar, lately dead; which conſiſted of a great number of Swedes, Germans, and other nations: the king approving the deſign, propoſed it to the French ambaſſador, offering that the prince ſhould join in a perpetual league with France, and that he would contribute what he could to his aſſiſtance. The French ambaſſador ſeemed to be very well pleaſed with the offer; and told the king that he doubted not but his maſter would approve of it, and that cardinal Richelieu, the chief miniſter of ſtate, would be willing to ſerve the king and the prince therein; and thereupon he diſpatched a meſſenger to Paris, to acquaint the French king with the matter: but in the mean while it was ſuggeſted to the king, that Richelieu clandeſtinely fomented the troubles in Scotland, whereby the confederate Covenanters had been encouraged to write a letter to that king for aſſiſtance; ſo that the good faith of Richelieu was not to be depended on: wherefore the prince was adviſed to go privately through France to the duke's army; but Richelieu getting intelligence of his being on the way, and deeming this ſecret act a contravention of the treaty then depending, he had the prince arreſted at Lyons, and kept under a ſtrict guard.

In the ſummer of this year, while Charles was ſettling the affairs of Scotland, an accident happened upon the coaſt of England, which is of too great conſequence to be paſſed over in hiſtory, this was a ſea-fight between the two navies of Spain and Holland, in the Downs; which we ſhall inſert in the words of ſir John Pennington, the king's vice-admiral, who has left us the following narrative thereof.

"The Spaniſh Fleet, conſiſting of near ſeventy ſail, bound and deſigned for Dunkirk, in Flanders, with a recruit both of men and money, met with the vice-admiral of the Holland fleet, having in his company ſeventeen ſmall ſhips, September 7, and entered a very fierce diſpute with them, until the Hollander, perceiving himſelf too weak, got to the windward, ſailing alone towards Dunkirk, and continually firing their ordnance, to give warning to their admiral, who lay before that town with the reſidue of the fleet. In the firſt encounter the Hollanders had two ſhips ſunk; and the next morning, by two o'clock, the admiral came up, and joining the vice-admiral between Dover and Calais, they attacked the Spaniards, and continued a very ſharp fight till paſt noon, wherein they had much the better, having taken two galleons, ſunk another, and much ſhattered the reſt; though they were but twenty-five ſail to ſixty and upwards, and at length forced them upon the Engliſh coaſts near Dover, where they left them, and bore off for the coaſt of France, not willing to attempt any thing againſt them within the king of England's liberties.

"The Spaniards being now got, as thought, under the lee of England's protection, began to plot how to get rid of their bad neighbour; and the Spaniſh reſident importuned the king's protection two tides, that in the interim they might have an opportunity for ſlipping away for Spain; but the king being in amity with both nations reſolved to ſtand neuter; and whereas the Spaniards had hired ſome Engliſh ſhips to tranſport their ſoldiers to Dunkirk, the king, upon the complaint of the Dutch ambaſſador, ſtrictly commanded that none ſhould take in any Spaniards, nor paſs beyond Graveſend without licence: but the Spaniards and Hollands, plotting a great while counter the one to the other, the Spaniard at length ſomewhat outwitted his enemy, and, by a ſtratagem, in the night conveyed away fourteen Dunkirk ſhips, having on board four thouſand men.

"In the beginning of October the king ſent the earl of Arundel to the admiral of Spain, don Antonio d'Oquendo, deſiring him to depart by the firſt fair wind, becauſe he would not that they ſhould engage within his ſeas; but the wind continued eaſterly ſo long (a thing not uſual in that ſeaſon) as the Hollanders got daily freſh ſupplies from Zealand, ſo at length their fleet was completed to an hundred ſhips, wherewith they encompaſſed their enemies within piſtol-ſhot, for four days: but that which was ſo long an interview of thoſe two fleets at length turned to an engagement.

"On the eleventh of the ſame month Van Trump, the Dutch admiral, charged the Spaniards with cannon and fireſhips ſo furiouſly, as made them all cut their cables; and being fifty-three in number,

twenty-three ran on ſhore and were ſtranded in the Downs, whereof three were burned, two ſunk, and two periſhed on the ſhore; one of theſe was a a great galleon, the vice-admiral of Gallicia, commanded by don Antonio de Caſtro, which mounted fifty-two pieces of braſs ordnance: the remainder of the twenty-three, ſtranded and deſerted by the Spaniards, were manned by the Engliſh, to ſave them from the Dutch. The other thirty Spaniſh ſhips, under the command of the admiral, don Antonio d'Oquendo, and Lopez, admiral of Portugal, put to ſea, and kept in cloſe order till a great fog fell upon them, when the Dutch, taking the advantage thereof, interpoſed between the admirals and their fleets and fought them valiantly till the fog cleared up, when the admiral of Portugal was ſet on fire by two Dutch fire-ſhips; which d'Oquendo perceiving, he preſently took his courſe towards Dunkirk, with the admiral of that place and ſome few ſhips more, for moſt of the reſt were taken; of theſe thirty-two were ſent to Holland, three periſhed on the coaſt of France, one near Dover, five ſunk in their flight, and only ten eſcaped."

Charles did not fail to repreſent this conduct of the Dutch as an inſult upon the Britiſh flag, and made uſe of it as an argument for enforcing the payment of ſhip-money, ſo as to be able to keep a ſufficient fleet at ſea, to curb the inſolence of thoſe republicans: accordingly new writs were iſſued throughout all the counties of England and Wales for collecting this hateful tax. Some time before this the lord-keeper Coventry, having with an unuſual good fortune kept the great-ſeal many years, died in the exerciſe of that high office, upon which the great-ſeal was given to ſir John Finch, chief-juſtice of the Common Pleas, a devoted tool to Laud, by whoſe violent counſels, and that of his faction, Charles was entirely guided, and puſhed on to go forward, through all difficulties, to the eſtabliſhment of prerogative. We now come to the year 1640.

The king having determined upon the war with Scotland, tried every expedient to raiſe a powerful army; but ſoon found that, his Exchequer being exhauſted, and great debts contracted, his ordinary revenues would not be ſufficient to maintain his forces; a parliament therefore, after above eleven years intermiſſion, after trying many irregular expedients, after many and great diſguſts given to the nation by arbitrary impoſitions, muſt now be aſſembled, in order to ſupply the exigences of the crown; and it was reſolved by Laud, Wentworth earl of Stafford (now returned from the government of Ireland), and Hamilton, who were Charles's principal friends and counſellors, to iſſue writs for the great aſſembly of the nation to ſit in the enſuing April. In the mean time the Dutch ſent a ſplendid embaſſy, with excuſes for the late conduct of their fleet on the Britiſh coaſts, and a propoſal of marriage between the prince of Orange and Charles's eldeſt daughter, of which more hereafter. The earl of Northumberland was appointed general of the army deſtined to act againſt Scotland.

The parliament meeting on the twenty-third of April, was opened by a ſpeech from the lord-keeper Finch, to which Charles made a ſhort preface, concerning the neceſſity of their meeting. When Finch had ended his ſpeech, Charles informed them, that ſome time before the earl of Traquair having intercepted a letter wrote to the king of France by the Scottiſh malecontents, had tranſmitted it to him, and that he had thereupon committed to the Tower the lord Loudon, commiſſioner from the Covenanters, one of the perſons who had ſubſcribed the treaſonable letter, which he now produced, hoping thereby to inflame the parliament by the indignity, and alarm them by the danger of this application to a foreign power. This letter, which was indeed a convincing proof that there was nothing too deſperate for the Covenanters to ſtick at, for compaſſing their ends, was conceived in the follow terms;

"Sir,

"Your majeſty being the refuge and ſanctuary of afflicted princes and ſtates, we have found it neceſſary to ſend this gentleman, Mr. Colvil, to repreſent unto your majeſty the candour and ingenuity as well of our actions and proceedings, as of our intentions, which we deſire to be engraven and written in the whole world with a beam of the ſun, as well as to your majeſty. We therefore moſt humbly beſeech you (ſir) to give faith and credit to him, and to all that he ſhall ſay on our part, touching us and our affairs, being moſt aſſured (ſir) of your aſſiſtance equal to your wonted clemency heretofore, and ſo often ſhewed to this nation, which will not yield the glory to any other whatſoever, to be eternally, ſir, your majeſty's moſt obedient and moſt affectionate ſervants,

Rothes, Montroſe, Leſley;
Marr, Montgomery, Loudon,
Forreſter."

When the commons returned to their houſe, they choſe ſerjeant Glanville to be their ſpeaker. The arguments of the king and his miniſter to get from them a ſpeedy aid, and adequate to the great projects he had formed of reducing the malecontents of Scotland to a ſtate of perfect ſubmiſſion, made no impreſſion upon them: they knew, from former experience, that Charles would remember his promiſes no longer than he could be compelled by neceſſity, they therefore reſolved to adhere to their old and conſtitutional maxim of redreſſing the grievances of the nation before they ſhould grant a ſupply to the crown. This untoward diſpoſition in the commons was chiefly imputed to the machinations of ſir Henry Vane, who had been made ſecretary of ſtate in the room of old Cooke, who, with many others had been turned out for adviſing the late pacification with the Scots. Vane, it ſeems, bore an inveterate grudge to the earl of Strafford, on whom the king had, at his creation, beſtowed the additional title of baron Raby, to which the former aſpired, as being a manor granted him, together with Barney caſtle, from the crown; and becauſe he ſaw Strafford (at whoſe inſtance the parliament had been principally called) deſirous for the king to gain the affections of the commons, in order to obtain from them the neceſſary ſupplies; he reſolved to exert his utmoſt endeavours to fruſtrate this deſign. He had, in the king's name propoſed to the houſe, that if they would vote twelve ſubſidies, amounting to about ſix hundred thouſand pounds, to be made payable in three years, and paſs it into a law immediately, with a clauſe that it ſhould not determine the ſeſſion,

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his majeſty would not only abſtain from levying ſhip-money, but even conſent to its being utterly aboliſhed, in any manner they ſhould judge convenient. Vane, inſpiring Charles with an idea of making this propoſal, ſeems to have been perfectly well acquainted with the diſpoſition of the members of the houſe of commons, and how favourable it was to his deſign of embroiling the king with them. This propoſal produced violent debates: the commons thought no argument, more unfavourable, could poſſibly be urged for a ſupply, than an offer to aboliſh ſhip-money; a taxation the moſt illegal, and the moſt dangerous, which had ever, in any reign, been impoſed on the nation: and they imagined, that, by bargaining for the remiſſion of that duty, they would ſeem, in a manner, to acknowlege the authority by which it had been levied; or, at leaſt, give encouragement for aſſuming new claims of a like nature, in hopes of reſigning them on like advantageous terms: and, for theſe reaſons, they reſolved to pay no regard to the king's ſolicitations, but to continue the examination and redreſs of the public grievances.

Things were now come to the criſis Vane wiſhed for: Charles was incenſed to the higheſt degree at the unreaſonable obſtinacy of the commons; and this treacherous member, taking advantage of his perturbation, inſinuated that he had it from good authority, that in a day or two the commons intended to paſs a vote againſt the war with Scotland; and Charles unhappily believing the report, which, by all that appears by the journals of the proceedings of the houſe, was entirely groundleſs, repaired on the morrow (being the fifth of May) to the houſe of peers, where he diſſolved the parliament. The marquis of Hamilton has not eſcaped the cenſure of ſome well-informed hiſtorians on this action, which in the end proved fatal to Charles, in order to embroil the king's affairs, to confirm the Scots, and diſtract the Engliſh, with a view to work his own advantages on both.

Indeed no ſtep could have been taken more proper to exerciſe the reigning ſpirit of diſcontent among the people, who uſually repoſe the moſt entire confidence in their repreſentatives, and expect from them the redreſs of all their grievances. But as if this had not been thought enough to ruin Charles in the minds of his ſubjects, he was, by his violent counſellors, prevailed on to renew thoſe acts of arbitrary power which, from former experience, he might have learned were ſo dangerous and unpopular. Bellaſis and ſir John Hotham were cited before the council; and refuſing to give any account of their conduct in parliament, were thrown into priſon. Crew, the chairman of the committee of religion, was ordered to deliver up all the complaints and petitions preſented to the committee; and on his refuſing to produce them, he was ſent to the Tower. The ſtudies and even the pockets of the earl of Warwick and lord Brooke were ſearched, before the expiration of privilege, in hopes of finding ſome treaſonable papers.

Though the parliament was diſſolved, the convocation continued ſitting, under the name of a ſynod, to the twenty-ninth of May, and enacted certain canons. Among theſe there was one that obliged all eccleſiaſtics, and ſuch as had received degrees in the univerſities, to take an oath, importing, that they approved of the doctrine and diſcipline of the church of England; and that they never would conſent to any alteration of the church-government, by archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, archdeacons, &c. After having ſettled their canons and this oath, which they had no legal power to impoſe, they granted a large ſubſidy, for the maintenance of the Scottiſh war, and then ſeparated.

The diſſolution of this parliament was by the people thought to be the work of the archbiſhop of Canterbury; this raiſed the popular hatred againſt him to the higheſt pitch: and on the ninth of May a paper was poſted upon the Old Exchange, by one John Lilburne, exciting the apprentices to riſe and riſle his houſe at Lambeth on the Monday following; of which the archbiſhop having notice, made proviſion of ſome quantity of arms and ammunition for his defence. In the dead of the night preceding the appointed day, five hundred of the rabble beſet his houſe, and ſtrove to force an entrance, but were repulſed, and forced to depart with only denouncing their anger in ſeditious language againſt him, and breaking the windows of his palace. The next day many of them were apprehended, and confined in the White Lion priſon, in Southwark: but within three days after, a number of their accomplices aſſembled, broke open the priſon, and reſcued them: nevertheleſs one of the ringleaders of the firſt riot was retaken, arraigned, condemned, hanged, drawn, and quartered on the twenty-firſt of May.

It ſeemed as if Charles had ſtudied to ſet all ranks of people againſt him, for inſtead of ſoothing the city of London in the preſent delicate ſituation of circumſtances, he proſecuted it in the Star-chamber for certain miſdemeanors committed at Londonderry, in Ireland, which had been peopled by the city, and condemned it in a very heavy fine. He continued to raiſe all the taxes which had been ſo loudly inveighed againſt in parliament. Such a conduct in an abſolute prince would have occaſioned a revolt among his ſubjects, much more in a limited monarch. Unſupported by his parliament, he was now obliged to have recourſe to the generoſity of individuals, and ſo much intereſt did he poſſeſs among the courtiers and miniſters, that above three hundred thouſand pounds were ſubſcribed in a few days.

The earl of Northumberland had been appointed general of the king's army, now augmented to twenty thouſand men, the earl of Strafford lieutenant-general, and lord Conway general of the horſe; but Northumberland being about this time ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, could not take upon him the command; as to Strafford, it ſeems his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary in England, to direct the affairs of the council; Charles therefore went himſelf in perſon ſo ſoon as the queen, then great with child, was delivered of her ſon Henry, who was born at Oatlands, on the twentieth of July. But in the mean time the army was ordered to march northward; and lord Conway marched with the van ſome days before the reſt could come up: and as he was advancing, news was brought him, that the Scottiſh army, under general Leſly, was marched to Dunce, not far from Berwick, where they had taken up their quarters the preceding year. Upon this advice he ordered the army to haſten towards Newcaſtle; but before they reached that place, intelligence came that the Scottiſh army had entered England on the twen-

tieth of Auguſt. The king received advice of this on his way to York, and diſpatched orders to Conway to do what he could to impede their march till the army could come up. Upon this Conway called a council of war, the reſult of which was, that they ſhould ſeize the paſs at Newborne upon Tyne, to prevent the Scots poſſeſſing themſelves of Newcaſtle, where ſir Jacob Aſtly had newly entered with his regiment, but had not time to erect any fortifications. The king made all the haſte he could; but by that time he reached North Allerton, about two days march on this ſide Newcaſtle, the lord Conway ſent to him an account of the defeat of the forces under his command, which he received at Newborne, on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt.

In conſequence of their ſucceſs at Newborne, the Scots entered Newcaſtle without oppoſition: as for Conway, he retired with precipitation to Durham, and thinking himſelf not ſafe in that place, returned to North Allerton, where he found the main army, which alſo retreated to York. In the mean while, the Scots entered Newcaſtle peaceably and under the moſt ſolem proteſtation of friendſhip, which they ſoon violated by treating the inhabitants of the town and neighbouring country in all reſpects as a conquered people; nor does it even appear that any precautions were taken by the Engliſh officers to prevent the king's magazines of powder and ammunition from falling into the hands of the enemy.

Charles arrived at York on the twenty-third of Auguſt: and, after aſſembling the gentlemen there, he and the earl of Strafford did all they could to animate them to the ſervice of their country. They had advanced as far as North Allerton with their whole army, when they heard of lord Conway's defeat, on which they retreated to York, that they might be joined by the troops that were marching from Newcaſtle to Durham; and the whole to all appearance, compoſed a very fine army.

It was doubtleſs mortifying to Charles to be reduced to ſubmit to the inſolence of rebels, and hold a parley with the avowed enemies of his royal ſtate and dignity; but what could he do? he ſaw a viſible coldneſs in the officers and common men of his army, which gave him the moſt dreadful apprehenſions that they would not fight againſt the Scots: the great county of York, inſtead of raiſing men for his ſervice, preſented a petition againſt his meaſures: in fine, he ſaw no other method of ſtopping the progreſs of the Covenanters, than by complying with their propoſal.

While theſe things were in agitation, an addreſs was preſented from the city of London, petitioning for a parliament, as the only method of healing the diſtempered ſtate. This petion encouraged the earls of Bedford, Eſſex, Hertford, Warwick, Briſtol, and Mulgrave, the lords Say and Seale, Howard of Eſcrick, Bolingbroke, Mandeville, Brooke, and Paget, to preſent another of the like tendency. In theſe, and a thouſand other diſtracting circumſtances, the only expedient that Charles and his friends could think of, was ſomewhat between a parliament and a council, and was revived from very remote antiquity; this was, to ſummon a council of the Engliſh peers at York.

On the twenty-fourth of September this great council met, and Charles opened it with a ſpeech, in which he demanded their advice upon two points: the firſt was, what anſwer to be given to the rebels, and in what manner they were to be treated; the ſecond, how to get money for keeping his army together until a parliamentary ſupply ſhould be raiſed. After various debates, it was reſolved to name commiſſioners for treating with the Scots; theſe were, the earls of Bedford, Hertford, Eſſex, Saliſbury, Warwick, Briſtol, Holland, and Berkſhire, viſcount Mandeville, the lords Wharton, Paget, Brooke, Pawlet, Howard, Savile, and Dunſmore: the earls of Traquair, Morton, and Lanerk, were named as aſſiſtants to theſe commiſſioners, to remove any difficulties that could ariſe from their ignorance of the conſtitution and affairs of Scotland; and ſecretary Vane, Mr. Lewis Stuart, and ſir John Burroughs, were to aſſiſt in like manner upon the part of the Engliſh commiſſioners. It was firſt propoſed, as moſt conſiſtent with the king's dignity, that the treaty ſhould be held at York; but the Scots, not ſo much from any real apprehenſions they had of danger, as to increaſe the odium againſt Strafford, refuſed to come to any place where he had power; and, after various conſultations, Rippon was appointed to be the place of meeting. All this while the inhabitants of the northern counties, that had been laid under contribution by the Scots, made dreadful complaints to Charles of their oppreſſion; and, in order to keep the Engliſh army together, inſtructions were given by the great council to the earls of Manchеſter, Pembroke, and Clare, the viſcount Camden, with the lords Coventry and Goring, to treat with the city of London for the loan of two hundred thouſand pounds. The commiſſioners for the Scots were the earl of Dumfermling, lord Loudon, ſir Patrick Hepburn, ſir William Douglas, Mr. Smith, Mr. Wedderburn, Mr. Henderſon, and Mr. Johnſton.

The conferences were opened at Rippon on the firſt of October, and the Scots commiſſioners preſented the following propoſitions, in the form of a petition: "That his majeſty would be pleaſed to cauſe the acts of the laſt general aſſembly to be ratified in parliament: that the caſtle of Edinburgh, and all places of ſtrength in Scotland, ſhould be employed for no other purpoſe but the defence of the kingdom: that the Scots in England and Ireland ſhould not incur any penalty for having ſubſcribed the Covenant, nor be ſubjected to oaths or ſubſcriptions contrary to the laws of the realm: that the authors of theſe troubles ſhould be puniſhed as incendiaries, according to their demerits: that the ſhips taken from the Scots ſhould be reſtored with all their merchandize; and all damage to be repaired: that they ſhould be indemnified for all the loſſes they had ſuſtained ſince the beginning of the troubles: that the proclamations declaring them traitors, ſhould be revoked; and that his majeſty would, with the advice of the Engliſh parliament, withdraw the garriſons from the frontiers: that a free communication and commerce between the two nations be reſtored." They likewiſe demanded, in an inſolent manner, forty thouſand pounds per month for maintaining their army, during the treaty. Charles would gladly have conſented that both armies ſhould have been diſbanded, but he could not prevail; and he now ſaw that nothing advantageous to him could reſult from the interview at Rippon: he therefore endeavoured to transfer the conferences to York, where the great

council continued ſitting; but he was again diſappointed through the refuſal of the Scots. His own commiſſioners preſſed him to remove the treaty from Rippon to London, to which he was obliged to comply, and alſo to a ceſſation of arms, by which the Scots were aſſured of maintenance for their army; and the river Tees was made the boundary for both parties. This ceſſation was concluded on the twenty-ſixth of October, and the commiſſioners returned to York, where Charles found himſelf obliged to ratify all they had done in granting the demands of the Scots. Thus was this unhappy prince humbled, to receive law from his rebels, and directions from his ſubjects.

Charles finding the general ſenſe of the nation was ſo declared for a parliament, had in his ſpeech to the great council acquainted them that he intended to ſummon one to ſit on the third of November enſuing, and writs had accordingly been iſſued out for that purpoſe. There remained, therefore but a ſhort time for him to return to London before the meeting of the parliament, which he did, leaving Strafford, who had joined his army, to provide for the peace of the North; and an army of rebels, whom he paid, to domineer in the bowels of his country; for it was underſtood that the Scottiſh army was neither to return, or be diſbanded, till the treaty, begun at Rippon, was finiſhed at London.

The parliament met, according to its ſummons, on the third of November, and the commons choſe Lenthall, a lawyer of ſome reputation, for their ſpeaker. The parliament at meeting was unuſually numerous, every member looking upon this conjuncture as a national criſis: the ſpeech of Charles, as uſual contained reflections on the incredulity of thoſe who had refuſed to truſt to his perſonal aſſurances: he recommended to his parliament, firſt to drive out the Scottiſh rebels, and then he promiſed them a redreſs of grievances; and laſtly he recommended to them to provide money for the payment of the army, which otherwiſe muſt be diſbanded, while that of the rebels was kept on foot.

It would ſwell theſe ſheets too much, were we minutely to ſet down the ſeveral ſteps taken by this parliament in the purſuit of the favourite object of humbling the kingly authority; we ſhall content ourſelves with given a ſummary account of their proceedings, but ſo as not to omit any material incident worthy the knowlege of the reader. And here we ſhall beg leave to premiſe a general reflection on the characters and circumſtances of men and things at this juncture.

The long intermiſſion of parliaments had produced many miſchiefs and inconveniences in the government, by the remiſſneſs of ſome and the rigor of others, in church and ſtate, which inflamed the zeal of many good patriots of both houſes to be very urgent for the redreſs of their errors: the eye of the whole nation was fixed on the proceedings of a parliament ſummoned at ſo critical a juncture, and during ſuch general diſcontents as now rent the whole nation; a parliament which was to complete every thing left unfiniſhed by former parliaments. Notwithſtanding the vigorous efforts of the courtiers and miniſters, the elections had run almoſt entirely in favour of thoſe in the oppoſition: the members were generally bent upon an alteration in the government; the few moderate men amongſt them ſought only to aſcertain the liberties of the nation; others reſolved to humble the royal prerogative; and there was a more violent party that extended their views to an utter extirpation of the hierarchy and monarchical government, but theſe at firſt carefully concealed their deſigns under the profeſſion of rigid preſbyterianiſm, and were afterwards known by the name of Independents. The two latter parties were in confederacy with the Scots, and ſought, by fomenting the diſtractions of the ſtate, to lift themſelves into places of power and truſt: the purſuit of theſe things made them exceed the methods and proceedings of their predeceſſors, and, by inſpiring jealouſies, countenancing and procuring tumultuous petitions and aſſemblies by menaces and force, they often obtained the accompliſhment of their purpoſes, contriving without-door in private meetings, what they deſigned to carry within. The ſucceſs they met with in theſe their proceedings enlarged their views and extended their ambition; it bred thoughts in them they had never entertained before; and this was that which drew on the ruin of the king, and with him, for ſome time, the ſubverſion of all monarchy: but many of thoſe who were in the beginning moſt active for reformation, had not in their proſpect the calamity that enſued, and too late repented the error of having lent their aſſiſtance to thoſe actions, when they could no longer ſtem the tide that the breath of violence and diſaffection had ſwelled to ſo great an height. Theſe matters will more plainly appear as we proceed in the hiſtory of this reign, whoſe horrors we are now about to deſcribe.

The earl of Strafford was conſidered as the firſt miniſter of ſtate, both on account of the great intereſt which he had with his maſter, and his own uncommon abilities. By a concurrence of untoward circumſtances he had expoſed himſelf to the hatred of all the three nations, which compoſed the Britiſh empire. The Scots, whoſe authority was now very great, regarded him as the capital enemy of their country, and one, whoſe councils and influence they had moſt reaſon to dread. He had perſuaded the parliament of Ireland to furniſh large ſupplies, in order to proſecute a war againſt them: he had raiſed an army of nine thouſand men, with which he threatened to invade their weſtern coaſt: he had compelled the Scots, who lived under his government, to renounce the Covenant, which they ſo much adored: he had in Ireland denounced the Scottiſh Covenanters rebels and traitors, even before the king had taken any ſuch ſtep againſt them in England: and he had ever given his opinion againſt the late treaty and ſuſpenſion of arms, which he conſidered as dangerous and diſhonourable. So highly were the Scots incenſed at all theſe meaſures, that they had abſolutely refuſed to ſend commiſſioners to treat at York, as was firſt propoſed; becauſe, they ſaid, the lieutenant of Ireland, their capital enemy, being general of the king's forces, was there poſſeſſed of the chief command and authority.

Strafford, firſt as deputy, then as lord-lieutenant, had managed the affairs of Ireland for the ſpace of eight years. His government had been extremely vigilant and active, but very far from being popular. His authority and influence, however, during the time of his proſperity, had kept his enemies in awe; but no ſooner was he ſeized with adverſity, then the concealed averſion of the Iriſh

blazed out at once, and the parliament of that kingdom employed every expedient in order to aggravate the charge againſt him.

All the grievances which the Engliſh had ſuffered for a number of years, were univerſally aſcribed to the pernicious councils of Strafford; becauſe he was known to be the miniſter whom the king moſt favoured and conſulted.

Though deſcended from an ancient family, and born to a conſiderable eſtate, his ſudden and great elevation was not exempted from envy; and his former aſſociates in popular meaſures, finding that he owed his advancement to the deſertion of their cauſe, purſued him with the moſt implacable hatred, and reſolved to exert their utmoſt efforts in order to effect his ruin*.

The firſt five days of this ſeſſion was taken up in ſettling the five ſtanding committees for grievances, religion, courts of juſtice, trade, and privileges and elections; and in ſeveral declamatory ſpeeches againſt the maladminiſtration of government, both in church and ſtate, the chief part of which were aſcribed to the councils of the earl of Strafford and archbiſhop Laud: fanaticiſm ſeems to have taken poſſeſſion of the minds of almoſt all ranks of people: at this time religion was become an univerſal faſhion; the moſt eloquent ſpeakers in the houſe introduced a kind of holy cant and jargon into their ſpeeches, and all their alluſions being ſcriptural, ſtamped them with an air of prophecy or inſpirarion.

The Scottiſh commiſſioners were now arrived in London, in order to put a finiſhing hand to the treaty that had been begun at Rippon. Theſe had many conferences with their friends of the houſe of commons; and it was agreed by them, that the earl of Strafford ſhould be impeached at his firſt coming to the houſe of peers, for he was as yet at York. This meaſure was thus ſuddenly reſolved on, to prevent an impeachment that nobleman had ready againſt Mr. Pym and ſome others of the leading members of both houſes, for holding intelligence with the Scots, which he intended to have offered in the houſe of peers as ſoon as he had taken his ſeat amongſt them. It was the tenth of November, early in the morning, while the houſe of commons was in a debate about papiſts, that it was certainly known that Strafford was come to town; upon this a motion was immediately made, "that no member ſhould leave the houſe; that the outward room, or lobby, be kept clear from ſtrangers; and the outer door, upon the ſtair-head, be kept locked;" and all this upon pretext of examining Newton and Grey, two meſſengers, who had been concerned in taking up and diſcharging papiſts. This ſecrecy was ſomewhat interrupted by a meſſage from the lords, who demanded a meeting with the commons, which the latter refuſed; and Pym and Clotworthy, with the other enemies of Strafford, were ſo vehement in their ſpeeches, and ſo quick in their diſpatch againſt him, that his impeachment, upon the notoriety of the facts contained in it, was carried up that very day by Pym, who at the bar of the houſe of peers accuſed him of high-treaſon. The earl was thereupon required to withdraw, and it was very warmly debated by the peers, whether he ſhould be impriſoned on a general accuſation as this was, without any particular act of treaſon charged againſt him; but, upon the queſtion, it was carried in the affirmative, and the earl, upon being called in, was put into the cuſtody of the black-rod, until the houſe of commons ſhould exhibit a more particular charge againſt him.

The next day the commons, conſidering the great preſſures of the northern counties by the two armies that lay upon them, reſolved that two hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be raiſed for their maintenance; and, till it could be regularly levied, one hundred thouſand pounds were borrowed in the city of London, upon the credit of ſome of the members of the houſe of commons. Many petitions from all parts were now brought in for redreſs of grievances, and to be relieved againſt orders and decrees of the Council-table, Star-chamber, and High-commiſſion court; which were referred to the proper committees: ſeveral perſons alſo were releaſed out of priſon upon their petitions, among whom were Prynne, Burton, and Baſtwick: and a while after, by the interceſſion of the lords with the king, Williams, biſhop of Lincoln, was alſo freed from his impriſonment in the Tower, and admitted to reſume his ſeat in the upper-houſe. In the mean time the king, willing to be rid of the Scottiſh army, haſtened the commiſſion to the lords who were employed in the treaty of Rippon, or any ten of them, to treat with the Scottiſh commiſſioners, or any ſeven of them, to take into conſideration their demands, and compoſe all differences ariſing thereupon; which commiſſion was paſſed under the great-ſeal of England on the twenty-third of November: and in a ſhort time after the Scots preſented their demands, which were eight in number; and afterwards they put in ſeventeen heads, wherein one (and that not the leaſt conſiderable) was, that ſome Scotchmen of reſpect might enjoy places of truſt about the king, queen, and prince. This was that which all their pretences aimed at, notwithſtanding all their zeal to the reformation of religion: and though all they deſired elſe was granted, they never attained to their ends in this; for the troubles which they raiſed, did not only bring after them a miſery to this nation, but them alſo, and the ringleaders of them wanted not their part thereof: ſir Francis Windebank, ſecretary of ſtate, was aimed at, as one of the great delinquents in the opinion of the parliament, being ſuſpected in his religion, a great favourer of the prieſts of the Romiſh church, for whom he had obtained many reprieves, and was thought to be guilty of miſdemeanors of a higher nature; but he, thinking himſelf not ſufficiently provided to ride out the approaching ſtorm, made his eſcape into France, where he died a Roman catholic. In the conſideration of grievances, the charge impoſed upon the ſubject for providing and furniſhing of ſhips, and the aſſeſſments for raiſing money for that purpoſe, commonly called ſhip-money, were voted by both houſes to be againſt the laws of the realm; and all proceedings in the caſe, both at Council-table, Star-chamber, and courts of juſtice, declared null and void.

The debate of ſhip-money led the houſe to conſider of the firſt occaſion of raiſing it, which was, becauſe the parliament immediately preceeding the laſt, was diſſolved without granting the ſupplies the king

* Hume's Hiſtory of Great Britain, Charles I.

expected

expected from them; and from hence they were led into an enquiry of ſeveral violations of the priveleges of parliament, by the commitment of divers members, and a judgment againſt them in the King's Bench: and then all the inconveniences were ſummed up, that happened through the long intermiſſion of parliaments; to provide againſt which, it was reſolved to bring in a bill for eſtabliſhing triennial parliaments. The debates took up many days, and whilſt theſe conſultations were held for the reformation of the civil ſtate, the Scottiſh commiſſioners, who acted in concert with the puritan party, were not idle in their endeavours to alter the hierarchy or eccleſiaſtical ſtate: by the fanatical diſcourſes of themſelves and their emiſſaries they ſo worked upon the minds of the deluded people, that a great number of petitions were preſented to the commons againſt eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, the ceremonies of the church, and the government of it by biſhops: amongſt which was one preſented by alderman Pennington, ſubſcribed by fifteen hundred citizens of London. This petition did not a little alarm the moderate party in the houſe of commons, who were not unwilling to have the abuſes of church-government reformed, but could not approve of the alteration of that government itſelf; ſo that, after ſome debate, the petition was ordered to lie upon the table for farther conſideration. The puritans however, though unſucceſsful in this effort, fell a while after upon another expedient, more plauſible, which was an inquiſition into the legality of the new canons, the oath, and the tax upon the clergy, which had been created and impoſed by the convocation, after the parliament had been diſſolved, and it was voted by a great majority, "That ſuch an aſſembly had no power to frame conſtitutions, canons, or any other acts, without conſent of parliament; that the late canons contained matters contrary to the king's prerogative, the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the rights of parliament, and the liberty and property of the ſubjects; that therefore they tended to ſedition, and were of the moſt dangerous conquences."

The very ſame day that the canons were thus voted down (December 17) the commons appointed a committee of thirty-nine members, to enquire who were the principal promoters of thoſe canons, and to prepare an impeachment againſt the archbiſhop of Canterbury, for having endeavoured to overturn the laws and religion of his country. The Scottiſh commiſſioners, who acted in concert with the puritan party, at the ſame time preſented to the lords an accuſation againſt that prelate, charging him with being the author of all the troubles in Scotland, by impoſing the book of canons and the liturgy upon the natives of that kingdom, and exciting a war between his majeſty and his ſubjects. The archbiſhop being likewiſe impeached by the commons, was taken into cuſtody, and afterwards committed to the Tower. Matthew Wren, biſhop of Ely, being ſuſpected of a deſign to quit the kingdom, was obliged to give ſecurity for ten thouſand pounds. The lord-keeper Finch being threatened with a proſecution, fled into Holland and was declared a traitor by a vote of the houſe of commons, and the king committed the ſeals to the cuſtody of ſir Edward Littleton. Brampſton, Davenport, and Crawley, three of the judges, were obliged to give bail. Such was the method taken to overawe the king's miniſters: but what ſtill more contributed to intimidate his adherents, was the practice of paſſing votes againſt any part of their conduct as contrary to law. From want of power, rather than inclination, to reſiſt, the king was obliged to remain a paſſive ſpectator of all thoſe violent proceedings. He hoped to regain his loſt authority by a little flexibility, but herein he was miſtaken: he imagined that the parliament would aſſiſt him in taking vengeance upon the Scots for their irruption into England; but inſtead of that, this very parliament made them a preſent of three hundred thouſand pounds, to defray the expences they had been at in carrying on a civil war. He flattered himſelf likewiſe with ſuppreſſing the puritanical party in England: almoſt all the members of the houſe of commons were puritans. He had a tender affection for the earl of Strafford, who had devoted himſelf ſo generouſly to his ſervice; and the commons ſoon after obliged him to ſign the fatal warrant for his death, and thereby ſhew his ſubjects the way to ſhed blood ſtill more precious.

We have already obſerved, that the States had propoſed to Charles a marriage between his eldeſt daughter and the young prince of Orange. In the beginning of the year 1641, this prince renewed the demand, and the ambaſſadors had orders to propoſe to Charles, at the ſame time ſuch a league as ſhould be found moſt conducive to the intereſts of both people. Charles readily agreed to both propoſitions, and the articles of marriage were ſoon drawn up; but he thought proper to impart the whole to the houſe of peers, which he accordingly did, and the marriage was ſhortly after concluded, to the great ſatisfaction of the public.

About this time, or a few days before, the particular charge againſt the earl of Strafford was carried up to the lords by Mr. Pym, under twenty-eight articles. They had, on the twenty-eighth of November, in the preceding year, exhibited ſome general articles, to which he could not be forced to anſwer; but upon this farther impeachment the lords required him to anſwer to the whole: and though the charge was very long, yet were the commons ſo preſſing for his anſwer, that, by the twenty-fourth of February, he delivered it to the lords. It appears that the Iriſh houſe of commons had by this time ſent over a committee to aſſiſt in the proſecution of this unfortunate nobleman, who had been their governor; and, in a word, the three kingdoms ſeemed bent upon his deſtruction. Upon the carrying up the impeachment laſt-mentioned, he was taken out of the cuſtody of the uſher of the black-rod, and committed to the Tower. He moved the lords to have counſel allowed him, which was much oppoſed by the commons; but his accuſation being found to have many points of law in it, he was at length indulged with a grant of his requeſt.

The bill for triennial parliaments having paſſed both houſes, was, on the ſixteenth of February, offered to the king, under the title of "An act for the preventing inconveniencies happening from the long intermiſſion of parliaments," and at the ſame time the commons preſented an act for the relief of his majeſty's army and the northern parts of the kingdom, to both which the king gave his royal aſſent. No act that had ever paſſed ſeemed better calculated for preſerving the liberties of the ſubject, than the act for triennial parliaments; for it

it provided, "that in caſe the king ſhould refuſe to ſummon a parliament at the time therein limited, the chancellor or keeper might iſſue out writs to ſummon the peers, and for election of the commons; and if the chancellor or keeper ſhould not do it, any twelve of the peers might ſummon the parliament; and if the peers ſhould omit the iſſuing out of ſummons, the ſheriffs in counties, and other magiſtrates, reſpectively, might cauſe elections to be made; and if the ſheriffs ſhould refuſe, the freeholders in the counties might make elections of members; and the members ſo choſen were, under great penalties, obliged to attend:" with many other clauſes to accompliſh the end deſigned by the act.

It muſt be confeſſed, that this act had in it ſeveral expreſſions too much reflecting upon the prerogative; but Charles ſeems by this time to have been ſenſible of the many miſchiefs ariſing from the too long intermiſſion of parliaments, and ſeems to have reſolved to communicate more freely and frequently in that way with his ſubjects. In a word, his ſo readily giving his aſſent to this act was highly pleaſing to the people in general, who every where expreſſed their ſatisfaction by bonfires and other rejoicings: both houſes alſo waited upon the king at Whitehall, with an addreſs of thanks on the occaſion. On the ſame day theſe bills were ſigned; the charge againſt the archbiſhop of Canterbury was carried up to the lords by ſir Henry Vane, the younger, whereupon Laud was ordered to be ſent to the Tower; but, upon his humble ſuit to the lords, his commitment was reſpited to the firſt of March.

The Scottiſh commiſſioners were all this while exerting their utmoſt endeavours for the overthrow of the hierarchy, and the introduction of their preſbyterian diſcipline into the church of England, and had, by their confederates, made an active party in the houſe of commons, which was almoſt filled with puritans, who took every occaſion of aſperſing the biſhops, and in their ſpeeches ſpared not the epiſcopal order itſelf. The city petition, already mentioned, was now taken a ſecond time into conſideration, and, in the courſe of the debates, ſeveral motions were made for entirely aboliſhing the order of biſhops: among thoſe who argued for this meaſure, none diſtinguiſhed themſelves with ſo much vehement eloquence as Nathaniel Fiennes, the younger ſon of the lord Say and Seale; but the lord Falkland, the lord Digby, and many other noblemen of conſummate integrity and deep erudition, ſo warmly oppoſed the motion, and by the ſtrength and eloquence of their reaſoning, ſo far prevailed, that the order of epiſcopacy was yet preſerved, though its power was much leſſened by a vote paſſed in the houſe of commons, preparatory to a bill, reſolving, "that no biſhop ſhall have any vote in parliament, or any judicial power in the Star-chamber, nor bear any ſway in temporal affairs; and that no clergyman ſhall be in the commiſſion of the peace."

About this time Charles, who ſeems to have had nothing elſe in view but the reſtoring the confidence of his ſubjects, by endeavouring to ſatisfy his parliament and ſmooth his meaſures, agreed to ſeveral conſiderable alterations in his court: he admitted into his council the earls of Hertford, Bedford, Eſſex, Briſtol, and Warwick, the lords Say, Saville, and Kimbolton; Juxon, biſhop of London, had, with leſs envy than could be expected, for ſome years held the treaſurer's ſtaff, but he now reſigned it. Oliver St. John was appointed ſolicitor-general: the king intended that Denzill Holles ſhould have filled the places of ſecretary of ſtate, vacated by the flight of Windebank; that Pym ſhould be made chancellor of the Exchequer, in the room of the lord Cottington, who reſigned for that purpoſe; lord Say, maſter of the wards; the earl of Eſſex governor, and Mr. Hampden tutor, to the prince of Wales: but the marquis of Hamilton, who had a great eſteem for Strafford, whom Charles ardently wiſhed to have preſerved, perſuaded the king that the delaying theſe promotions would be a ſtrong bait in Strafford's favour, or that it was neceſſary to make ſome previous terms before the vacancies were filled up, for ſecuring his life. This advice was fatally followed, and blaſted the whole ſcheme: thus Charles loſt the opportunity of at leaſt making the oppoſition eaſy, by thoſe popular acts, for that time, if not for ever.

The ſops with-held from the Cerberuſſes of the party, and the ſacrifices Charles had already made, did not one moment retard the proſecution of Strafford. That nobleman was conſidered as the chief ſupport of the prerogative; the commons looked upon him as an apoſtate; the Scots, as the implacable and avowed enemy of their country. On the thirtieth of January, twenty-eight freſh articles had been given in againſt the earl, the particulars of which are foreign to a general hiſtory; it is ſufficient to ſay, that they charged him with having exerciſed illegal power and oppreſſions in many inſtances, both as preſident of the North and as lord lieutenant of Ireland; with having been the cauſe of the war with the Scots (whom the commons had lately ordered to be ſtyled on all occaſions "our brethren of Scotland"), againſt whom he had unjuſtly irritated his majeſty; with having levied an army of Iriſh papiſts to enſlave the kingdom; and with having adviſed the king to eſtabliſh an abſolute government on the ruin of the conſtitution.

Weſtminſter-hall was formed into a large court of judicature for the important trial; the earl of Arundel preſided as high-ſteward, the peers ſat in their robes as judges, the commons appeared as accuſers, on which account it was determined that the impeachment ſhould be managed by commoners: theſe were George lord Digby, (an Iriſh peer), John Hampden, eſq. John Pym, eſq. Oliver St. John, eſq. ſir Walter Erle, knight, Geoffrey Palmer, eſq. John Maynard, eſq. and John Glynn, eſq. Whitlock was appointed chairman of this committee: we muſt not forget that the biſhops declined being preſent, agreeable to the canon law, which forbids their aſſiſting at any trial for life: at the upper end of the hall was a chair and cloth of ſtate for the king, and on each ſide a cloſe gallery, in which his majeſty and the queen ſat in private. The trial began on the twenty-ſecond of March: the articles of accuſation were enforced with all the virulence of malice. The earl behaved with great dignity, courage, and compoſure; his defence was noble, ſpirited, and effectual; he acquitted himſelf of every accuſation, except a few acrimonious expreſſions, and ſome inſtances of indiſcretion, which ought to have been forgiven, as the infirmities of human nature. Nothing had appeared againſt him to juſtify the charge of treaſon,

when, on the twelfth of April, Pym produced in the houſe of commons a paper of ſome notes taken by ſecretary Vane, of opinions delivered at the council-table. Young Vane pretended he had found them by accident in his father's cabinet; and, as they were thought to bear teſtimony againſt the earl, his accuſers the next day read them openly at his trial. They were entitled "No danger of a war with Scotland, if offenſive, not defenſive." The earl had adviſed the king to borrow a ſum of money: he ſaid his majeſty was abſolved by all rules of government, as having tried all legal ways, and been repulſed; and that he had an army in Ireland, which he might employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience. The earl, in his defence, obſerved "that it was hard meaſure to be proſecuted, under the notion of treaſon, for opinions given in council: that his uſing the expreſſion "this kingdom" was not proved, as the marquis of Hamilton, the earl of Northumberland, the lord-treaſurer, and the lord Cottington, who were preſent at the board, declared upon their honours that they never heard him ſpeak ſuch words. But, granting he had uſed the expreſſion, the word *this* could not rationally imply England, which had not been guilty of diſobedience; but Scotland, which was the immediate object of their deliberation, and in a ſtate of actual rebellion." After making this anſwer, he re-capitulated the ſeveral parts of his former defence, and in his concluſion ſaid, "My lords, I have troubled you longer than I ſhould have done, were it not for the intereſt of theſe dear pledges a ſaint in heaven hath left me." Here he made a pauſe, pointing to his children and ſhedding ſome tears: then proceeded in theſe words; "What I forfeit myſelf, is nothing; but that my indiſcretion ſhould extend to my poſterity, woundeth me to the very ſoul.—You will pardon my infirmity: ſomething I ſhould have added, but am not able, ſo therefore let it paſs.—And now, my lords, for myſelf; I have been taught, by the bleſſings of the Almighty God, that the afflictions of this preſent life are not to be compared to the eternal weight of glory which will be revealed hereafter; and ſo, my lords, even ſo, with all tranquility of mind I freely ſubmit myſelf to your judgment; be it life or death, "Te Deum laudamus." The very chairman of the committee ſays, this great and good perſon ſpoke with ſuch pathetic grace and eloquence as moved the hearts of all his auditors (a few excepted) to pity and remorſe.

The accuſation and defence laſted eighteen days: Strafford, in his replies was obliged to reſerve a ſeeming reſpect for his moſt implacable enemies, the Scottiſh nation and the Iriſh parliament. He took only a ſhort time to anſwer each article urged againſt him, yet he made ſuch a noble and ſatisfactory defence, that the commons ſaw it impoſſible, by a legal proſecution, ever to attain their purpoſe againſt him. But the death of Strafford was conſidered as a matter of too great importance to be left unaccompliſhed. A bill of attainder was therefore introduced into the lower-houſe immediately after the concluſion of this pleadings, which paſſed the houſe on the twenty-firſt of April, after very warm debates, fifty-nine votes only diſſenting, and was immediately ſent up to the lords. On the firſt of May the king went to the houſe of peers, and, in a ſpeech, earneſtly requeſted both houſes that they would not proceed ſeverely againſt the earl of Strafford, whom, in his own conſcience, he ſaid, he could not condemn of high-treaſon; but declared at the ſame time, that, for his miſdemeanors, he ſhould never ſerve him or the kingdom in any place of truſt, "no not ſo much as a conſtable."

This ſpeech was highly offenſive to thoſe who thirſted for the blood of this nobleman; and they were ſo hot in the purſuit of their deſigns, that the commons voted it a breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any bill depending before the houſe. At the ſame time they employed their emiſſaries without doors to ſpread about the city, and other parts of the town, papers containing the names of the fifty-nine members who voted againſt the bill of attainder: thoſe names were affixed to public places, under the denomination of Straffordians and betrayers of their country, and thus expoſed to the fury of the ungoverned multitude, made at this time ſo mad and violent, that, on the the third of May, vaſt numbers from the city appeared at Weſtminſter, armed with ſwords and cudgels, crying aloud for juſtice againſt the earl of Strafford; and ſuch as were ſuſpected of attachment to that unfortunate nobleman, were afraid to appear in public. About eighty peers had conſtantly been preſent at Strafford's trial, but ſo much were they intimidated by the popular tumults, that only forty-nine were in the houſe of lords when the bill of attainder was introduced; yet even nineteen of theſe had the courage to vote againſt it: a ſtrong preſumption that, had liberty of debate been allowed, the bill would have been rejected by a great majority. A new diſcovery, made about this time, increaſed ſtill farther the fury of the people, and haſtened the fate of the devoted Strafford: ſome principal officers of the king's army, partly from their attachment to the crown, and partly from an averſion to the parliament, had formed a plan for engaging into the king's ſervice the troops under their command; with this view they entered into an aſſociation, bound themſelves by an oath of ſecrecy, and maintained a cloſe correſpondence with the king's ſervants: the form of a petition to the king and parliament was compoſed, and it was reſolved to procure the ſubſcription of the army to this petition, in which, after repreſenting the great danger to which the ancient conſtitution of the kingdom was ſubject, by the inſolent proceedings of certain factious and turbulent ſpirits, the army offered to come up and protect his majeſty and the parliament, "ſo ſhall the nation (as they allege in concluſion) not only be vindicated from preſent innovations, but be ſecured from the future which are threatened, and which are likely to be more pernicious than the former." The draught of this petition was tranſmitted to the king, who unhappily was perſuaded to counterſign it, as a mark of his approbation. One of the parties concerned (Goring), imagining the affair could not be kept long a ſecret, diſcovered the whole to the lords Newport and Dungarvon, and they to Pym, who inſtantly imparted the matter to the houſe. This diſcovery could not fail to excite the moſt violent indignation among the people. It was now given out that there was a wicked concert, a moſt dreadful plot, between the court and the army, to cut the throats of the parliament, and of all thoſe who ſtood up for their liberties. The puritanical faction among the commons naturally improved this ſingular

ſingular advantage: they inſtantly got the houſe to vote, that a proteſtation ſhould be ſigned by all the members, to maintain the proteſtant religion againſt popery, to defend the king's perſon, the power of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the ſubject; and the commons, by their ſole authority, iſſued orders that it ſhould be ſubſcribed by the whole nation.

It is incredible with what alacrity this proteſtation was taken, and what a ſpirit it raiſed againſt the earl of Strafford. A bill was next brought in for continuing this parliament, which ſhould not be prorogued, adjourned, or diſſolved without the conſent of both houſes, until the grievances ſhould be redreſſed; but have credit to take up money. There can be no doubt, that by this bill the parliament diſſolved the conſtitution, and henceforward are with juſtice to be conſidered as a faction againſt the commonwealth. The ſame day (Friday May 5), the commons ſent to the king, deſiring acceſs to him, which was granted; and, about four o'clock, they attended in the Banqueting-houſe, at Whitehall, where they preſented to him the bill of attainder againſt the earl of Strafford, and that for the continuance of the parliament, with an intimation that the preſent ſtate of the kingdom would not admit of delay; and therefore they humbly beſought him to give the royal aſſent to thoſe bills: the king told them they might expect his anſwer on Monday, and ſo diſmiſſed them.

Where ever the king turned his eyes he ſaw no remedy nor relief: his caſe, it is certain, called aloud for pity; he was racked with the pangs of conſcience, about putting to death a miniſter whom he had eſteemed, and whom he believed to be innocent; not a counſellor about him, Juxon excepted, had the courage to ſpeak their mind, and all concurred in maintaining (a moſt manifeſt falſhood) that the king ought to ſatisfy his people in this demand, which would, it was preſumed, finally content them. The good biſhop, with a virtuous reſolution, becoming the ſacred character he bore, adviſed the king, if in his conſcience he thought the bill unjuſt, by no means to give his aſſent to it. Strafford, informed of the extreme peplexity his royal maſter was in, carried his loyalty to ſuch a height as to write a letter to the king exhorting him to conſent to his death. "In this (ſaid he) my conſent will more acquit your majeſty to God, than all the world can do beſides. To a willing mind there is no injury. And as, by God's grace, I freely forgive all the world, with a calmneſs and meekneſs of infinite contentment to my departing ſoul; ſo, ſir, to you, I can reſign the life of this world with the utmoſt chearfulneſs, in the juſt ſenſe of your many, great, and exceeding favours." Charles had the weakneſs to take this truſty ſervant at his word, and he aſſented to paſs the act, though he thought he was doing what merited eternal reproach here, and the vengeance of a juſt God hereafter; for it appeared that Charles, notwithſtanding his paſſing the bill, had violent pangs about Strafford, ſince we find that, on the tenth of May, he ſent the prince of Wales to the houſe of peers with a letter, in which he enjoined them to interpoſe their good offices with the commons, in order to procure a mitigation of Strafford's ſentence, or at leaſt a ſhort delay; but, to the indelible diſgrace of loyalty, humanity, and every ſocial or religious virtue; both his requeſts were flatly refuſed: could he, indeed, expect any other from the ſpirit of that oppoſition? A committee of twelve lords was appointed to ſatisfy the king, that even a delay of this illuſtrious criminal's execution would endanger his own and his family's ſafety; and Charles, with a reluctance to be felt but not deſcribed, yielded to the neceſſity of the juncture, and it was reſolved that the earl ſhould die on the twelfth of May.

He was aſſiſted in his laſt moments by archbiſhop Uſher, but was barbarouſly denied the comfort of ſpeaking with Laud; and on the day appointed was brought to Tower-hill, where his head was cut off. It is hard to ſay whether he ſhewed himſelf more pious or brave in his death, or whether he was more blameable or laudable in his life; but it is certain, that, however great his perſonal failings or political demerits were, the abilities and virtues he poſſeſſed, with the penalty of his head which he paid, ought to claim the pity of impartial poſterity for his fate, which, to his dying day, ſat heavy upon his royal maſter. Even a few weeks after Strafford's execution, this very parliament, as if conſcious of the iniquity, at leaſt illegality, of his ſentence, paſſed an act for reſtoring his children in blood and honour, and inveſted them with the poſſeſſions of their father's eſtates.

The commons having thus, by the death of the earl of Strafford, removed the grand obſtacle, as they imagined, to their intended reformation of the ſtate, proceeded to proſecute their projected plan with the utmoſt induſtry and vigour. All the taxes which the king had impoſed, the Star-chamber and High-commiſſion court, the extenſion of the foreſts, and the practice of impriſoning thoſe who refuſed to comply with ſuch impoſitions, were voted contrary to law, and the greater part of monopolies ſuppreſſed. The judges had hitherto enjoyed their patents only during his majeſty's pleaſure; the commons now petitioned the king to grant them patents during thrir good behaviour: and Charles was preſuaded to comply with their requeſt. The marſhal's-court, which took cognizance of offenſive words, and was extremely arbitrary in its proceedings, was for that reaſon, ſuppreſſed. The ſtannary courts, which exerciſed juriſdiction over the miners of Cornwall, being liable to a like objection, underwent the like fate. The council in the North, and that of Wales, were both aboliſhed on the ſame principles. The authority of the clerk of the market, who had a right to inſpect all the weights and meaſures throughout the kingdom, was tranſferred to the mayor, ſheriffs, and ordinary magiſtrates. In a word, if we examine the proceedings of this memorable parliament during the firſt period of its operations, we ſhall find that we are indebted to it for many valuable liberties we enjoy at this day.

The treaty with the Scots being brought to a concluſion, Charles allowed the parliament of Scotland to aſſemble, and declared his intention of aſſiſting at it in perſon. The commons, ſuſpecting that he deſigned to put himſelf at the head of his army in the North, on pretence of his viſiting his kingdom of Scotland, demanded a conference with the lords, and propoſed that both armies ſhould be diſbanded before his departure, which the king at their requeſt, poſtponed till the tenth of Auguſt,

Both were accordingly diſbanded at the ſame time, and the Scots returned to their own country, very well ſatisfied with their expedition. Then the king ſet out on his journey; but their diſtruſt ſtill ſubſiſting, the parliament propoſed that a committee from both houſes ſhould attend the king in Scotland, on pretence of conferring with the Scottiſh parliament, though in reality to be ſpies upon his majeſty's conduct. The earl of Bedford being nominated as one of the peers, declined the office, ſo that lord Howard of Eſcrick was the only member of that houſe who undertook the journey; and of the commons the committee conſiſted of Nathaniel Fiennes, ſir William Armye, ſir Philip Stapleton, and John Hampden. The commons ſtill continued ſitting, and took ſeveral grievances into conſideration; then they reſolved to adjourn from the ninth of September to the twentieth of October. This reſolution was no ſooner taken, than a great number of members from both houſes retired to the country; and ſome rigid preſbyterians took this opportunity to propoſe an alteration in the Book of Common Prayer, which was ſo vigorouſly defended by Mr. Hyde (afterwards earl of Clarendon), that no ſtep was taken on the ſubject. The lords, during this diſpute, voted that the Common Prayer ſhould be uſed without any alteration. This vote produced a conference between the houſes: the commons deſired the lords would concur with them in publiſhing a declaration for ſuppreſſing all the late innovations in the church, and all diverſions on the Lord's Day. The lords, on the other hand, demanded the concurrence of the commons in publiſhing an order of their houſe, prohibiting all change in divine worſhip as eſtabliſhed by law: the lower-houſe abſolutely rejected this propoſal, and ordered their declaration to be printed and publiſhed through the whole kingdom; they at the ſame time appointed a committee of forty-three members to manage affairs of importance during their adjournment; the lords eſtabliſhed another for their houſe, and then the parliament adjourned to the twentieth of October.

The king, attended by the duke of Lenox, lately honoured with the additional title of duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hamilton, and lord Willoughby, ſet out for Scotland on the tenth of Auguſt. On his arrival at Edinburgh, he was received there with great demonſtrations of affection by the people; and, in return for this reception, he confirmed not only the articles of the treaty between the two nations by act of parliament, but all his former conceſſions alſo, and all ſuch things as had been tranſacted by them in their general aſſemblies; and likewiſe, the more effectually to gain their eſteem, he conferred titles of honour and dignity on ſome, and places of power, truſt, and profit, on others; amongſt theſe the marquis of Hamilton was created duke of Hamilton; and general Leſly was created earl of Leven, who was ſo tranſported with the ſenſe of the king's favour and bounty to him, that he often proteſted, and once, at Perth, upon his knees, in the houſe of the earl of Kinnoul, that he would never bear arms againſt the king.

A while after, ſome information was given to the marquiſſes of Hamilton and Argyll, that there was ſome deſign upon their perſons, which made them for ſome few days withdraw themſelves from the parliament and retire from Edinburgh: but their perſons were of ſuch quality and eſtimation in Scotland, that great pains were taken to diſcover the grounds thereof; and, after full examination by the parliament, they themſelves and the great council were ſatisfied, that the information given to them could not be made good to the proof of any deſign againſt their perſons; but the king, who was a little reflected upon in the firſt information, could not conceal his reſentment of this carriage in Hamilton; and when he delivered his patent to the duke in parliament (according to the cuſtom of that nation), he told him he had not deſerved to be miſtruſted by him, for he knew well, when he was accuſed to him of high-treaſon, he permitted him even to be in his bed-chamber. This reproof made no great impreſſion upon the new duke, though he ſeemed outwardly much troubled for having given the king ſo juſt a cauſe of diſpleaſure; yet, upon the firſt report of the buſineſs at London (without ſtaying to hear the opinion of the parliament of Scotland, who had fully examined it) ſtrange interpretations were made upon the matter, as highly and nearly concerning the peace of England; and a ſudden reſolution was taken, firſt by the committee during the receſs, and after by the parliament, to have a guard for the defence of London and Weſtminſter; and both houſes of parliament inſtilled freſh apprehenſions of danger into the minds of the people, when they were ſo lately freed from the fears of two armies.

While Charles reſided in Scotland, he employed all his time and endeavours to compoſe the troubles of that kingdom; and he was now preparing to return to England, in order to perfect the ſame ſalutary work here, when he received intelligence of a rebellion which had broke out in Ireland. The catholics of that country thought they had found the faireſt opportunity of ſhaking off the Engliſh yoke; and religion and liberty, thoſe two ſources of the greateſt actions, hurried them into a deſign the moſt cruel hiſtory hath recorded. They plotted to riſe throughout all the provinces in one day, and murder every proteſtant in the kingdom, after having ſurprized the caſtle of Dublin, which, though the grand magazine of the kingdom, and a place of ſuch importance, was provided with no more than fifty men for its garriſon. The execution of this ſcheme was delayed till the approach of winter, that there might be greater difficulty of tranſporting troops from England. Cardinal Richelieu had promiſed the conſpirators a conſiderable ſupply of men and money, and many Iriſh officers had given aſſurance that they would heartily concur with their catholic brethren as ſoon as an inſurrection ſhould be raiſed. The deſign upon the caſtle of Dublin, which was to have been put in execution the twenty-third of October, was prevented by a timely diſcovery of the plot to the two lord-juſtices, the very night only before; and thus the capital was preſerved; but the bloody part of the conſpiracy was paſt prevention, for the conſpirators were in arms the day affixed in all the counties of the kingdom, and actually maſſacred upwards of forty thouſand defenceleſs proteſtants. It would ſhock the feelings of humanity to deſcribe the particulars of this bloody tragedy; it may ſuffice to ſay, that death was the ſlighteſt puniſhment which thoſe bigoted and blood-thirſty catholicks inflicted upon the unhappy proteſtant victims.

Charles

Charles received intelligence of this inſurrection by a meſſenger diſpatched from the North of Ireland. He forthwith imparted the matter to the Scottiſh parliament, and demanded immediate ſuccours for the ſuppreſſion of the rebels, but the Scots referred the buſineſs to the Engliſh parliament, alleging, with juſtice, that Ireland depended upon England, who would undoubtedly provide for its ſecurity. The king therefore returned in haſte to London, where, to his infinite mortification, he found that the Iriſh catholics, in excuſe for this barbarous maſſacre, pretended to have received a commiſſion from the king himſelf to take up arms; and thus Charles, who was ſoliciting aſſiſtance againſt them, both from his Engliſh and Scottiſh ſubjects, ſaw himſelf accuſed of the crime he was endeavouring to puniſh. The frenzy of the Iriſh gave their enemies infinite advantage: had they applied to Charles for relief from their grievances, had they drawn the ſword in the juſt defence of theſe natural liberties, which no difference between papiſts and proteſtants ought to affect, and had they not at once ruſhed into barbarities which no provocation can juſtify, Charles might have found an aſylum in them, and they a protector in him: for though I am as ſtrongly convinced as any the moſt zealous partizans of that monarch's memory, that he deteſted the maſſacre of innocents that had been committed, yet I am entirely ſatisfied that he did not at all in his heart diſapprove of their taking up arms upon the principles they profeſſed: if they could have ſubmitted to have been directed by him, I am farther of opinion, that, had they not put off the characters of men, he would have thought a public indulgence in matters either of religion or liberty, much ſafer with a papiſt than a puritan or preſbyterian.

The king arrived in London on the twenty-fifth of November. The houſe of commons thinking, or at leaſt pretending to think, that he was concerned in the Iriſh rebellion, ſent but very ſlender ſupplies of men and money to that kingdom; and at the ſame time reſuming the diſpoſitions in which they had parted, they diſcovered in every vote their determined reſolution to extend their own authority, and to abridge the power of the ſovereign; and this they thought could not be ſo effectually brought about as by exaſperating the people againſt the government. With this view, a few days after his arrival from Scotland, they preſented to him at Hampton-court, that remonſtrance which has made ſo much noiſe, and which was ſoon after productive of the moſt important conſequences: it was not addreſſed to the king, but was plainly declared to be an appeal to the people; and the ſeverity of the matter was exceeded only by the acrimony of the ſtyle. It was, indeed, a recapitulation of all the wrong meaſures and provoking ſteps that Charles had committed ever ſince the commencement of his reign, for which he had ſo ſeverely atoned by the conceſſions he made, and the mortifications he had undergone. Amongſt other things, they pointed ſtrongly againſt the popiſh lords and the Engliſh prelates in the houſe of peers, to whom they attributed all the difficulties they met with from the peers in their meaſures. In concluſion, they petitioned the king for farther reſtraints and puniſhments upon the papiſts and their favourers; and they told him plainly, that unleſs he made uſe of ſuch miniſters, both at home and abroad, as they could confide in, they would give him no ſupport: they even let his majeſty know, that he was to gueſs at their meaning, though they neither named nor impeached perſons; and that it was enough to diſqualify any man for his ſervice if they diſtruſted him, or if he had ever been known to defend or countenance thoſe who had been queſtioned in parliament.

Had all the oppreſſions complained of here ſtill continued under Charles, this remonſtrance had been the braveſt and wiſeſt meaſure that any parliament ever purſued, and muſt have done immortal honour to its framers; but as all thoſe grievances had been already redreſſed; as the land-marks of the conſtitution had now been refixed; as Charles had been as liberal in granting, as his ſubjects had been importunate in aſking: all this, I ſay, being the caſe, what can any unprejudiced perſon imagine the true end of this remonſtrance to be? The anſwer is obvious! No wonder, therefore, that an appeal of ſuch an invidious and malignant nature, ſhould meet with a ſtrong oppoſition in the houſe of commons, where it paſſed by a majority of only eleven, viz. one hundred and fifty-nine againſt one hundred and forty-eight. Indeed it was eaſy to ſee that the road muſt now divide, and that the well and the ill intentioned could no longer journey together. The proceedings of the oppoſition were very diſtaſteful to many of their own friends in the houſe, who began more and more to miſtruſt their intentions. Mr. Capel, member for Hertfordſhire, a perſon of great integrity and authority in parliament, had been very warm in the oppoſitition, and had been as forward as any gentleman in the houſe for removing the real grievances of his country: the like may be ſaid of the lords Falkland and Digby, ſir John Culpepper, Mr. Hyde, and many others, whoſe concurrence againſt the court had given vaſt credit to the oppoſition. But they now thought the king had gone as far as in prudence, and perhaps farther than in duty, they could require, and that oppoſition ought to ceaſe. They made no ſecret of theſe ſentiments, and Mr. Capel had been called up to the houſe of peers; treaties were likewiſe on foot with many other noblemen and gentlemen, who were quite wearied out by the incroachments of the faction, but none had yet the courage, the lord Digby excepted, to break with the faction in the houſe of commons. It is ſaid that Oliver Cromwell, who was at this time a member of the houſe, declared, that if the remonſtrance did not paſs, he would ſell the little eſtate he had, and retire from England. I take notice of this ſpeech, only to prove that this extraordinary man was then an enthuſiaſt for that liberty which his ambition afterwards trampled upon.

When this remonſtrance was preſented to Charles, he received it with ſome impatience, but with great politeneſs and civility. It is remarkable, that it was carried to the king by ſir Ralph Hopton, who became afterwards ſo great a convert to his cauſe. But the faction thought they could not completely effect their ends, unleſs they could have the biſhops out of the upper-houſe: they eaſily ſtirred up the populace to their purpoſe, who filled the whole city with ſedition, and, aſſembling in great multitudes before the houſe of lords, exclaimed "No biſhops! no biſhops!" Twelve pre-

lates, intimidated by thoſe riotous proceedings, reſolved to retire, after ſubſcribing a proteſt againſt all laws, votes, and reſolutions which ſhould be made in their abſence. The lords, upon receiving this proteſt, committed them to the Tower; upon which the reſt of the biſhops afterwards withdrew from the houſe. The tumults about Whitehall became every day more violent and outrageous, inſomuch that the royal perſon itſelf ſeemed in danger from the mad licentiouſneſs of the mob. In this ſcene of anarchy and confuſion, ſome reduced officers, and gentlemen of the inns of conrt, offered their ſervice to his majeſty. Between them and the rabble there happened frequent ſkirmiſhes, which were ſometimes attended with bloodſhed. By way of reproach, theſe gentlemen ſtigmatized the rabble with the appellation of Roundheads, on account of the ſhort, cropt hair, which they wore; and theſe, in return, gave the others the name of Cavaliers: and thus the nation, which was before ſufficiently exaſperated, as well by civil as religious quarrels, was likewiſe provided with party-names, under which the oppoſite leaders might range their adherents, and ſignalize their mutual hatred and reſentment. The countenance which Charles gave to the diſbanded officers to oppoſe the inſults of the mob, proved a fatal meaſure to him, as it gave the commons an handle for publicly encouraging the tumults, and for making a formal demand to the king for a guard, commanded by the earl of Eſſex, to be ſet over the parliament. The king refuſing the demand of a guard, they appointed a committee to ſit at Guildhall, the center of the factious rout that now protected them. A few days afterwards the king committed another indiſcretion, which was attended with more fatal and dangerous conſequences; an indiſcretion which, if it did not abſolutely cauſe, at leaſt greatly, accelerated all the diſorders and civil wars in which the kingdom was ſoon after involved. Lord Digby, a man of great abilities, but of a warm and paſſionate diſpoſition, ſhocked at the growing inſolence of the oppoſition, repreſented to Charles, that if he exerted the authority, and diſplayed the majeſty of a monarch, his inſolent ſubjects would inſtantly ſhrink before him: the queen, and ſome of the courtiers, enforced this topic; and Charles, who, though commonly moderate in his temper, was ever indeed too haſty, and had moreover lately received inſults, that no private gentleman, much leſs ſo great a prince, could well bear with patience, at laſt yielded to the fatal importunity of his friends and ſervants. He was encouraged to think that he could give the laſt blow to the popularity of the faction by producing evidences of their inviting the Scots to invade England; accordingly, on the third of January, 1642, Herbert, attorney-general, at the clerk's table in the houſe of peers, preſented the following articles of high-treaſon againſt the lord Kimbolton and five commoners (the moſt active of thoſe in the oppoſition), Mr. Denzil Holles, ſir Arthur Haſlerigg, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hampden, and Mr. William Strode. The articles exhibited againſt them were theſe:

"I. That they have traitorouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom of England; to deprive the king of his royal power, and to place in the ſubjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power over the lives, liberties, and eſtates of his majeſty's liege people.

"II. That they have traitorouſly endeavoured, by many foul aſſertions upon his majeſty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and to make his majeſty odious to them.

"III. That they have endeavoured to draw his majeſty's late army to diſobedience to his majeſty's command, and to ſide with them in their traitorous deſigns.

"IV. That they have traitorouſly invited and encouraged a foreign power to invade his majeſty's kingdom of England.

"V. That they have traitorouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the rights and very being of parliaments.

"VI. That for completing of their traitorous deſigns, they have endeavoured, ſo far as in them lay, by force and terror, to compel the parliament to join with them in their traitorous deſigns; and to that end have actually raiſed and countenanced tumults againſt the king and parliament.

"VII. And that they have traitorouſly conſpired to levy, and actually have levied war againſt the king."

The king ſeconded this attack, by another ſtill more raſh and inconſiderate: a ſerjeant at arms repaired to the houſe of commons, and demanded, in the king's name, the five impeached members; but he was diſmiſſed without any poſitive anſwer: meſſengers were ordered to ſearch for, and apprehend them; their trunks, chambers, and lodgings were ſealed and locked. The houſe declared all theſe proceedings to be a breach of privilege; and enjoined every one to defend the liberty of the members. The lords concurred with the commons in theſe reſolutions. Charles, ſtung with the united intention of the two houſes, did the moſt unadviſed thing that, perhaps, had ever been done by a king of England; he determined to ſupport what he had begun, by one vigorous ſtroke of authority: unhappily, he forgot that this was a conjuncture in which he ought not to expoſe that authority to any new affront. He went the next day, attended by his ordinary retinue, conſiſting of about two hundred perſons, armed as uſual, ſome with halberts, others with ſmall arms; and, leaving them at the door, advanced alone through the hall, while all the members ſtood up to receive him; and ſeating himſelf in the ſpeaker's chair, he, in a ſpeech he made to the houſe, inſiſted upon their delivering up the five members he had impeached; but looking round, and not ſeeing the accuſed perſons, who had previouſly withdrawn themſelves, he concluded his ſpeech with telling the houſe, that ſince the birds were flown, he expected, as ſoon as they did come to the houſe, they ſhould be ſent to him, "otherwiſe, ſaid he, I muſt tell you, that I ſhall take my own courſes to find them."

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the fury into which this act of Charles threw the houſe; the roof reſounded with the cry of, Privilege! Privilege! Charles, like a bewildered perſon, who knows not whither to turn himſelf, went that ſame afternoon to Guildhall, in order to demand aſſiſtance of the city: the common-council, inſtead of complying with his deſire, the next day preſented a remonſtrance againſt himſelf. On the eighth of January a new committee was appointed to ſit at Guildhall; and this, perhaps, was the moſt maſterly ſtroke of the party, becauſe it encreaſed the panic of the public, as if the members were not ſafe without the

King Charles 1.st in the House of Commons, demanding the five Members.

To his Grace William Bentinck,
Duke of Portland.
This Plate is most humbly Inscribed.

BRITISH
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MUSEUM

the city. This committee, in which all who ſhould come were to have voices, made ſtrict ſcrutiny into every circumſtance attending the king's entrance into the houſe: every paſſionate expreſſion, every menacing look and geſture of any, even the meaneſt, of his attendants, was repreſented in the blackeſt and moſt odious colours; and an intention was thence inferred of offering violence to the parliament, of arreſting the impeached members in the very houſe, and of murdering all thoſe who ſhould make any reſiſtance; and they immediately produced a paper to be voted, as it was by the whole houſe, declaring the late act of the king to be "an high breach of the rights and privileges of parliament; and that the houſe cannot, with ſafety to their own perſons, or regard to the ſaid rights and privileges, continue to ſit there any longer, without full ſatisfaction being made to them for this inſult." Public directions were at the ſame time given for drawing down the train-bands of the city to Weſtminſter on the ſecond of January, to guard and bring in triumph the perſons of the accuſed members (who had taken ſhelter in the city), as ſuch worthy patriots that the commonwealth, at preſent, could not ſubſiſt independent of them.

The king being informed of theſe proceedings, and thinking his wife's, his children's, and his own life, in danger from the enraged multitude, took the fatal reſolution of removing from Whitehall to Hampton-court, with his queen and family, which he did on the afternoon of Monday the tenth of January; and now, become ſenſible of the extreme folly of his late conduct, and dreading the farther effects of popular reſentment, he endeavoured, if poſſible, to repair his errors, and to atone for the wrong ſtep he had taken, and which he found himſelf incapable of ſupporting. He accordingly ſent a meſſage to the commons on Wedneſday the twelfth of January, giving them to underſtand, "That he deſiſted from his proſecution of the five members, and that he would be as careful of the privileges of parliament as of his life or crown." He likewiſe, on the twentieth following, ſent another meſſage to parliament, deſiring them "to digeſt into one body all the grievances of the kingdom, and to ſend them to him, promiſing his favourable aſſent to thoſe means which ſhould be found moſt effectual for redreſs; wherein he would not only equal, but exceed the moſt indulgent prince." There ſurely cannot, with any man of candour or common ſenſe, remain the leaſt doubt that theſe conceſſions were more than ſufficient to have quieted the apprehenſions of men whoſe inclinations were peaceable; but, unhappily, Charles had, by the violence of his former conduct, rendered himſelf odious to his parliament, and his preſent conceſſion made them deſpiſe him.

The commons began now to take the whole management of the kingdom into their own hands; they ordered the governors of Hull and Portſmouth, to admit no man into thoſe towns or forts, without an order ſigned by the parliament; they aſſumed the regal power of diſpoſing the militia, and trained-bands of the city of London, and even to name lord-lieutenants for the ſeveral counties, nay, ſo much as the captains that were appointed to command the ſhips of war. During this confuſion, the rebellion in Ireland triumphed over the weak oppoſition which had been made to it; and the inſurgents, reeking with the blood of their countrymen, carried on their barbarities under the king's name, and that of the queen his conſort, eſpecially the latter, as ſhe was a catholic. Both houſes now propoſed to raiſe the militia, but, at the ſame time, inſiſted that it ſhould be commanded by ſuch officers only as they ſhould nominate. Charles was now come from Hampton court to Greenwich, where the earls of Pembroke and Holland waited on him with a thundering declaration of the parliament, which conſiſted of a preamble of the cauſe of the preſent diſtractions, and the remedies for them, and in which they treated the king with their uſual inſolence. This declaration was delivered to him on the fifteenth of March; and the next day he delivered his full anſwer, in which he endeavoured to exculpate himſelf of the charge urged againſt him, and concluded with the following pathetic expreſſion: "God ſo deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true proteſtant religion, and for the obſervation and preſervation of the laws of this land; and I hope God will bleſs and aſſert theſe laws for my preſervation."

The two earls, upon the king's delivering his anſwer, renewed their requeſt, but all in vain, that he ſhould come nearer his parliament; and the earl of Pembroke preſſed him to grant the militia, as was deſired by the parliament, for a time. "By God (replied Charles), not for an hour: you have aſked that of me, in this, which was never aſked of any king; and with which, I would not truſt my wife and children." Charles then reproached the parliament for their conduct in the affairs of Ireland, and ſaid that "had he been truſted with the management of them, he would have pawned his head to have finiſhed that work; and though I am a beggar myſelf, concluded he, I can find money for that."

In the foregoing month of February, Charles's queen, Henrietta of France, daughter to Henry IV. had gone over to Holland, on pretence of accompanying her daughter, the princeſs Mary, to the prince of Orange, her huſband; but, in reality, to ſollicit ſuccours from that ſtate, in caſe of emergency; as it was pretty evident, from the proceedings on both ſides, that the appeal muſt ſoon be made to arms: ſhe negociated likewiſe at the northern courts; in a word, ſhe ſought every where for aſſiſtance, except in her own country, where cardinal Richelieu, her avowed enemy, and the king, her brother, were both dying. But to return.

Charles, now that he apprehended nothing from his queen, anſwered the numerous declarations, meſſages, and the like, that he was plied with from the parliament, with a ſpirit that drove the two houſes into new perplexities; and having ſent for the prince of Wales and the duke of York to come to him, he ſet out for York, which he was reſolved for ſome time to make the place of his reſidence, till the tumults in his capital were ſomewhat ſubſided. Hither the principal nobility and gentry repaired from all quarters of England, to pay their reſpects to their ſovereign, and to promiſe him their aid and aſſiſtance. As ſome ill meaning or ill informed hiſtorians of thoſe times have, with an air of confidence, aſſerted, that all

the people of the kingdom were enemies to the king, except ſome officers of the army, the biſhops, the catholics, and thoſe who had been engaged in the Gunpowder-plot, we think it neceſſary to refute the calumny, by enumerating the principal perſons who attended Charles at York, and declared in his favour: theſe were, lord Littleton, keeper of the ſeals, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton, Devonſhire, Clare, Monmouth, Caernarvon, Cumberland, Saliſbury, Cambridge, Weſtmoreland, Rivers, Newport, Lindſey, Bath, Dorſet, Northampton, Briſtol, Berkſhire, and Dover; the lords Falkland, Newark, Rich, Coventry, Capel, Grey of Ruthven, Pawlett, Saville, Dunſmore, Mowbray, Maltravers, Howard of Carleton, Lovelace, Mohun, and Seymour. Many other noblemen were employed in behalf of the royal cauſe, in different parts of the kingdom; a great number of the moſt powerful commoners eſpouſed it; and it was ſupported by the two univerſities: all in general, whoſe manners were poliſhed, and whoſe minds were enlarged by a liberal education, adhered to the king. The oppoſite faction conſiſted of thoſe whom the court had perſonally diſobliged; of ſuch as wanted to fiſh in troubled waters; of republicans and diſſenters, comprehending a great number of corporations, manufacturers, and the lower claſs of people, inflamed with the ſpirit of fanaticiſm.

The civil war was not yet declared. The parliament had, by its own authority, appointed one ſir John Hotham governor of Hull, a fortreſs on the ſea-coaſt of Yorkſhire, and which had, for a long time been a magazine for arms and ammunition: on the twenty-ſecond of April, Charles, attended with three hundred horſe, came before the place, and prepared to enter; but Hotham refuſed to open the gates of his garriſon to admit him. At firſt he ſent Charles a reſpectful meſſage, deſiring him not to approach; but his majeſty continuing to advance, Hotham ordered the bridge to be drawn up, the gates to be ſhut, and the garriſon to be drawn out in a poſture of reſiſtance. When Charles came near enough to be heard on the walls, he called for Hotham, and demanded entrance, which Hotham refuſed, under pretext of his being appointed to that truſt by the authority of parliament. It was in vain for Charles to repeat the demand of admittance; all he could obtain, was that his ſon and friends in the place ſhould be ſent out to him; for the governor would not admit him, though he offered to reduce his train to twenty perſons: and when he had tarried upwards of five hours before the place, he retired, about four o'clock in the afternoon, to Beverley, after proclaiming Hotham a traitor by two heralds at arms.

I ſhall not attempt to trouble the reader with thoſe papers which flew between Charles and his parliament, after the former had demanded from the latter juſtice upon Hotham; it is ſufficient to ſay that Hotham was not only vindicated, but rewarded for what he had done; and we are from this period to date the actual commencemt of that unhappy civil war which afterwards followed.

The nation was at this time in a very miſerable ſituation. The king iſſued out commiſſions of array all over the kingdom, and the execution of them was voted to be treaſonable by the parliament. The parliament made an ordinance, by which they took the militia into their own hands; and the execution of that was proclaimed to be treaſon by Charles: it was impoſſible for any man to be neutral between the two parties; but the parliament was amazed to find themſelves miſtaken in their own ſtrength, and that ſo great a part of the kingdom held with Charles. Lord-keeper Littleton, when he repaired to the king at York, had brought with him the great-ſeal of England, without which it was ſuppoſed there could be no law enacted: however, the parliament continued to enact laws, which were obeyed by their partizans as effectually as if they had the royal ſanction. The proceedings of the two parties being thus incompatible, both ſides made themſelves ready to decide the conteſt by force of arms. A little before, the parliament had ſent to Charles nineteen propoſitions, which containing ſuch demands as no crowned heads could accede to, he rejected; and, in a declaration he publiſhed, wrote ſuch an anſwer as muſt have ſatisfied every perſon whoſe judgment was not biaſſed by rancour and prepoſſeſſion: but he had to deal with a ſet of men who had planned a total revolution of government, and who had proceeded too far in this deſign to recede with ſafety; for this reaſon, they no ſooner received the king's anſwer, than they iſſued a declaration, repreſenting the abſolute neceſſity of putting themſelves in a poſture of defence againſt the violent deſigns of the king. They ordered an army to be raiſed for their defence, the command of which they gave to the earl of Eſſex, and they voted the earl of Bedford to be general of the horſe; but both theſe and the other officers were to be under the inſpection of a committee of the two houſes, who were to fill up all commiſſions. Great names were engaged on their ſide: Hampden, Whitlock, Maynard, Grimſton, St. John, and Selden, all of them great authorities in the law and conſtitution, accepted of parliament's commiſſions under the ordinance of the militia; but the great weight of landed intereſt operated for the king. Charles was furniſhed with money from the queen, on the jewels ſhe had ſold or pawned: but the parliament had a much better reſource in public credit, upon which great ſums were raiſed on loan; and little hoſtilities were already commenced between the royal and parliamentary party all over England. Luckily for the parliament, they had found means to get the important garriſon of Portſmouth into their hands, and to ſecure the fleet; but Charles was baffled in an attempt to ſecure Hull, where the great magazine of arms ſtill continued, and which, by a private concert between the lord Digby and Hotham, who now repented of his inſolence to his ſovereign, was to be delivered up to the king; but Hotham, either not having power or ſincerity enough to perform his engagements, the matter came to nought.

On the firſt of Auguſt the king ſummoned the principal gentry of the county of York, and acquainted them with the parliament's preparations for war, and deſired their advice and aſſiſtance: for the parliament had now publiſhed a declaration for the raiſing all power and force, by trained-bands or otherwiſe, to make head againſt all traitors and their adherents that oppoſed the parliament, and them to kill and ſlay as enemies to the peace of the kingdom; and in it they named

moſt of the king's lord lieutenants and commiſſioners of array in the ſeveral counties. The king then recommend to them the completing of a regiment for the prince; and that he might not be behind hand with the parliament, he publiſhed a proclamation, wherein the earl of Eſſex was pronounced a rebel and traitor to the king and crown; and all colonels and officers, authorized by the parliament, that ſhould not inſtantly lay down their arms, were declared guilty of high-treaſon. To obviate this the parliament had declared, "that whoſoever ſhall return from the king to the parliament's army, within ten days after publication, ſhould have reception and pardon, excepting perſons impeached of delinquency or treaſon, or ſuch as have been eminent actors againſt them, and except the duke of Richmond, the earls of Briſtol, Cumberland, Newcaſtle, Rivers, and Caernarvon, the viſcounts Newark and Falkland, ſecretary Nicholas Endymion Porter, and Mr. Edward Hyde. The king hearing the parliament intended ſending an army weſtward, gave commiſſion, under the great-ſeal of England, to the marquis of Hertford to be his lieutenant-general within the counties of Devon, Cornwall, Somerſet, Dorſet, Wilts, Southampton, Berks, Oxford, Hereford, Monmouth, Radnor, Brecknock, Glamorgan, Caernarvon, Pembroke, and Cardigan; and ſent to encourage colonel Goring, who commanded in Portſmouth at that time for him. Charles ſoon after left York, and nothing remarkable happened to him, excepting that thecity of Coventry ſhut her gates againſt him and his troops; and, on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, he ſet up his ſtandard at Nottingham, but very few appeared, except a body of militia and about three hundred relugar troops, and thoſe very ill armed. Thus diſappointed, he once more turned his thoughts to peace, and ſent a meſſage to the two houſes by the earls of Southampton and Dorſet, and ſome other gentlemen, in order to a treaty of accommodation. In this meſſage the king ſignified, "that many miſtakes had ariſen by the meſſages, petitions, and anſwers, between him and the two houſes of parliament, which might be prevented by ſome other way of treaty, wherein the matters in difference might be more clearly underſtood, and more freely tranſacted; he propoſed that a certain number of perſons might be ſent, and enabled by the parliament to treat, in ſome indifferent place, with a like number authorized by him." Charles then, in a very pathetic manner, diſclaimed all intentions to injure his people's liberties, and lays the guilt at the door of the parliament, if they refuſe his offer. The parliament returned for anſwer, that they could agree to no terms, unleſs he would immediately take down his ſtandard and recal his proclamations againſt them by a certain day. And here the correſpondence broke off. This negotiation, unſucceſsful as it was, did Charles no ſmall ſervice; every one ſaw by what ſpirit the parliament was influenced: they had treated the earl of Southampton, and the other meſſengers from the king, with infinite indignity, and without paying even common civility to their perſons. The purport of the king's meſſage was ſufficiently public; and the parliament, inſtead of thinking upon peace, ordered all their officers to repair to their reſpective poſts immediately, and Eſſex himſelf ſet out with all haſte to the army: this was not all, for they publiſhed a moſt inſolent declaration in vindication of their own conduct, and vilely aſperſing the character of the king and his friends. This, with many other papers that continued to paſs between the king and the parliament, turned the tide of popular affection ſtrongly in favour of Charles, whoſe wants and weakneſs were inexpreſſible, while the parliament had in their hands all the revenues of the crown, his biſhops, the dignitaries of the church, the friends of his perſon, and an uncontracted power of raiſing what money they pleaſed. The earl of Eſſex had now drawn his army together at Northampton, and found it to amount to about ſixteen thouſand men, well armed and well provided with artillery, cloaths, money, and in high ſpirits. Charles had ſent ſir John Byron into Oxfordſhire, with a ſmall party of horſe, to bring him the plate which had been preſented him by that univerſity: the lord Hertford and the loyaliſts in the Weſt at firſt had vaſt appearance of ſucceſs; and he now received intelligence from all hands of great levies that were making for his ſervice: this gave Charles ſome hopes amongſt many diſcouragements, and at laſt he reſolved to leave Nottingham, and to put the iſſue to the fate of arms.

On the appearance of troubles in England, the princes Rupert (or Robert) and Maurice, ſons to the unhappy Palatine, had made a tender of their ſervice to the king, and the former at this time commanded a body of horſe, which had been ſent to Worceſter, in order to watch the motions of Eſſex, while the king ſet out upon his march for Shrewſbury, which, indeed, was the moſt convenient part of the kingdom for his rendezvous. While he was upon his march every hour brought him great acceſſions of ſtrength; and when he arrived at Wellington, within a days march of Shrewſbury, he ordered his army to be drawn up, and on reviewing it, found it to amount to about ten thouſand men. Lord Lindſey, who in his youth had learned the art of war in the Low Countries, was general; prince Rupert commanded the horſe; ſir John Aſtly, the foot; ſir Arthur Aſton, the dragoons; ſir John Heydon, the artillery. The lord Bernard Stuart was at the head of a troop of guards; their ſervants, under the conduct of William Killegrew, compoſed another troop, and always marched with their maſters. On this occaſion Charles made to them a ſpeech, ſo full of affectionate expreſſions, as rendered him to their thoughts an injured prince; and moved their compaſſion and loyalty ſo much, that they ſwore one and all to conquer or die in his cauſe. Some little time after his arrival at Shrewſbury, he received the news of an action, the firſt which had happened in theſe wars, and wherein his troops were ſucceſsful.

The earl of Eſſex had by this time marched with his army towards Worceſter, upon intelligence that the king himſelf intended to ſecure that place: luckily ſir John Byron had firſt taken poſſeſſion of that city for the king, in ſpite of the endeavours of captain Fiennes, who ſtrove to diſlodge him with ſome troops of the parliament and county-volunteers, with whom he aſſaulted the town on the weſtern ſide of the Severn: while they were engaged, prince Rupert arrived, with his brother Maurice, and had ſcarce alighted when he perceived five hundred horſe of Eſſex's army, commanded by

colonel Sandys, advancing through a defile juſt at hand: he and his company immediately mounted, and, with admirable courage and preſence of mind, attacked the enemy juſt as they came out of the ſame, and totally routed them, with the loſs of their commander and thirty men killed on the ſpot, and took ſeveral of their officers priſoners. The ſucceſs of this firſt skirmiſh wonderfully ſpirited the royaliſts, and impreſſed the enemy with a terror of prince Rupert, who gave ſuch an early proof of his extraordinary courage and bravery. The prince, after the engagement, threw himſelf into Worceſter; but hearing that Eſſex was marching thither with his whole army, he quitted it, and retired to Ludlow, twenty miles from thence: nor was this intelligence ill founded, for, immediately after the prince's retreat, Eſſex came to Worceſter with his army, where he continued a month: from whence he detached the earl of Stamford, with a party, to Hereford, in order to impede the king's levies in South Wales; and ſent other detachments to take poſſeſſion of Gloceſter and Briſtol. The parliament began now to apprehend the king's ſtrength; for many began to appear for him in ſeveral parts of the kingdom: in the northern parts of Yorkſhire, the marquis of Newcaſtle, the earl of Cumberland, ſir Marmaduke Longdale, ſir Francis Wortley, and many others, had raiſed a great number of ſoldiers; and were ſo powerful, that the lord Fairfax, ſir Thomas Fairfax his ſon, ſir John Hotham and his ſon captain Hotham, who had aſſembled ſome men for the ſervice of the parliament, were not able to make head againſt them. In Cornwall, a body was forming under ſir Bevil Grenville, and ſir Nicholas Stanning; and ſir Ralph Hopton, a gentleman of good conduct and courage, was haſtening to them, to aſſiſt in their levies: and many others in ſeveral parts of the kingdom were arming on both ſides. Whilſt the affairs of England were in a military poſture, Ireland was neglected: ſome few regiments were ſent over from Scotland, and the earl of Leiceſter's regiment, under colonel Monk, from England, but in no proportion to the neceſſities of that kingdom; nevertheleſs they made many impreſſions upon their enemies in Leinſter and Ulſter, but Munſter was but meanly ſupplied.

It was now about the middle of October when the king, having raiſed ſuch an army as he thought would enable him to act upon the offenſive, began his march from Shrewſbury towards London; and in two days after his departure, the earl of Eſſex put himſelf in motion to attend his rear. On the twenty-ſecond of October the two armies were within ſix miles of each other: the king, having received intelligence that Eſſex had advanced to Kempton, a village on the borders of Warwickſhire, drew up his army on Edge-hill, about two miles from the enemy, and on Sunday the twenty-third of the month, gave the earl battle. The engagement, which was carried on with great bravery on both ſides, laſted till night parted the combatants: the next day both parties claimed the victory, but neither ſeemed inclined to renew the battle. Eſſex, however, firſt drew off, and retired to Warwick; the king returned to his former quarters. Each ſide had now time to diſcover its loſs, but it was greateſt on the ſide of the parliament; and no leſs than five thouſand are ſaid to have fallen of both armies in the fight. The earl of Lindſey, whoſe ſon, the lord Willoughby, was taken priſoner in attempting to reſcue his father, was carried in his wounds to a barn, where he expired with great magniminity, and with high ſentiments of the juſtice of the cauſe he died for, before the ſurgeons could arrive, whom the earl of Eſſex humanely ſent to dreſs his wounds. The lord Aubigny, brother to the duke of Richmond, and ſir Edward Verney, the king's ſtandard-bearer, were likewiſe among the number of the ſlain, on the king's part, and ſeveral other officers, but none of diſtinction. On the ſide of the parliament were killed the lord St. John and colonel Eſſex, one of their officers The chief priſoners on the king's ſide were the lord Willoughby, ſir Thomas Lundsford, ſir Edward Stradling, and ſir William Vavaſor: no gentleman of diſtinction, except ſir William Eſſex, father to the colonel was taken priſoner by the king.

The news of this action reaching London, the commons and their adherents were at firſt greatly alarmed; but expreſſes arriving from the army ſoon convinced them that their cauſe had received but a ſlight check; nay, they even aſſumed the merit of the victory, and ordered public thankſgivings for the ſame. Their next ſtep was to order the king's children to be removed from St. James's into the city; orders were given to fortify the neck of land over againſt Durham-houſe; and that the papiſts in Lancaſter ſhould be ſecured. An ordinance, both by the lords and commons, paſſed for providing a maintenance for the wounded ſoldiers, and the families of thoſe who ſhould be killed, in their ſervice. The priſoners in and about London were confined more ſtrictly than ever; and all ſhops were ordered to be ſhut up, that the ſhopkeepers and apprentices* might be at greater freedom to attend the defence of the kingdom.

After the royal army was ſufficiently refreſhed, it was again put in motion. A party of horſe advanced to Reading, which Mr. Martin commanded for the parliament; at the approach of which, both the governor and garriſon were ſeized with a ſudden panic, and fled precipitately to London. Charles, imagining that every thing would now yield before him, conducted his whole army to Reading; and, in a few days after, advanced to Colnbrook. While he lay here, the parliament

† As the body of London apprentices are frequently mentioned in the hiſtory of theſe troubles, and alſo in the ſucceeding reign, as a formidable corps of militia, it may not be amiſs to inſert the following character of them, as drawn up by a modern hiſtorian. "The London apprentices were a ſet which gained great honour to their party at this juncture: thoſe hot-beds of education, ſo common now-a days, which ripen childhood into youth, and youth into manhood, were then but little known; and apprentices were young men from ſixteen to twenty-four years of age, vigorous in their bodies, and unbroken in their conſtitution, through temperance, regular diet, and moderate exerciſe. They borrowed their notions of religion and government from their parents and maſters: and the parliament had given them a manumiſſion from their ſervices in the ſhop, to encourage their appearing in the field: they had been for ſeveral months daily exerciſed by Skippon, major-general of the parliament forces, and were now become ſo familiar with the ideas of war, that they thought its greateſt hazards, in what they imagined to be the defence of their country, to be preferable to the toils of the counter. A body of active, ſtout, young men, thus taught, thus fed, thus principled, and thus diſciplined, was far from being that awkward contemptible enemy modern writers have repreſented."

ſent

ſent a meſſage to him, by the earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, with three commoners, requeſting his majeſty to fix on ſome convenient place for his reſidence near London, till commiſſioners ſhould attend him, with propoſals for healing the preſent unhappy breach between him and his parliament. Charles named Windſor; and required that the garriſon ſhould be withdrawn, and his own troops received into the caſtle. Northumberland, and the reſt, immediately poſted back with this anſwer; and, on his arrival at Weſtminſter, prevailed with the parliament to write a letter to the king, intimating a ceſſation of arms on their part, and requiring the like on his; but it happened that ſame night (November 11) that Charles had diſpatched the parliament's meſſengers, news was brought, that Eſſex had, by long and haſty marches, advanced with his army and artillery, and had poſſeſſed himſelf of Windſor, Hampton, and Acton; and that he was now fortifying himſelf in Brentford; which if he was ſuffered to do, the king's army would be ſo ſtreightened, that it could neither make any motion, nor, indeed, ſubſiſt. Whereupon a council of war being called, prince Rupert was ordered to attack the parliament's regiments and works at Brentford; which he did with irreſiſtible fury; and notwithſtanding the noble reſiſtance the regiment of Holles made, they were all cut off, drowned, wounded, or taken priſoners; and prince Rupert remained maſter of Brentford. Loud were the complaints raiſed againſt this attack by the parliament party, as being an inſtance of the moſt apparent perfidy, and a breach of the treaty then negociating on both ſides. Inſpired with reſentment, as well as concerned for its own ſafety, the city marched its trained-bands, in excellent order, to reinforce the army under Eſſex; who drew up his forces, now amounting to twenty-four thouſand men, at Turnham-green *, to oppoſe the march of the king towards London, for which Charles was now preparing; but finding the number of the enemy ſo greatly ſuperior to his own, he thought it moſt prudent to retire over the bridge at Kingſton to Oatlands, and from thence to Reading, where he left a good garriſon; and then marched with his army to Oxford.

While matters paſſed thus in the neighbourhood of the capital, the king's forces in the North became very conſiderable; the earl of Newcaſtle and the earl of Cumberland having joined each other with their troops, made up a little army of eight thouſand horſe and foot, which were daily encreaſing; ſo that lord Fairfax and his ſon, Sir Robert Fairfax, and others who commanded for the parliament in thoſe parts, were not able to make head againſt them, eſpecially after the arrival of colonel Goring at Newcaſtle, with a ſupply of two hundred men and ammunition from Holland. Upon this, Fairfax applied to the parliament for aſſiſtance, and they found means to engage the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Eſſex, Cambridge, and the city of Norwich, in an aſſociation, to ſtand by them with their arms and fortunes; and the lord Grey, of Werk, received a commiſſion from Eſſex, appointing him commander in chief in thoſe parts, with an authority to raiſe forces.

About the beginning of February, 1643, the queen landed from Holland, at Burlington bay, with a conſiderable ſupply of artillery, arms, and ammunition; and, very ſhortly after, ſet out again in queſt of new ſuccours. Sir Hugh Cholmley, who had the government of Scarborough for the parliament, declared for the king, and with him three hundred men of his garriſon. Sir John Hotham alſo, and his ſon, were at this time inclined to play the double traitor, and deſert the parliament's ſervice; but their intentions being diſcovered, they were both ſeized at Hull, and ſent up priſoners to London, where they afterwards paid the forfeit of their treaſons with their lives. The parliament, having fortified Gloceſter with a good garriſon, thought of enlarging their quarters towards Oxford; and had, in order thereto, thrown a ſtrong body of forces into Cirenceſter. Charles, not liking this neighbourhood, ordered prince Rupert, with four thouſand horſe and foot, to make himſelf, if poſſible, maſter of that town. That active commander readily undertook the ſervice, and ſucceeded, by taking the town by ſtorm, cutting in pieces a whole regiment of the parliament's forces, taking eleven hundred priſoners, about four thouſand ſtands of arms, and the enemy's whole magazine. Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, Charles ſtill hoped to relieve the calamities of his people, and wiſhed to recover his own broken fortune by an equitable peace, and therefore propoſed a treaty to the parliament; to which, after many debates, they conſented; and about the beginning of March, the earl of Northumberland, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. William Armyne, Sir John Holland, and Mr. Bulſtrode Whitlock, attended him at Oxford with propoſitions of peace; but they were dictated in ſuch an arbitrary ſtile, and ſo debaſed the very eſſence of majeſty, that they ſeemed to breathe the language of ſucceſsful traitors, not the deſires of patriotic or peaceful ſubjects. Charles, however, reſolved to have them diſcuſſed; but he found the commiſſioners ſo ſtraitened in time, and tied to ſuch particular inſtructions by the two houſes, that nothing could be brought about that could conduce to compoſe the reigning diſorders of the commonwealth, without abſolutely ſacrificing the kingly character; inſomuch, that, after many meſſages between London and Oxford, the commiſſioners returned to the parliament on the ſeventeenth of April; upon which, the earl of Eſſex was ordered to advance with his army to beſiege the king's garriſon in Reading.

Eſſex had under him twenty thouſand fine well-appointed troops; the town was but indifferently fortified, and had in it a garriſon of three thouſand foot, and about three hundred horſe, commanded by Sir Arthur Aſton, and under him colonel Fielding. The largeneſs, and ill condition of the place, but, above all, the conſumption of powder which its defence muſt require, and with which Charles was very ill provided, had given him ſome thoughts of drawing the garriſon and magazines off to Oxford; but before this could be done, the

* We cannot here omit the oration major-general Skippon made at the head of his Londoners, to animate them, as it is ſo characteriſtical, both of the man and the ſpirit of the party: "Come my boys, ſays he, my brave boys, let us pray heartily and fight heartily; I will run the ſame fortunes and hazards with you; remember the cauſe is for God, the defence of yourſelves, your wives and children: come, my honeſt brave boys, let us pray heartily and fight heartily, and God will bleſs us."

place

place was inveſted by Eſſex. His approaches were ſo indifferently carried on, that the parliament's engineers appeared to be very little acquainted with the buſineſs of beſieging towns. They had, however, ſuch advantages by the ſituation of the place, that their cannon played directly into the town, and one of their ſhot diſabled Aſton, to the irreparable loſs of the king, who was now preparing to relieve the place; but while he was upon his march, the garriſon, under Fielding, who had ſucceeded Aſton in command, after killing, in their ſallies, a great number of parliamentarians, found themſelves obliged to capitulate, and to deliver up the town; for which, Fielding was afterwards ſentenced to loſe his head by a council of war at Oxford, but he was pardoned by Charles. The articles of capitulation were extremely advantageous for Charles, by giving him back his whole garriſon; but they were very ill obſerved by the parliamentarians, which occaſioned ſevere repriſals afterwards by the royal party.

At this time ſcarce one county in England was free from the horror of civil war; the royaliſts were victorious in moſt parts; in Warwickſhire, Northamptonſhire, and Staffordſhire, many encounters paſſed between the king's forces under prince Rupert, and the earl of Northampton, the the lord Brooke, Sir John Gill, and Sir William Brereton, for the parliament; in one of which, fought on Hopton heath, the earl of Northampton loſt his life, and the lord Brooke was ſlain before the town of Litchfield, which was afterwards taken by his forces, and again retaken by prince Rupert. In Yorkſhire, and the more northern parts, the lord Fairfax and his ſon, Sir Thomas, afterwards ſo famous under the title of General Fairfax, had ſucceſs greater than could be expected from the ſmall force they had with them; but at length the whole county was reduced by the king's troops, and Fairfax, with his followers, were obliged to ſhut themſelves up in Hull. The greateſt part of Wales remained firm to the royal cauſe; the parliament, therefore, in order to check the king's good fortune in that part of the country, diſpatched the earl of Stamford with an army into the Weſt, where Sir Ralph Hopton, with his forces, lay before Plymouth, in the parliament's poſſeſſion. Sir Ralph, hearing of the earl's approach, drew forth his troops and gave him battle, in which he defeated the greateſt part of his forces; and then a truce was agreed upon between the earl and him for three weeks; during which time ſir George Chudleigh, who had been very active and ſucceſsful for the parliament in Denbighſhire, upon a due reflection on the views of both parties in the preſent unnatural conteſt, quitted the oppoſition, and joined himſelf to the king; but, to ſatisfy his friends of the reaſons of of this tergiverſation, he publiſhed a ſhort declaration, which we are perſuaded our readers will be pleaſed to ſee, not only as it is doing great honour to the underſtanding, integrity, and patriotic loyalty of this gallant officer, but as it ſpeaks the ſentiments of moſt of the moderate part of the oppoſition, in regard to the ſtate of affairs between the king and parliament at this juncture.

"That petitions of right, ſays he, are commendable, and remonſtrances may be uſeful; but arms, though defenſive, are very doubtful. My lot (ſays he) fell to caſt on the parliament ſide, by a ſtrong opinion of the goodneſs of their cauſe, which, to my judgment, then appeared to be ſo. Religion, and the ſubjects liberty, ſeemed to me to be in danger; but the deſtruction of kingdoms cannot be the way to ſave it, nor can the loſs of Chriſtian ſubjects, nor the ſubjects loſs of their eſtates by plunder or aſſeſſment, concur with piety, nor yet with propriety: as for religion, which is the chief, his majeſty (whom God long preſerve) has given us unqueſtionable ſecurity. I have caſt myſelf at my ſovereign's feet, and implored his gracious pardon; I will contend no more in word or deed. And this my reſolution, with the indiſputable grounds thereof, I thought good to declare to my friends and countrymen, that they may underſtand that my change doth proceed from no compulſion."

The parliamentarians, however, were not diſcouraged; they knew they had powerful reſources, and though for the preſent unſucceſsful, they ſtill acted as maſters againſt whom the king had rebelled. They condemned and executed for treaſon ſeveral of their fellow-ſubjects, who had delivered up to the king his own towns*; while the king, on his ſide, refrained from all cruel repriſals on his priſoners. This conduct may ſerve to juſtify, in the opinion of poſterity, a prince who has been repreſented ſo criminal towards his people, and teach us to pity the unnatural perſecution he ſuffered from his ſubjects, while we blame the cauſes of offence he had given them; for which, however, he had offered every atonement, every reparation, that majeſty could make.

The two capital armies, that under Charles, and that under Eſſex, lay all this while inactive; the former about Abingdon and Oxford, the latter about Reading. Eſſex, in the whole of his operations againſt the king, ſeems to have been under the conſtant check of rencountering loyalty. According to the account given of the battle of Edge-hill by the earl of Clarendon himſelf, he could have taken the king and the two princes priſoners, but forbore, moſt probably from the motives already aſſigned; in fine, a ſtrong probability ariſes, that he was not yet in earneſt in the oppoſition, and that he never intended to carry hoſtilities farther againſt the king and his party than was neceſſary for his own defence in the ſervice he had embraced. However this might be, his conduct appeared very doubtful to his beſt friends, and the violent party in parliament could not help diſtruſting him; they now openly blamed him for not marching againſt Oxford; and, as the parliament officers who ſerved under him were daily improving in military knowlege, he could find no pretext for longer inactivity, being lately joined by Sir William Waller, who had by this

* Yeamans and Bourcher were executed at Briſtol, for endeavouring to ſeize that town for the king; the like happened to ſeveral gentlemen and citizens of London, for a deſign laid to ſeize the city and ſeveral members of parliament, in order to have put a period to the civil war, by ſtopping the iſſues of it in the fountain. Edmund Waller, the famous poet, was on this occaſion expelled the houſe of commons, of which he was a member, impriſoned a year in the Tower, fined ten thouſand pounds, and baniſhed to France for ten years; the others concerned with him were publicly executed. See Journals of the Houſe of Commons, anno 1643.

time reduced Hereford, and made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Worceſter; he made a march towards Oxford, and fixed his head quarters at Thame, upon the borders of Buckinghamſhire, in order to over-awe that county, which now grew turbulent in favour of Charles.

While he remained in this poſt, colonel Urrey, a Scotch officer, who had ſerved in Germany with general Ruthven, now created earl of Brentford, took this opportunity of deſerting to the king, and perſuaded prince Rupert to beat up the quarters of the enemy, after having particularly informed him of their diſpoſition. To demonſtrate the practicability of ſuch an exploit, he propoſed to go as a volunteer with a detachment, which he conducted to part of theſe quarters, where he defeated ſome regiments and brought a great number of priſoners to Oxford. Prince Rupert, encouraged by his ſucceſs, complied with his advice in making a more vigorous attack upon that part of their army, which was quartered at Thame. They departed from Oxford with a ſtrong body of horſe, and taking a long circuit in the night, arrived, by break of day, at Wickham, where they cut in pieces two regiments of the enemy; they attacked another quarter with the ſame ſucceſs, and attempted to retire by a bridge, at which they had left a ſufficient guard. By this time the earl of Eſſex had taken the alarm and detached part of his cavalry to detain the prince till he ſhould be able to advance with the infantry. They overtook him at the ſkirts of Chalgrave-field, where he wheeled about, and charged them with ſuch impetuoſity, that they betook themſelves to flight, after having loſt ſome of their beſt officers, and among the reſt the celebrated John Hampden, who had acted as colonel of a regiment, ſince the beginning of the war, and proved in many encounters that his courage was equal to any other of his extraordinary endowments. The candour and moderation for which this gentleman was diſtinguiſhed in the beginning of the oppoſition to the king's meaſures, had given way to a violent animoſity againſt the ancient conſtitution, and the perſon of his ſovereign, by whom he had been declared guilty of high-treaſon. This was an affront he never could forgive. He became paſſionate, and even ferocious; diſcouraged all overtures towards an accommodation, and now his death ſtruck a damp into the hearts of the whole faction. Other officers were ſlain or taken priſoners. The army under Eſſex was diſpirited by theſe checks, diminiſhed by diſtempers and want of neceſſaries, ſo that he thought proper to remove from Thame and put his troops into quarters of refreſhment at St. Alban's, Uxbridge, and other places in that neighbourhood. On the other hand, prince Rupert returned in triumph to Oxford, and recommended Urrey to the king in ſuch warm encomiums of his courage and conduct, that he received the honour of knighthood, and was preferred to the command of a regiment.

The king's affairs ſtill wore a favourable aſpect in the weſtern counties, where the neutrality was over-ruled as in the North by the votes and declarations of the parliament. Major Chudleigh, with a body of the enemy, made an attempt upon Launceſton, but being repulſed, retired to Kingſton. About the middle of May, the earl of Stamford marching into Cornwall, at the head of ſeven thouſand horſe and foot, with a train of artillery, encamped on the top of a hill near Stratton, and detached ſir George Chudleigh, with twelve hundred cavalry, to ſurprize the ſheriff of the county at Bodmin. The Corniſh loyaliſts, under lord Mohun and ſir Ralph Hopton, ſeized this opportunity of attacking their infantry in the abſence of their horſe: they formed their ſmall army into four diviſions, and attacked the hill in as many different parts; after a very warm conteſt, they met upon the ſummit, diſarmed major-general Chudleigh, routed the parliamentarians, and took poſſeſſion of their cannon and camp, while the earl of Stamford retired with precipitation to Exeter, and ſir George Chudleigh, with their cavalry, took the ſame route from Bodmin, as ſoon as he was informed of the earl's diſaſter. The victorious loyaliſts, having received orders to join prince Maurice and the marquis of Hertford, who had advanced as far as Somerſetſhire, began their march, and joining the marquis at Chard, the two bodies united, amounted to above ſeven thouſand men, in excellent order, with a good train of artillery: thus ſtrengthened, they took Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunſter caſtle, almoſt without oppoſition.

The reputation which the Corniſh men obtained in this action, gave infinite ſpirits to the king's party; and the affair of the Weſt became now the principal object both with Charles and the parliament; the latter put Sir William Waller at the head of a new army, to march into Somerſetſhire and retrieve their affairs. Waller was a man of ſpirit and fortune, and had ſerved the parliament ſo effectually on many occaſions, that, in the city of London, he obtained the name of William the Conqueror; he was a thorough paced republican, and was conſidered by the violent of the parliament party as the moſt proper officer to ſucceed Eſſex, if it ſhould be found neceſſary to lay that general aſide: in this expedition, however, he proved very unfortunate, for, in leſs than a fortnight, he loſt two battles, one at Lanſdown, on the fifth of July, wherein Sir Bevil Grenville was ſlain; and another at Roundway-down, on July the tenth; in the latter of which, his army was entirely routed, and ſo diſperſed, that it was no longer ſerviceable; Waller himſelf fled to Briſtol.

The affairs of the king in the North at this time went on very proſperouſly; the queen had again returned to England with a ſecond ſupply of men, and a ſum of money ſhe had raiſed by pawning the crown-jewels in Holland; for which the parliament, agreeable to the uſual ſpirit of their proceedings, had voted her guilty of high-treaſon. Matters, however, were ſo ſucceſsful for Charles, that the queen ventured to obey him, by marching ſouth, with all the troops, artillery, and ammunition, under her command, and found her royal conſort at Edge-hill, on the very day his troops gained the battle of Roundway-down: from Edge-hill they entered Oxford in a triumphant manner, while the Corniſh forces reduced Bath, and then marched to form the ſiege of Briſtol, in conjunction with the troops under prince Rupert. It was the twenty-fourth day of July, before the approaches began; the place was rich, and garriſoned by two thouſand five hundred foot, and a regiment of horſe, under the command of

Fiennes, who was but an indifferent ſoldier. After ſome deliberation, the city was aſſaulted by the loyaliſts with ſuch incredible courage, that the garriſon beat a parley, and ſurrendered upon terms. Beſides this important ſucceſs, Charles, at this time, gained another, by prince Rupert's ſeizing the ſhips in which the moſt wealthy citizens of Briſtol had embarked their riches, with a view of conveying them to London.

All this time Charles had ſubſiſted his forces by contributions and aſſeſſments, or by loans, and voluntary preſents from all parts of the kingdom; but the ſupplies, even including thoſe brought him by his queen, were ſtill very diſproportionable to his preſſing neceſſities. The reſources of the parliament were more numerous, and more conſiderable: and, of conſequence, all their military preparations were in much greater order and readineſs. Beſides a tax levied in London, amounting to the twenty-fifth part of every one's ſubſtance, they impoſed on that city a weekly aſſeſſment of ten thouſand pounds, and another of twenty-three thouſand five hundred and eighteen, on the reſt of the kingdom: and as their authority was very great in moſt counties, they levied theſe taxes with the utmoſt regularity.

A few days after the taking of Briſtol, Charles went to view that city, in which he had not long arrived before he received news of the ſurrender of Dorcheſter to the earl of Caernarvon; and a day or two after, Portland, Weymouth, and Melcombe, ſubmitted likewiſe; ſo that by the end of this ſummer, the royal party was in poſſeſſion of all the weſtern counties from the fartheſt part of Cornwall, except ſome few garriſons that were blocked up. In the North, even to the borders of Scotland, there was no army in the field to oppoſe the king, and his forces marched whitherſoever they pleaſed. London was now greatly divided between the two parties; many of the wealthier and more creditable citizens favoured the king's cauſe; and moſt of the gentry of the aſſociated counties already mentioned, were ready, upon the firſt appearance of the king at the head of his army, to have ſecured thoſe counties for him. Theſe conſiderations ſeemed naturally to point out, as the only rational ſtep, that the king ſhould have marched with his army to London, and have diſpatched the earl of Newcaſtle, at the head of his victorious band, into the aſſociated counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, whereby a ſpeedy end would, in all probability, have been put to this civil war. But, in the midſt of theſe hopes, the king calling a council at Briſtol, to deliberate how he was next to employ his arms, it was reſolved, that the Weſtern army ſhould be ſent back to protect the loyaliſts in their own counties, and that the ſiege of Gloceſter ſhould be forthwith undertaken. Nothing could be more fatal to the king's affairs than this laſt reſolution; a few days after which, the earl of Newcaſtle ſat down before Hull, where the lord Fairfax had taken refuge, after ſeveral repeated defeats; and who, aſſiſted by one colonel Meldrum, a Scotchman, defended the place with great bravery and conduct for ſeveral weeks, though he was vigorouſly attacked; at laſt, on the eleventh of October, the beſieged made a grand ſally, and after a very obſtinate fight, which was ſeveral times renewed, drove the beſiegers from their trenches, and ſeized upon their cannon; whereupon Newcaſtle was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. The ſame day this ſally was made by the garriſon of Hull, part of the earl of Newcaſtle's army, commanded by the lord Widdrington, was routed at Horncaſtle, by the earl of Mancheſter, a general of the parliament's forces, who had with him Sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell, which latter, by a painful obſervance of the duties of the field, and a remarkable zeal for the cauſe, was now become a lieutenant-colonel under the parliament: he had never been in foreign ſervice; and, if we may believe his cotemporaries, his courage was rather the reſult of experience and reaſon, than the effect of his natural diſpoſition; as he was a perfect judge of human nature, he began now to put in practice his favourite ſcheme, of inſpiring thoſe under him, and about him, with an enthuſiaſm that might overballance all the ſentiments of honour, loyalty, and duty, in the other party. How well this ſucceeded, the ſubſequent part of this hiſtory will demonſtrate to us.

To the fatal ſiege of Gloceſter the king in perſon, with his army, marched in the beginning of Auguſt; and about the tenth of that month he ſat down before it, with about eight thouſand horſe and foot, and immediately ordered the approaches to be begun, which were frequently interrupted by the ſallies of the beſieged. The parliament greatly fearing the loſs of this place, diſpatched the earl of Eſſex inſtantly to its relief, who began his march from Hounſlow Heath on the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt. The rendezvous of his troops was at Ayleſbury, where being joined by the lord Grey and reinforcements from the aſſociated counties, he found himſelf at the head of eight thouſand infantry, and half that number of horſe; then he continued his march by Brackley, though he was a little incommoded by a detachment of the king's horſe, ſent on purpoſe to harraſs him with light skirmiſhes. He proceeded, however, with great expedition, and the king's forces abandoning their works at his approach, he entered Gloceſter in triumph, when the garriſon was reduced to extremity. Having ſupplied the city with proviſion, ammunition, and reinforced the garriſon, he marched to Tewkeſbury, whence he made a ſudden motion to Cirenceſter, where he ſurprized two regiments of the royaliſts, and ſeized a great quantity of proviſions prepared for the kings army: then he took his route through the northern parts of Wiltſhire, having marched twenty miles before the king was informed of his motions. Prince Rupert was immediately ſent after him, in order to intercept his march till the king could come up in perſon, with the reſt of the army. This general came up with the earl as he was marching over Aubourn Chace, intending to have reached Newbury that night: a ſharp conflict enſued, prince Rupert charged the earl's rear with ſuch fury that it was put into great diſorder. The marquis de la Vieuville, a French officer, who had attended the queen out of Holland, and ſerved the king as a volunteer, was killed in this action, which, by its ill ſucceſs obliged Eſſex to take up his quarters at Hungerford. The next day he continued his marched towards Newbury, but found that the king had prevented him by two hours, and had poſted himſelf near that town. Prince Rupert, after the action of the foregoing day (September 18), went and joined the royal army. It is certain that

Charles

Charles was poſſeſſed of advantages in conſequence of this ſituation, which, had he known how to preſerve them, muſt have proved deciſive in his favour; but his officers had ſuch a contempt of the London apprentices, which compoſed a great part of Eſſex's army (and whoſe character we have already mentioned), that, forgetting all the advantages they had, they attacked the parliamentarians in ſtrong parties, till a general engagement became unavoidable; for Eſſex, finding his ſoldiers eager to return the affronts of the royal army, led them on in perſon to the fight, about ſix o'clock in the morning of the twentieth of September, which was continued with great gallantry on both ſides till night put an end to the diſpute. In this engagement, which was known by the title of the Firſt Battle of Newbury, the royal army ſuffered greatly, and its loſs was much aggravated by the quality of thoſe that fell in the fight, there being ſlain, beſides twenty officers of note, Ralph Dormer earl of Caernarvon, Henry Spencer earl of Sunderland, and Lucius Carey viſcount Falkland ſecretary of ſtate, a nobleman univerſally reſpected by all who knew him, for his great parts, ingenuity, and honour; he was a zealous promoter of all endeavours towards peace between the king and parliament: he fell in the thirty-fourth year of his age. Whatever lord Clarendon may pleaſe to aſſert, the victory was certainly on the ſide of the parliament: Charles recalled his troops from the field, and left Eſſex to purſue his march to Reading unmoleſted, where he arrived, after the battle of Newbury, to be at hand to protect the city of London, the very thing Charles wanted to prevent him from doing. Upon the whole, it was no wonder if Eſſex, at his arrival at Reading, on the twenty-ſecond of September, ordered public thanks to be given in the town, and was moreover welcomed with his army into London with triumphal honours by the city and parliament; while the king, with a diſconcerted, diſconſolate army, took up his winter quarters about Oxford. It appears, by the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, that the faction there were unwilling their army ſhould quit Reading; nor, indeed, does it appear to me why it was abandoned to the royaliſts, unleſs it was owing to the impatience of the Londoners to return home. Maſſey and the garriſon of Gloceſter were nobly rewarded, and the ſeveral committees were appointed to look to the recruiting the army, as if their intention had been that very winter to have attacked Oxford itſelf, where every thing was in the utmoſt confuſion and deſpair.

During the interval between the king's laying ſiege to Gloceſter and the battle of Newbury, ſeveral tranſactions happened, which we ſhall now briefly mention. The two houſes received Waller, after the defeat in the Weſt, with the warmeſt expreſſions of eſteem: he was appointed commander in chief of the forces and militia of London; and they declared they would enable him to take the field again, to relieve their diſtreſſed friends in the Weſt. They paſſed an ordinance to raiſe a new army under the command of the earl of Mancheſter, to oppoſe the earl of Newcaſtle, and protect the aſſociated counties of Eſſex, Hertford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, and Lincoln: then they ſent a committee of both houſes to ſoothe the earl of Eſſex, who had been for ſome time diſguſted, and had indeed conferred with the moderate party upon expedients to force the two houſes into pacific meaſures. Whatever arguments the committee uſed, he was perſuaded to re-adopt their ſentiments; and his other friends, fearing he would diſcover their deſign, withdrew themſelves from the parliament. The earl of Portland, lord Lovelace, and lord Conway, repaired to Oxford; and their example was followed by the earl of Clare; the earls of Bedford and Holland eſcaped to the king's garriſon at Wallingford; and the earl of Northumberland retired to his own houſe at Petworth, in Suſſex.

While the king was employed in the ſiege of Gloceſter, the towns of Dorcheſter, Weymouth, and Portland ſurrendered to the earl of Caernarvon, who left his army under the command of prince Maurice, and repaired to the king, in diſcontent for ſome outrages which the troops had committed with impunity. Sir John Digby routed a party of the parliament's forces at Torrington; Barnſtaple and Biddeford were ſurrendered to him without oppoſition; and prince Maurice undertook the ſiege of Exeter, which was delivered into his hands by capitulation by the earl of Stamford. About the time we are now ſpeaking of, the parliament reſolved upon a very extraordinary action, which was the making a new great-ſeal: this innovation was at firſt very warmly oppoſed, but at length it was reſolved upon by a majority of voices in both houſes; yet, to preſerve ſome colour of decency, they paſſed an order, "that if the lord-keeper Littleton did not, upon ſummons, return with the great-ſeal within fourteen days, he ſhould loſe his place; and whatever ſhould be ſealed therewith by him, after that time, ſhould be null and void in law." But this menacing vote did not bring the great-ſeal from Oxford, ſo that the new great-ſeal was made, and ſome few months afterwards the uſe of it authorized by ordinance of both houſes.

The court of France penetrated with the helpleſs ſituation of Charles, ſent the count d'Harcourt (a prince of the houſe of Lorraine, and a great general) as ambaſſador to England, to offer the mediation of France to compoſe the differences between the king and the parliament. He came firſt to London, and addreſſed himſelf to both houſes for a ſafe-conduct to Oxford, to the king, which they granted; and on the eighteenth of October he made his entry into that city, and three days after he had a public audience in the great hall at Chriſt-church, where the king and queen received him with great ſtate and magnificence; and, whilſt he ſtaid at Oxford, he and his retinue were lodged in St. John's college: but finding himſelf unable to effect any thing by his embaſſy, after a few months ſtay he returned.

The parliament continued ſtill ſtubborn and inflexible; and, what is very extraordinary, an aſſembly of a few men conducted their deſigns with more ſteadineſs, than a king at the head of his army. The puritans having got the majority in both houſes, threw aſide the mask; they entered into a ſolemn league with Scotland, and ſigned the famous Covenant with that people. By this Covenant the ſubſcribers bound themſelves to ſupport the reformed religion in the three kingdoms; to eſtabliſh a uniformity in doctrine and diſcipline; to extirpate popery and prelacy; to maintain the privileges of the parliament and people; to defend

his majeſty's perſon and authority, in the preſervation and defence of the true religon and liberty of the kingdom; to diſcover and puniſh incendiaries and malignants; to eſtabliſh a firm peace and union to all poſterity; and to renounce neutrality and reſiſt temptation: to repent of their ſins, amend their lives, and vie with each other in the great work of reformation." This Covenant was read in St. Margaret's church, at Weſtminſter, in preſence of both houſes, by whom it was ſubſcribed; and the commons ordered that it ſhould be taken the following Sunday by all perſons who lived under their juriſdiction.

It was plain by this covenant that the Scottiſh and Engliſh puritants wanted to erect themſelves into a republic: this was the ſpirit of Calviniſm, which had long been at work in France upon the ſame good deſign; it ſucceeded in Holland, but in France and England this darling ſcheme of the people could not be effected without ſheding oceans of blood. The rage of civil war was cheriſhed by the gloomy and auſtere behaviour, which was affected by the puritans. The parliament took this opportunity to oblige their Scottiſh friends by ordering the Book of Sports, compoſed by king James I. to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman; they thought by this action to ſhew their religion, and to offer a ſtabbing inſult to the reigning prince. In the courſe of this year the parliament likewiſe ordered that each family ſhould deprive itſelf of one meal in the week, and contribute the value of it for carrying on the war. One of the ſtrongeſt proofs of the inflexible ſtiffneſs which had taken poſſeſſion of all minds at this time, is the puniſhment of William Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was condemned by the parliament, after having been four years in priſon: when this prelate was brought to his trial, he made ſuch a vigourous defence, that the commons perceiving that he could not be capitally convicted in the common courſe of evidence, declared him guilty of high-treaſon by an act of attainder; although it remains a fact upon record, that the chief crime proved upon him, was his having made uſe of ſome of the ceremonies of the Romiſh communion at the conſecration of a church in London. He pleaded the king's pardon, which had been conveyed to him from Oxford; but it was declared null by both houſes. Being ſentenced to the death of a common felon, he petitioned that, as he was a biſhop, a privy-counſellor, and a peer of the realm, he might be indulged with decapitation, a requeſt which the commons granted with difficulty. He ſuffered on the tenth of January, 1644, in the ſeventy-third year of his age.

Both kingdoms having agreed to the Covenant, the ſtates of Scotland appointed commiſſioners to treat with the Engliſh, concerning the aid they deſired, which was that they would bring into England to their aſſiſtance an army conſiſting of twenty-one thouſand horſe and foot; towards the raiſing of which the parliament ſent one hundred thouſand pounds into Scotland, and great levies of men were made for this army, which entered England the beginning of the year 1644, and took poſſeſſion of Berwick: they were commanded by Leſly, an old officer under the earl of Leven. Charles finding the parliaments of England and Scotland both united againſt him, and being hard preſſed between the two armies, thought it neceſſary to conclude a truce with the Roman catholics of Ireland; and prince Maurice and the earl of Antrim were ſent to Ireland to bring over two thouſand troops from thence to the weſt of Scotland by the firſt of April, where they were to be joined by the king's friends, and commanded by the earl of Montroſe. At the ſame time the marquis of Ormond was ordered to ſend over ſome of the beſt regiments to the weſt of England. Lord Byron at the head of the forces brought over from Ireland, ſoon reduced the caſtles of Howarden, Breeſton, Acton, and Dedington. Sir Thomas Fairfax, informed of theſe proceedings collected a body of four thouſand men in Yorkſhire, and, being reinforced by ſir William Brereton, advanced againſt the enemy: the ſwelling of a rivulet, by an exceſſive rain, divided one part of Byron's army from the other; that part oppoſed to Fairfax being driven from their poſt, took ſhelter in the church of Acton, and were all made priſoners; the other fled with the utmoſt precipitation: and thus was diſperſed and rendered uſeleſs that body of forces which had been tranſported from Ireland; and the parliament recovered their former footing in the north-weſt of England.

In the mean time the king, that he might weaken the authority of the parliament, iſſued a proclamation requiring the parliament to aſſemble at Oxford, at the ſame time recounting all the tumults, by which he and his partizans in both houſes had been driven from London: and he thence inferred, that the aſſembly at Weſtminſter was no longer a free parliament, and, till its liberty was reſtored, had no right to exact obedience to any of its orders. As this declaration was an obſtacle to all treaty, of which, however, the king was extremely deſirous, it became neceſſary to elude it by ſome kind of contrivance. A letter was accordingly ſent to the earl of Eſſex, and ſubſcribed by the prince, the duke of York, and forty-three noblemen. They intreated him to uſe his endeavours for reſtoring peace to the country, and to promote that happy end with thoſe by whom he was employed. Eſſex, though much diſſatisfied with the conduct of the parliament, though apprehenſive of the extremities to which they were driving, though willing to agree to any reaſonable accommodation; yet was more anxious to diſcharge with fidelity the truſt repoſed in him. He replied, that as the paper ſent him, was neither addreſſed to the two houſes of parliament, nor acknowleged the authority of that aſſembly, he could not, by any means, impart it to them. Like propoſals were repeated by the king during the enſuing campaign, and ſtill met with a like denial from Eſſex.

In order to make another attempt towards a treaty, the king ſent a letter directed to the lords and commons of parliament convened at Weſtminſter: but as he likewiſe mentioned, in the letter, the lords aud commons of parliament convened at Oxford, and expreſſed his deſire that all the members of both houſes might ſafely meet in a free and full aſſembly; the parliament, perceiving the concluſion which he meant to draw from this diſtinction, refuſed all treaty upon ſuch terms. And the king, who deſpaired of all hopes of accommodation, would not forgo the pretenſions, which he had aſſumed, nor acknowlege the two houſes, more openly, for a parliament. About this time died the celebrated Pym; a man as much eſteemed by one party, as hated by the other. The parliament

conſidered him as the victim to national liberty, who had impaired his conſtitution and ſhortened his life by his conſtant and unwearied application. The royaliſts believed him to have been ſtruck with an uncommon diſeaſe, and to have been conſumed with vermin; as a mark of divine vengeance for his numerous crimes and treaſons.

The invaſion of the Scots was productive of the moſt important conſequences. They had entered England on the nineteenth of January, with an army of eighteen thouſand foot, three thouſand horſe, and between five and ſix hundred dragoons; Alexander Leſly earl of Leven was general, John Bowley lieutenant-general of the horſe. Leven advanced to Newcaſtle, on the twenty-ſecond of February, and having in vain ſummoned the town, which was defended by a ſtrong garriſon, he croſſed the Tyne, to force the earl (lately created marquis) of Newcaſtle, who was encamped at Durham, with an army of fourteen thouſand men to ſtop the progreſs of the Scotiſh army, and he would have ſucceeded in all probability but for a great misfortune which happen to his forces in Yorkſhire: colonel Bellaſis, whom he had left with a conſiderable body of troops, was entirely defeated at Selby, on the nineteenth of April, by ſir Thomas Fairfax, who had returned with his victorious forces from defeating the army under the lord Byron. Apprehenſive of being ſhut up between the two armies, Newcaſtle retired, and Leven joined his troops to thoſe of lord Fairfax. They inveſted York, in which the army of the royaliſts had taken ſhelter: but as the Scottiſh and parliamentary forces were not ſufficient to beſiege in form ſo large a city, divided by a river, they contented themſelves with forming a kind of blockade; and affairs remained for ſome time in ſuſpenſe between theſe oppoſite armies.

Mean while the other parts of the kingdom were not free from the calamities of war: the lord Hopton was beat by general Waller, at Alresford, in Kent; and prince Rupert, on the other hand, gained a ſignal victory over the parliamentary forces who had formed the ſiege of Newark, under the lord Willoughby and ſir John Meldrum, by which he preſerved a free communication between the king's northern and ſouthern conqueſts. After this the prince attacked Liverpool, a ſea-port town on the edge of Cheſhire, of which he made himſelf maſter: here he received a letter from the king, preſſing him to relieve York, the ſiege of which was by this time begun, the earl of Leven and general Fairfax having been joined by the earl of Manchester, with a numerous body of infantry, who, on their march, had reduced the city of Lincoln. On the approach of prince Rupert, the parliament's generals immediately raiſed the ſiege; and drawing up their troops on Marſton Moor, reſolved to prevent the junction of the royaliſts; but prince Rupert approached the town by another ſide, and keeping the river Ouſe between him and the enemy, ſafely joined his troops to thoſe of the marquis of Newcaſtle. In a conference between the two generals the latter endeavoured to demonſtrate that the Scots and Engliſh, being at variance, would ſeperate in a few days of their own accord, and that he expected a reinforcement of five thouſand men from the North: the prince on this occaſion behaved in ſo imperious a manner as greatly incenſed the marquis, who the next day, when the prince ordered the troops to be in readineſs to engage, told him that he ſhould not heſitate to obey his majeſty's nephew, but inſiſted on reſigning his authority, and ſerving only as a volunteer. On the third day of July the prince advanced againſt the enemy, and about two o'clock in the afternoon the action began, and laſted for ſome hours with great fury, and victory ſeemed ready to crown the efforts of the royal army, when the battle was reſtored by Oliver Cromwell (now made a lieutenant-general), who commanded the choice troops of the parliament, enured to danger under that undaunted leader, actuated by fanatic zeal, and regulated by the moſt ſevere diſcipline: in a word, after a very ſharp conflict, in which the marquis of Newcaſtle, at the head of his regiment, performed miracles of valour, the royal army was entirely broken and diſperſed, and a moſt complete victory was obtained by the parliament. The prince loſt ſix thouſand men, half of whom fell in the battle, together with all his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. After the battle the marquis of Newcaſtle, ſtill reſenting the inſult he had received by the haughty carriage of prince Rupert, took ſhipping at Scarborough, and repaired to the continent, where he remained till the Reſtoration. Prince Rupert, confounded at his late overthrow, retired with the remains of his army into Lancaſhire abandoning York to its fate, which was in a few days yielded up to the parliament's forces by Glenham, the deputy-governor; Fairfax, entering the place, ſupplied it with a ſtrong garriſon, and detached a thouſand horſe into Lancaſhire, to reinforce the parliamentary army in that quarter, and attend the motions of prince Rupert: the Scottiſh army retired northwards, in order to meet the earl of Calender, who was coming to join them with ten thouſand additional forces; and to beſiege the town of Newcaſtle, which they took by ſtorm: the earl of Manchester, with Cromwell, who had a capital ſhare in gaining this great victory, and who was wounded in the action, repaired to the Eaſtern aſſociation, in order to recruit his army.

During theſe tranſactions in the North, the king's affairs wore a tolerable aſpect in the South: two armies, under Eſſex and Waller, being by this time completed, thoſe generals were ordered to advance with their combined forces towards Oxford, and, if the king took refuge in that city, to inveſt it, and by one enterprize finiſh the war. The king, leaving a ſufficient garriſon in Oxford, paſſed the enemy unnoticed, and bent his route to Worceſter, and thereby the two parliament generals poſted their armies between him and Oxford. The condition of Charles was now looked upon as deſperate; and was certainly ſo, had he not been ſaved by the differences which, happily for him, ſubſiſted between Eſſex and Waller, by the former taking upon him to proſecute the expedition to the Weſt, which had been allotted to Waller, and ordering him to purſue Charles. Waller complained bitterly of Eſſex thus uſurping his command, and produced his orders from the committees of both kingdoms (for the Scots were now indulged with having a committee in the Engliſh parliament, to act in conjunction with their friends there); but Eſſex was abſolute, and threatened to try Waller by a council of war, if he ſhould diſobey. While they were debating this point, Charles got full two days march of the parliament army, and had reached

Worceſter; but fearing to be ſhut up there by Waller, who by this time, was got as far as Eveſham in purſuit of him, he went weſt with his army to Bewdly, as if he had intended to gain Shrewſbury, were it was practicable for him to have joined prince Rupert. Waller, who expected a large reinforcement, moved towards Broomſgrove and Kidderminſter, and, extending his quarters all along the eaſt ſide, by degrees got between Charles and the town of Shrewſbury. By this he did the very thing which Charles wiſhed for; for he immediately returned to Worceſter, and from thence to Eveſham, breaking down the bridges as he paſſed along, by which means he left Waller two days march behind him, in a heavy country. Upon his coming to Eveſham he puniſhed ſome of its magiſtrates for their ſo readily admitting Waller into that place, and marched that ſame day towards Camden, from whence he ſent to his friends in Oxford, where he had left moſt of his foot in garriſon, to meet him with his cannon and infantry, being determined to fight Waller if he ſhould come up. In a few hours he was joined by his forces from Oxford, and then went in queſt of Waller, in his turn. On the twenty-ninth of June the two armies approached each other at Cropedy bridge, and were only divided by the Charwell. Next day the king diſlodged and proceeded towards Daventry. Waller ordered a large detachment to croſs the bridge, and attack the rear of the royaliſts. They were repulſed, routed, and chaſed to a conſiderable diſtance. Stunned and diſcouraged by this blow, his troops began to deſert in great numbers; and the king thought he might ſafely leave them, and march weſtward againſt Eſſex.

Five days after the fight of Cropedy bridge, the king, being at Eveſham, cauſed to be drawn up a meſſage for peace, to both houſes of parliament; a copy whereof was ſent to the earl of Eſſex by the marquis of Hertford, to be communicated to the parliament, it being intimated that the French agent had the original to deliver, if required. This meſſage, directed "To the Lords and Commons of Parliament, aſſembled at Weſtminſter," contained a general offer to treat of peace; and if commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to him, he would grant them a ſafe-conduct. The two houſes, ever jealous of the king, thought there was ſome artifice concealed in ſending them only a copy of his meſſage, and that his aim was to engage them to demand the original of the French agent; beſides, they did not conceive themſelves to be owned, by the direction of the meſſage, as the two houſes of parliament; and therefore imagined the king had a mind to reſerve to himſelf the power of ſaying he did not acknowlege them for the true parliament of England; and indeed he ought not, according to his principles, ſince he had publiſhed the forementioned declaration againſt them: wherefore they reſolved to take no notice of the meſſage, nor return any anſwer.

Eſſex having compelled prince Maurice, who commanded the king's forces in the Weſt, to abandon the ſiege of Lyme, and having reduced Weymouth and Taunton, proceeded ſtill in his conqueſts without meeting with any interruption; but hearing that the king was marching into the Weſt againſt him, he retired into Cornwall, and ſent to the parliament, deſiring them to diſpatch an army to attack the king in the rear. General Middleton was ſent with a good body of troops, for that purpoſe; but arrived too late to do any effectual ſervice. On the firſt of Auguſt, the king entered Cornwall, where he was joined by prince Maurice with his army; and now Eſſex ſaw himſelf cooped up in a narrow corner, at Leſtwithiel; deſtitute of forage and proviſion, and deſpairing of all hopes of relief, he was reduced to the laſt extremity. The king preſſed him on one ſide; prince Maurice on another; ſir Richard Grenville on a third. On the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, Eſſex, Robarts, and ſome of the principal officers, got on board a boat, and fled to Plymouth: Balfour with his cavalry eſcaped the king's guards in a thick miſt, and arrived ſafely at the garriſons of his own party. The infantry, under major-general Skippon were obliged to ſurrender their arms, artillery, baggage, and ammunition; and, being led to the parliamentary quarters, were ſet at liberty.

By this time the earl (now created marquis) of Montroſe, was very ſucceſsful for the king in Scotland, having obtained a great victory over the Covenanters upon Newbiggin Moor, and taken Perth; and within fourteen days after that, he gained another victory near Aberdeen, ſoon after took that city, and marched from thence into the earl of Argyll's country, which he waſted with fire and ſword, and performed many great ſervices, even to admiration conſidering the ſmallneſs of his beginning, and the little aſſiſtance he had from England. But we ſhall leave a while the narrative of his forturn, to return to the tranſactions in England, which were, the remaining part of this year, proſecuted in ſeveral places with various ſucceſs. In the Weſt, after the great victory over Eſſex's army, Ilfracomb, Branſtaple, and Saltaſh ſubmitted to the king's arms; and Baſing-houſe, which had been eighteen weeks beſieged, was relieved by a party from Oxford, under ſir Henry Gage: and a little after, he, with the earl of Northampton, raiſed the ſiege of Banbury caſtle, which had been a month inveſted by colonel Fiennes, and ſlew and took many of his men and one piece of ordnance. But the good fortune of the parliament in ſeveral parts balanced this ſucceſs with advantage: Monmouth was, in September, taken by colonel Maſſey; and the town and caſtle of Newcaſtle, which had long ſuſtained the utmoſt efforts of the Engliſh and Scottiſh armies, was taken by ſtorm, to the great loſs of the aſſailants, on the twenty-ſeventh of October; and a while after Liverpool, in Lancaſhire, was ſurrendered to ſir John Meldrum. But the great buſineſs that concluded this year were the important battle of Newbury and the treaty at Uxbridge, which will come next to be related, interwoven with ſome other of the moſt remarkable occurrences that then happened.

Though the earl of Eſſex might have been juſtly upbraided for the two errors he had committed, in obſtinately purſuing his march into the Weſt, contrary to the orders of both houſes, and prepoſterouſly going into Cornwall, he was not inſulted for his misfortunes, but, at his return, was very civilly received: it was then no proper time to examine his conduct, the point was to recruit and arm his ruined army, as well as that of Waller; and accordingly both houſes applied themſelves to it with all poſſible diligence. They ordered alſo colonel Middleton to repair ſpeedily to the earl of Eſſex's army, and the earl of Mancheſter to march

the ſame way with his forces. On the twenty-firſt of October the three armies joined, and were far ſuperior to that of the king, who was by this time come out of the Weſt, and was advanced as far as Newbury, while the parliament forces lay at Reading. Eſſex, either through diſguſt or indiſpoſition, or both, abſented himſelf, on the twenty-third from the parliament army, and there was little or no unanimity in their counſels: however, the proximity of the oppoſite armies would not permit them to be long inactive; and on the twenty-ſeventh of October was fought the ſecond battle of Newbury, one of the moſt obſtinate that had happened during the whole courſe of this war. The royaliſts were defeated: the loſs on Charles's ſide, however, was not very conſiderable; the parliament loſt about a thouſand men. After the battle the king retreated to Wallingford, from whence he marched to Bath, near which place he was joined by prince Rupert, and then they put their troops into winter-quarters, as did the parliament on their ſide.

Oliver Cromwell, who had already ſignalized himſelf by ſeveral acts of extraordinary valour, was a great inſtrument of gaining the late advantage over the king's army. It is ſaid, that at this battle of Newbury, the corps, commanded by the earl of Mancheſter, having given way, the earl likewiſe being carried along with the reſt in their precipitate flight, Cromwell, who was himſelf wounded, rode up to him, and cried "You are miſtaken, my lord, the enemy is not this way," and immediately brought him back to the charge: in a word, moſt writers agree, that the fortune of this day was chiefly owing to Cromwell. This is certain, that Cromwell had as much influence in the houſe of commons as he had reputation in the army; and publicly accuſed his general of not having done his duty.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the queen retired into France; and the elector Palatine, who had withdrawn to Holland in the beginning of the troubles between the king (his uncle) and the parliament, came over in the month of Auguſt, and put himſelf under the protection of the parliament; the king hearing of it, wrote to him, to know the reaſon of ſo extraordinary a proceeding. It does not appear what anſwer the elector returned; but probably, not knowing how to ſubſiſt, and conſidering the king (his uncle) was not able to maintain him, he believed he ſhould find more aſſiſtance in the parliament, which had ever expreſſed a great affection for his houſe. He was not deceived in his expectations, for the parliament granted him an honourable penſion, which was more regularly paid than the former from the king. He afterwards deſired, and obtained leave, to hear the debates in the aſſembly of the divines: probably, he did not care to be concerned in military affairs, but ſought to ſpend his time in converſing with the learned, and improving himſelf in matters of religion.

Amongſt the many tentatives for peace this ſummer, one was made by the States General, whoſe ambaſſadors came to London about the ſixth of July. Upon their arrival, they wrote (being three in number, Boreel, de Reede, and Joachimim) to the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, to demand an immediate audience in full parliament. As they had addreſſed the letter to him as ſpeaker of the commons of England, and as their credentials ran in the ſame ſtile, the commons were ſo well pleaſed, that they ordered them a very ſplendid introduction, with no leſs than ten coaches to attend them to both houſes, and in their audience they offered the mediation of their maſters between the king and his parliament: at the ſame time, they complained of the detention of ſome of their ſhips by thoſe of the parliament; and the whole, after a very ceremonious audience, was referred to a committee of both houſes. Thoſe maritime differences ſeem to have been very complicated, and of ſo great importance, that neither ſide choſe to proceed, at this time, in the mediation, till they were previouſly ſettled.

The fondneſs of the Engliſh for every thing new or ſtrange, brought to light, the latter end of this year, a new ſcheme of a moſt extraordinary nature, and which perfectly explained Cromwell's true character, and proved at once the ſource of his greatneſs, the downfal of the parliament and hierarchy, the murder of the king, and the abolition of monarchy. The ſect of independents began now to make ſome noiſe *. The moſt violent of the preſbyterians had joined this ſect, which reſembled that of the quakers, in condemning the ordination of miniſters, and allowing every one to preach and expound the ſcriptures according to the talents he had received from nature; but they were at the ſame time as turbulent as the quakers were mild and peaceable. They gave a looſe to the wildeſt imaginations they had formed, the extravagant deſign of levelling all deſtructions among men, and, in order to eſtabliſh this projected equality, they had recourſe to force, which ever implies a ſuperiority on the one ſide. Oliver Cromwell looked upon theſe people as fit inſtruments to be made uſe of in the great plan he was mediating.

The city of London, which was divided into ſeveral factions, complained bitterly that the parliament had loaded it with all the burthen of the

* The independents, called at firſt congregationaliſts, owed their riſe chiefly to Goodwin, Nye, Bridge, Sympton, and Burroughs; who tranſported themſelves into Holland, for liberty of conſcience; from whence, upon the downfall of epiſcopacy, they returned to England, and addreſſed the parliament with an apologetical narrative for indiſturbance and toleration. In this apology they declare, That they conſulted the ſcriptures without any prepoſſeſſion; they look upon the word of Chriſt as impartially and unprejudicedly, as men of fleſh and blood are like to do at any juncture of time they having no temptation to any biaſs; as to church government, they ſaid they confined themſelves to ſcripture precept and precedent, leaving room for alterations upon farther enquiry. Purſuant to theſe grounds, they held a middle courſe, between preſbyterianiſm and Browniſm; the firſt they counted too arbitrary, the other too looſe. Their main characteriſtic was the diſallowing parochial and provincial ſubordinations, and forming all their congregations upon a ſcheme of co-ordinancy. As to the manner of their ſervice, they prayed publicly for kings and all in authority: they read the ſcriptures, and expounded the leſſons upon proper occaſions; they adminiſtered the ſacraments, they ſung pſalms, and made collections for the poor every Lord's day. Their public officers were paſtors, teachers, ruling elders (which were eccleſiaſtics), and deacons. As for church-cenſures, they had none but admonition and excommunication. The five abovementioned independents were all, or moſt of them, members of the aſſembly of divines. Rapin ſeems to confound them with the Browniſts. See their Apologetical Narrative, and Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. tom. ii p. 829. —— They were called Independents, from their declaring againſt the dependency of churches, which, as has been already ſaid, was their main characteriſtic.

war

war; and not only ſo, but that they had of late greatly neglected the city. This circumſtance occaſioned ſome warm debates in the houſe of commons; and Cromwell took the opportunity to expoſe, with great freedom, the licentiouſneſs and ill government of the army, the officers of which, he ſaid, could not well be called to an account, by reaſon that moſt of them were members of the houſe of commons. He then made a motion for taking into conſideration the new modelling the army; in which he was warmly ſeconded by Sir Harry Vane, Mr. Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, the ſollicitor-general, all of them furious independents. In order to effect this ſcheme, it was propoſed that the members of both houſes ſhould reſign all their employments, civil and military. Almoſt all the offices of profit were in the hands of the members of one or the other houſe; the three generals of the parliament's army were peers *; the greateſt part of the colonels, majors, the treaſurers, the purveyors, and commiſſioners of all departments, were members of the lower-houſe. How improbable then did it appear, that ſo many perſons in power could be prevailed upon, by the ſoothings of a religious cant, to reſign their poſts and incomes; and yet this was effected in a very ſhort ſpace of time: the commons, in particular, were dazzled with the proſpect of gaining an aſcendancy over the minds of the people, by this rare example of diſintereſtedneſs. The lords, at firſt, refuſed to concur in paſſing the bill, but were ſoon overpowered by the commons; and on the nineteenth of December, this year, was paſſed the act called, the Self-denying Ordinance, by which the members of either houſe were deprived of all offices whether civil or military, except a few, which were particularly mentioned. The earls of Eſſex, Denbigh, Mancheſter, and the lord Fairfax, finding they could not ſtem the torrent, voluntarily reſigned their commands; and the army, being augmented to twenty-two thouſand men, the chief command was beſtowed on ſir Thomas Fairfax, he not being a member of parliament.

This was juſt what Cromwell wanted; he had an abſolute aſcendancy over this new general, as indeed he had over the whole houſe of commons, who continued him in the command of his regiment, notwithſtanding he was a member; and even ordered the general to give him the command of a detachment of horſe, which was directed to march to Oxford. This very man, who had ſo artfully deprived all the preſbyterian members of their military employments, had likewiſe the addreſs to get the independent party continued in their poſts; and thus the latter, though much inferior in number, obtained a complete victory over the preſbyterians; and from that time it was eaſy to perceive that the army could give law to the parliament; for though the power of the ſword was, in appearance, conferred on Fairfax, in reality it reſted with Cromwell. By his aſſiſtance Fairfax new modelled his whole army, incorporated ſome regiments into others, made a total change in all the military departments, and eſtabliſhed a new diſcipline. All this, which at any other time would have excited a revolt, now paſſed without the leaſt reſiſtance.

In the mean time, a treaty of peace was begun and carried on between the king and parliament, but with little hopes of ſucceſs. Upon his majeſty's return to Oxford, after putting his army in winter quarters, the two houſes required and procured a ſafe-conduct for their deputies, with propoſals of accommodation, which they had framed in the ſummer. Charles, on their being preſented to him, required, in his turn, a ſafe-conduct for the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton, who ſhould carry his anſwer to the two houſes; but this favour he could not obtain, until he had addreſſed himſelf to them by the title of The two Houſes of Parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter, and to the Scottiſh Commiſſioners. On this occaſion, Charles employed an artifice which does no honour to his ſincerity, and which his warmeſt advocates will find it difficult to juſtify or excuſe. He entered a ſecret proteſt in his council-book, importing, that though he had called them a parliament, he did not acknowlege them as ſuch. This ſpirit of equivocation had always brought ruin upon Charles's affairs, and was indeed ſhameful. On the nineteenth of December, the parliament and the Scottiſh commiſſioners returned their anſwer to the king, in which they conſented to a treaty. Uxbridge, a town betwixt London and Oxford, was named for the place of treaty, and Charles, on his part, appointed the following commiſſioners: the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earl of Southampton, the earl of Kingſton, the earl of Chicheſter, the lord Capel, the lord Seymour, the lord Hatton, the lord Culpepper, ſecretary Nicholas, Mr. chancellor of the Exchequer, ſir Edward Hyde, the lord chief-baron, ſir Edward Lane, ſir Orlando Bridgeman, ſir Thomas Gardiner, Mr. Joſeph Aſhburnham, Mr. Geoffery Palmer, Dr. Steuart, and their attendants; in all, the number of one hundred and eight. The commiſſioners for the parliament were, Algernoon earl of Northumberland, Philip earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, William earl of Saliſbury, Bazil earl of Denbigh, Thomas lord viſcount Wenman, Denzil Holles, William Peirpoint, ſir Henry Vane, junior, Oliver St. John, Bulſtrode Whitlock, John Crew, and Edward Prideaux, for the lords and commons aſſembled in the parliament of England, at Weſtminſter; and John earl of Loudon, lord chancellor of Scotland, Archibald marquis of Argyll, John lord Maitland, John lord Balmerino, ſir Archibald Johnſon, ſir Charles Erſkine, George Dundas, ſir Joſeph Smith, ſir Hugh Kennedy, and Mr. Robert Berkley, for the eſtates of the parliament of Scotland, together with Mr. Alexander Henderſon.

The conferences were opened on the thirtieth of January, 1645; by mutual agreement they were to laſt twenty days; and the propoſitions were reduced to the three articles, of religion, the militia, and Ireland. The propoſitions offered by the two houſes were no other than the moſt ſevere conditions they could have impoſed upon a prince, whom they intended to ſtrip of all the power, and indeed of all the enſigns, of royalty. In a word, they demanded that the hierarchy ſhould be aboliſhed, and preſbyterianiſm eſtabliſhed in both kingdoms; that the king ſhould ſubſcribe the covenant; aban-

* The earls of Mancheſter and Eſſex, and lord Fairfax.

don his beſt friends as traitors; give up the militia, and even his own children, to the direction of the two houſes; which engroſſed the whole ſovereign authority. Though no peace was to be expected from ſuch propoſals, the king's commiſſioners, in the courſe of the conferences, agreed that every perſon ſhould enjoy liberty of conſcience touching the ceremonies of the church; that no biſhop ſhould exerciſe any ſort of juriſdiction; that no perſon ſhould be admitted into holy orders without the conſent of the preſbytery; that epiſcopal juriſdiction, with reſpect to marriages and wills, ſhould be regulated by the king and the two houſes; that proper laws ſhould be enacted for the regulation of epiſcopal viſitations, the expence of eccleſiaſtical ſuits, frivolous excommunications, and other abuſes of the ſpiritual courts; that the militia ſhould be put into the hands of twenty commiſſioners, one-half to be named by the king, and the other by the two houſes; and, that the commiſſion ſhould continue for three years. Theſe conceſſions were deemed not ſatisfactory by the two houſes: nothing material was propoſed relating to the affairs of Ireland, and the twenty days being expired, the conferences broke up without having produced any proſpect of accommodation.

The diſpoſition of the forces on both ſides, at the beginning of the year 1645, was as follows: part of the Scottiſh army was engaged in reducing Pomfret, and other towns in Yorkſhire; part of it inveſted Carliſle, bravely defended by ſir Thomas Glenham. Cheſter, where Byron commanded, had been long beſieged by ſir William Brereton, and was now almoſt on the point of ſurrendering. The king, reinforced by the princes Rupert and Maurice, lay at Oxford, with an army of fifteen thouſand men. Fairfax and Cromwell were ſtationed at Windſor, with the new-modelled army of twenty-two thouſand men. Taunton, in the county of Somerſet, defended by Blake, ſuſtained a long ſiege from ſir Richard Grenville, who headed an army of eight thouſand men; and though the defence had been very vigorous, the garriſon was now deſtitute of almoſt every neceſſary. Goring, in the Weſt, conducted an army of nearly the ſame number.

The parliament's army was by this time new modelled according to the plan of Cromwell, and was compoſed entirely of a ſet of fanatics, inſpired with that blaze of enthuſiaſm which makes men fight with the moſt eager zeal, even in the worſt of cauſes, and die in full confidence of obtaining the crown of martyrdom. It was with a detachment of ſuch warriors that Cromwell marched from Windſor, on the twenty-fourth day of April. In the neighbourhood of Iſlip, he cut in pieces four regiments of the king's cavalry; Buckingham was ſurrendered to him, at the firſt ſummons, by colonel Windebank (ſon to the ſecretary of that name), who was thereupon tried by a court-martial, and ſhot for cowardice; but Cromwell was repulſed in his attack upon Farringdon. Taunton, beſieged by ſir Richard Grenville, was relieved by colonel Welden, one of the parliament's officers, with a body of horſe and foot; but ſir Richard, being afterwards reinforced by a ſtrong party under Goring, he reſumed his operations againſt the place, in which the detachment under Welden was now ſhut up. The king opened the campaign on his ſide, by marching with about eight thouſand men towards Cheſter, to relieve that place, beſieged by ſir William Brereton; but hearing by the way the ſiege was raiſed, he marched to Leiceſter, which he took by ſtorm, on the thirtieth of May. Here Charles received advice, that Fairfax was ordered to beſiege Oxford; he therefore marched to Harborough, where he was informed that general had abandoned his deſign upon Oxford, and had been repulſed with great loſs in aſſaulting the garriſon of Borſtal-houſe (in Buckinghamſhire). The king continued his march, in expectation of being joined by colonel Gerard, with two thouſand men from Wales; as well as by Goring, at the head of three thouſand cavalry. In this ſituation of affairs, prudence ſeemed to dictate the waiting for the coming up of theſe ſupplies, and, till then, to act only on the defenſive; but the head-ſtrong and impetuous temper of prince Rupert, and the fiery and impatient humour of the young nobility under Charles, rendered fruitleſs the advice of the more grave and experienced officers of the council; and it was reſolved, by a majority of voices in the cabinet, to attack Fairfax. The royal army accordingly marched back; and, on the fourteenth day of June, came in ſight of the enemy, who were drawn up in order of battle, on a riſing ground in the neighbourhood of Naſeby, a village near Rothwell, in Northamptonſhire.

At this place was fought, with forces nearly equal, that great and important battle between the king and parliament. The main body of the royaliſts was headed by the king, the right wing by prince Rupert, the left by ſir Marmaduke Langdale. Fairfax, aſſiſted by Skippon, commanded the main body of the parliamentarians; Cromwell conducted the right wing: Ireton, Cromwell's ſon-in-law, the left. The charge was begun by prince Rupert, with his uſual impetuoſity, and his uſual ſucceſs: notwithſtanding the brave reſiſtance of Ireton, who, even after he was run through the thigh with a pike, ſtill continued to fight with undaunted courage, till he was taken priſoner, that whole wing was totally broke, and chaſed to a conſiderable diſtance by Rupert: he was even ſo imprudent as to waſte time in attacking the artillery of the parliament, which had been left behind with a ſtrong guard of infantry. Mean while the king, at the head of his main body, attacked Fairfax and Skippon; and the fight was, for ſome time, maintained with equal bravery on both ſides. Skippon, being dangerouſly wounded, was deſired by Fairfax to quit the field; but declared he would not retire ſo long as one man kept his ground. At laſt the infantry of the parliament was thrown into diſorder, and hard puſhed by the king; till Fairfax, with great prudence, brought up the reſerve, and reſtored the battle. By this time Cromwell, with his right wing, having fallen upon Langdale, had repulſed the royaliſts, and by his conduct improved that advantage, which he had obtained by his valour. Having chaſed the enemy about a quarter of a mile, and detached ſome troops to continue the purſuit, he turned back upon the king's infantry; and, at the firſt onſet, threw them into the utmoſt confuſion. One regiment alone, though twice aſſaulted by Fairfax, ſtill maintained its ranks unbroken; and that general, provoked at ſo ſtubborn a reſiſtance, commanded Doyley, the captain of his life-guards, to aſſail them once more in front, while he himſelf

attacked them in rear. By theſe united efforts the regiment was broke. Fairfax, with his own hands, ſlew an enſign, and having taken the colours, gave them to a ſoldier to keep for him. The ſoldier afterwards pretending that he had gained the ſpoil himſelf, was reprimanded by Doyley, who had ſeen the action: "Let him retain that honour (ſaid Fairfax) I have to day acquired enough beſide."

Prince Rupert, convinced too late of his error, abandoned the fruitleſs attack on the enemy's artillery, and returned to the king, whoſe infantry was now totally defeated. Charles endeavoured to animate this body of cavalry to a freſh attack, and cried aloud to them, "One charge more, and we recover the day." But the danger of ſuch an attempt was too great and apparent; and they could by no means be perſuaded to renew the battle. At the ſame time, the Scottiſh earl of Carnwarth, who rode by his majeſty's ſide, ſeizing the bridle of his horſe, turned him round, ſaying, "Will you go upon your death in an inſtant." The troops ſeeing this motion, wheeled off to the right, and immediately fled with the utmoſt precipitation. Charles, finding it impoſſible to make any farther reſiſtance, was obliged to quit the field, and abandon the victory to his enemies. The number of killed on the ſide of the parliament was greater than on the ſide of the king: they loſt a thouſand men; he not above eight hnndred. But Fairfax took five hundred officers, and four thouſand private men, priſoners; ſeized all the king's artillery and baggage, and totally diſperſed his infantry: ſo that no victory could be well more complete, than that which was now obtained by the parliament.*

It would be as irkſome as improper, in this hiſtory, to enter upon a detail of all the little actions and ſkirmiſhes, the ſieges of caſtles, and the taking of houſes, that happened during this active year. Let it ſuffice then to inform the reader, that Charles, having eſcaped from the fatal field of Naſeby, gathered together ſome part of his ſcattered forces, but never was able to make head againſt the conquerors; loſing this year one garriſon after another, till his whole ſtrength was almoſt reduced to Oxford. We ſhall only mention ſome of the principal places taken from him by the victorious parliamentarians, namely, Leiceſter, Carliſle, Pomfret caſtle, Bridgewater, Scarborough, Hereford, Weſt Cheſter, and Briſtol; on which a great part of his affairs chiefly depended. This latter place was well ſupplied with men, proviſions, and ammunition; and every body concluded, from the known valour of prince Rupert, that he would make a very vigorous defence. He even wrote to the king, that he ſhould be able to hold out four months, unleſs mutiny ſhould compel him to ſurrender. Notwithſtanding this promiſe, and the general expectation, he offered to capitulate at the firſt ſummons; and actually delivered up the place before the beſiegers had begun to make their approaches. The unhappy monarch, in the firſt tranſports of his grief, ordered his nephew to quit the kingdom, and revoked all his commiſſions.

During theſe tranſactions, the unfortunate king underwent a ſurpriſing ſeries of dangers, mortifications, and diſtreſſes, which he bore with uncommon fortitude and dignity. Amongſt his other misfortune was that of loſing his cabinet of papers, which was taken from the lord Digby, in an engagement near Newark, and ſent up to the parliament; and from which they made great diſcoveries to the king's prejudice. It was no little aggravation to the calamities which Charles ſuffered, that his forlorn eſtate encouraged ſome of his principal officers to forget all reſpect to the perſon of their general and their ſovereign; of which the following is a melancholy inſtance. While Charles lay at Newark, on his march back to Oxford, prince Rupert and prince Maurice, with a train of their friends and officers, contrary to the expreſs orders of Charles, came to that town, and even forced their way into his preſence, with an intention that prince Rupert might be cleared for the ſurrender of Briſtol. Charles thought proper to ſuffer a council of war to acquit him both of cowardice and treachery; but as he behaved to the prince with great coldneſs, the latter entered into a conſpiracy with ſir Richard Willis, the governor of Newark, who was ſo extremely diſagreeable to the gentlemen of the county, that Charles was forced to give his government to the lord Bellaſis. Though Charles was ſo far from intending this as any affront to Willis, that he had appointed him to command his life-guards, in the room of the earl of Litchfield, who had been killed at Cheſter; yet, it was ſo far reſented by him, the two princes, and all his friends, that they broke into the king's bed-chamber in a body, and demanded public reparation for the injury that had been done to Willis, in taking from him his command. Charles behaved on this occaſion with ſo great ſpirit and preſence of mind, that the mutineers were aſhamed of what they had done, and left his preſence covered with confuſion. Charles, next day ſent them paſſes, to carry them whereſoever they would go. After their departure, he put in execution an admirable plan: he had formed his retreat to Oxford, at which city he arrived, through infinite dangers and difficulties, in the beginning of November.

The year 1646 began as unfortunately for Charles as the preceding one had concluded. After the reduction of Briſtol, Fairfax and Cromwell having divided their forces, the former marched weſtward, in order to finiſh the conqueſt of Devonſhire and Cornwall, where the prince of Wales commanded the royal forces. After a rapid and uninterrupted ſucceſs, during which he twice obliged the prince of Wales to retreat before him, he at length obtained a complete victory over the lord Hopton, at Farrington, on the tenth of February; and, puſhing that nobleman in his retreat, he improved the advantage he had gained, cooped up the royaliſts in Truro, and compelled the whole army, amounting to five thouſand men, chiefly cavalry, to ſurrender, on the fourteenth of March, upon terms: then laying ſiege to Exeter, he obliged that city to capitulate on the ninth of April. This finiſhed the conqueſt of the Weſt. And the victorious Fairfax returned with his army to the center of the kingdom, and pitched his camp at Newbury. The king, ſeeing his affairs irretrievable ruined, wrote to the prince of Wales, to conſult his own ſafety by flying the kingdom;

* Hume's Hiſtory of Great Britain, vol. i. reign of Charles I.

and

and accordingly the young prince withdrew to Scilly, then to Jerſey, from whence he went to Paris, where he found the queen his mother, who had eſcaped thither from Exeter, at the time the earl of Eſſex firſt led the parliamentary forces into the Weſt.

In the mean while, Montroſe, who acted for the king in Scotland, having penetrated into the ſouthern counties, the covenanters, having collected their whole force, oppoſed him with a numerous army, and gave him battle at Kilſyth, but without ſucceſs. This was the moſt important victory which Montroſe ever gained. The royaliſts killed above ſix thouſand of their enemies, and left them no appearance of an army in Scotland. The whole kingdom was rent with theſe repeated convulſions; and many noblemen, who were ſecretly attached to the royal cauſe, now eſpouſed it openly, when they ſaw a force able to ſupport them. The marquis of Douglas, the earls of Annandale and Hartfield, the lords Fleming, Seton, Maderty, Carnegy, with many others, immediately joined the royal army: Edinburgh opened its gates to them, and releaſed all the priſoners whom the covenanters had confined in that city: amongſt the reſt was the lord Ogilvy, ſon to Airly, whoſe family had a principal ſhare in the victory gained at Kilſyth.

The covenanters, alarmed at the rapid progreſs of Montroſe, recalled David Leſley from the army in England; and this able general immediately repaired to the relief of his diſtreſſed friends in Scotland. Montroſe continued to penetrate ſtill farther into the ſouthern provinces, encouraged by the vain hopes of exciting to arms the earls of Hume, Traquair, and Roxborough, who had engaged to aſſiſt him, and of procuring from England ſome ſupplies of cavalry, which he much wanted: but Leſley, at Philip-hough, in the Foreſt, came ſuddenly upon him, and obliged him to give battle. After a ſharp conflict, in which Montroſe performed the moſt heroic acts of valour, his troops were entirely defeated by Leſley's cavalry, and he himſelf forced to fly, with the ſcattered remains of his army, into the mountains; where he again prepared himſelf for attempting ſome new enterprize.

After all theſe repeated calamities, which every where befel the royal party, there remained only one body of troops on which fortune could exerciſe her cruelty. Lord Aſtley, with a ſmall army of three thouſand men, chiefly cavalry, was advancing to Oxford, in order to reinforce the king; when he was encountered, at a place called Donnington, near Stow on the Would, on the twenty-firſt of March, by colonel Morgan, by whom he was entirely routed, and himſelf taken priſoner; and, with him, all the king's hopes of preſerving Oxford, till he could better his condition, were loſt.

It is now time to ſee what paſſed in the Scottiſh army, whilſt the parliament forces were employed in reducing the places which held for the king in the ſouthern and weſtern parts of the kingdom. The Scots, having taken Newcaſtle in October, 1644, divided themſelves into two bodies, one whereof beſieged Carliſle, which ſurrendered upon articles in June, 1645.

The other part of the army durſt not engage in a ſiege, becauſe the marquis of Montroſe, who ſerved the king in Scotland, having had great ſucceſs there, it was to be feared the king would be ſending him reinforcements; wherefore the Scots always kept in a readineſs to oppoſe it. This became ſtill more neceſſary after the battle of Naſeby; there being great likelihood of the king's reſolving to join the earl of Montroſe with his cavalry. Beſides, the Scots, by keeping thus in the middle of the kingdom, prevented the king from making new levies in thoſe parts. At laſt, after the taking of Carliſle, the two bodies being joined, they beſieged Hereford, about the end of July; but, after having in vain carried on the ſiege above a month, they raiſed it in the beginning of September. The earl of Leven, their general, publiſhed, upon this occaſion, a ſort of apology, wherein, amongſt other things, he ſaid, that for ſix or ſeven months paſt, they had received but one month's pay; that they had been promiſed to be ſupplied with all things neceſſary for a ſiege; in which they had been extremely diſappointed, ſince they had received but three pieces of cannon, with fifty balls to each; that they had but few horſe; and being informed the king was marching towards them with three thouſand horſe, it was impoſſible to continue the ſiege. Laſtly, that general Leſley was obliged to go into Scotland with his whole party of horſe and dragoons, to oppoſe Montroſe.

After the ſiege of Hereford was raiſed, the Scotch army retired into Yorkſhire, complaining pretty openly of being entirely neglected; whereupon the parliament aſſigned them thirty thouſand pounds, provided they appeared before Newark upon the firſt of November; and ordered that the eaſtern aſſociation ſhould pay them fourteen hundred pounds a week. The Scots agreeing to theſe terms, the ſiege of Newark was begun about the end of October, 1645, and laſted till May, 1646.

The king, during the whole courſe of the preceding winter, and great part of this ſpring, was in the moſt wretched and deplorable ſituation; all the attempts which he made for a reaſonable accommodation with the parliament, anſwered no other purpoſe, than to ſhew that victory was entirely in their hands, and that they were determined to uſe it as conquerors. From the fifteenth of December to the twenty-third of March following, Charles had ſent nine or ten meſſages to the parliament, with offers of peace; and for the better accompliſhment thereof, he even propoſed to have a perſonal treaty with them at Weſtminſter. At laſt, on the thirtieth of March, a meſſage came to him from the parliament, in which they told him, "That it would be unſafe for him then to return to Weſtminſter, until he had aſſented to the propoſitions which they were framing," &c. And, to prevent his coming to London without their knowledge and conſent, they voted, "That if the king ſhould come, or attempt to come, within the lines of communication, that then the committee of the militia of London ſhould have power, and were thereby enjoined, to apprehend and ſecure ſuch as ſhould come with him, to prevent reſort unto him, and to ſecure his perſon."

Fairfax was all this time advancing with a numerous army, and, it was well known, with an intention to form the ſiege of Oxford, which muſt of neceſſity fall into his hands. In this moſt dread-

ful ſituation, no wonder that he embraced a meaſure which at any other time would have been looked upon as fooliſh or imprudent. Monſieur Montreuil, the French ambaſſador, had always eſpouſed the king's intereſt with all the warmth of humanity that his ſtation would admit; he had lately ſounded the Scottiſh generals and commiſſioners, who were greatly diſguſted at the treatment they had met with from the parliament; and as the preſbyterians were great enemies to the independent party, who now aſſumed the management of all affairs, he had received many general promiſes and profeſſions of their affection to their diſtreſſed ſovereign, and their inclination to protect him, if he thought fit to place his confidence in them. In conſequence of the report of Montreuil, and by his earneſt advice, Charles was induced to adopt the reſolution of quitting Oxford, and repairing to the Scottiſh army, which at that time lay before Newark. Accordingly, on the night of the twenty-ſeventh of April, this year, he left Oxford in diſguiſe, attended by Mr. Aſhburnham, and one Hudſon, a clergyman, who knew the bye ways; and after travelling, in the garb of their ſervant, a great deal of the country, he arrived, on the fifth of May, at the Scottiſh camp.

The Scottiſh generals and commiſſioners were confounded at the ſudden appearance of his majeſty; they, however, behaved as well as could be expected. The earl of Leven received him reſpectfully; and general Pointz, who commanded the Engliſh forces before Newark, was ſo apprehenſive of their intentions, that he cut off the communication between his and the Scottiſh camp. The Scottiſh commiſſioners, however, were exceſſively puzzled how to behave; but, at laſt, they reſolved to join in a letter with the earl of Leven, informing the parliament of the king's being in their hands. The parliament, before they received this letter, or another from Pointz, to the ſame purpoſe, knew of the king's eſcape from Oxford, but being ignorant how he directed his courſe, they paſſed ſeveral ſevere votes againſt concealing his perſon, and againſt all his party who ſhould be found within the lines of circumvallation about London.

Charles had little reaſon to be ſatisfied with his condition; he was ſo narrowly watched, under the ſhew of reſpectful attendance on his perſon, that not one of his friends could get to the ſpeech of him in private. The Scottiſh generals repreſented to him, that it would be proper, for the ſafety of his perſon, for the army to remove farther North, and that as this could not be done before the reduction of Newark, they deſired him to order that town to ſurrender. The king, perſuaded by this reaſon, gave orders to lord Bellaſis, the governor, to ſurrender; which was accordingly done, on the ninth of May; and then the Scottiſh army decamped, and marched with the king to Newcaſtle. Here they deſired him to ſend orders to Oxford, and all his other garriſons, both in England and Scotland, to ſubmit to the parliament; and the king, conſcious that it was in vain to make any reſiſtance, readily complied with their requeſt. His orders were readily obeyed; and thus was concluded a moſt cruel war, which had now continued almoſt four years, during which, the Britiſh nations had been engaged, by their civil and religious quarrels, in ſhedding the blood of their friends and relations, and in waſting and deſtroying their native country.

We muſt not forget to mention, that Montroſe, after a variety of other attempts, in which he ſometimes failed, and ſometimes ſucceeded, threw down his arms and abandoned the kingdom.

I ſhall nor here trouble the reader with the numerous manifeſtos and declarations that paſſed between the Scottiſh army and the parliament, on the ſubject of the king; nor their diſputes about the diſpoſal of his perſon; nor with the repeated conceſſions of the latter towards bringing his rebellious ſubjects to ſome equitable terms, for reſtoring the tranquility of the nation, which were as often rejected with the moſt inexcuſable inſolence on the part of the independents, now the prevailing faction in both houſes: I ſhall only obſerve, that the life of the unfortunate Charles now hurried to its cataſtrophe.

As the Scots agreed with the parliament in enforcing all the ſevere conditions they required of the king, it is not probable that they ever really intended to ſet him at liberty; nor indeed, had they been ſo inclined, could they have carried their ſcheme into execution: they therefore reſolved to deliver him up to his Engliſh ſubjects, but not, however till they had obtained thoſe arrears to which they laid claim, and which they were not likely, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, to procure by any other expedient. After much debate and controverſy, concerning the demands of the Scots, which were very exorbitant, it was agreed by the houſe of commons to give them four hundred thouſand pounds, one half to be paid immediately, and the other within a twelvemonth. This agreement, which was accepted on the part of the Scots, paſſed the houſe on the ſixteenth of December, by a majority of one hundred and forty-nine againſt one hundred and one; for the independents oppoſed every vote for getting rid of the Scots by way of treaty, adopting the maxim of Camillus, the Roman general, that it was for the dignity of their country to drive out an unwelcome gueſt rather by ſteel than by gold. Matters being thus compromiſed between the Scots and the Engliſh, and the firſt payment of the money being made at Newcaſtle, according to the compact, the former delivered the royal captive, on the thirtieth of January, to the earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, the lord Montagu, ſir James Harrington, ſir John Holland, ſir Walter Erle, ſir John Cook, Mr. Crew, and major-general Brown, who were appointed by the parliament their commiſſioners to receive him. The two houſes had voted that his majeſty ſhould reſide at his houſe at Holmby, in the county of Northampton, where he arrived on the ſixteenth of February, 1647. The commiſſioners had inſtructions to keep the king cloſe priſoner, and to ſend to Fairfax for what forces were neceſſary for that purpoſe, All this was oppoſed by the independents, who wanted that he ſhould, without any other ceremony, be delivered up to Skippon. His majeſty was allowed no more than nine ſervants, and thoſe of the parliament's chuſing, to attend him: he was treated by the commiſſioners and ſir Thomas Fairfax, who eſcorted him from Newcaſtle to Holmby, with all the marks of outward reſpect; but very ſtrict care was taken to deprive him of all intercourſe with his friends, which

Charles often attempted privately, but was as often diſappointed by the vigilance of the committee. The parliament of Scotland ſent up a declaration conſenting to his reſiding at Holmby, or in any other of his houſes near London, "provided (ſay they) no violence ſhould be offered to his perſon; that no new change ſhould be made in the government; and that his poſterity ſhould ſuffer no prejudice in their ſucceſſion to the throne of England."

The Scots having now completely done their buſineſs, marched from Newcaſtle, which was taken poſſeſſion of by an Engliſh garriſon; and ſhortly after they put Berwick and Carliſle into the parliament's hands, and marched quietly home to Scotland.

All the writers in the royal cauſe have repreſented this tranſaction of the Scots as highly injurous to the character of that nation, as if they had ſold their king to his inveterate enemies, and bargained the life of their ſovereign for money. That the delivery of this ill-fated prince to the two houſes was a private ſtipulation between them and the Engliſh parliament, is ſcarce to be queſtioned: that it was criminal in the Scots, muſt in ſome meaſure be allowed; but the candour and impartiality which ought ever to be the guide of the hiſtorian, obliges me to obſerve, that what has chiefly rendered this meaſure odious, are the fatal conſequences with which it was at laſt attended; and that it ought to be remembered, that theſe conſequences were neither natural nor neceſſary, nor, indeed, at this time probable: neither the Scots, nor the majority of the Engliſh parliament themſelves had the leaſt intention of proceeding to the violent extremities which were afterwards purſued. It was, as a modern writer * very juſtly obſerves, the independents, determined enemies both to the king, the parliament, and the Scots, who twice ſeized the king by force, and at laſt brought him to a cruel and ignominious death, at the very time when the Scots and the preſbyterians, which latter now compoſed the majority in parliament, were exerting their utmoſt endeavours, and even riſking their lives and fortunes by riſing in arms, in order to reſtore him to his throne.

Pitiable indeed was now the condition of the fallen Charles, and of his family. His queen was in France; his eldeſt ſon, after being a vagabond between Cornwall, Jerſey, and Scilly, had been delivered into the hands of the ſame perfidious neighbours; his ſecond and third ſons (the dukes of York and Gloceſter), with the princeſs Henrietta, his youngeſt daughter, were priſoners in London, ſubſiſting on a ſcanty penſion allowed them by their enemies: the princes Rupert and Maurice, after leaving Newark, wandered from place to place, aſhamed of abandoning their uncle and generous benefactor, and retired to Oxford, where they had the benefit of the capitulation of that city, and retired beyond ſea. He himſelf was immured by the deteſted rebels; denied all the comforts of this life, and even that which his ſoul moſt loved, the exerciſe of religion according to his own faith; for we are told, that not any of his chaplains were ſuffered to have acceſs to him, nor ſo much as a Common Prayer Book allowed him for his own private uſe.

During the king's reſidence in the Scottiſh camp, died the earl of Eſſex, the diſcarded but ſtill popular and powerful general of the parliament. His death at this critical juncture was a great loſs to the public, and made it eaſier for Cromwell to carry on the deſtructive deſigns he had concerted; for doubtleſs, had Eſſex lived, he would have exerted all his influence and authority, to give a check to the fury that was going to prevail.

The parliament having now the perſon of the king in their poſſeſſion, and all his armies and garriſons ſubdued by their forces, were rioting in the fulneſs of power: nor could the moſt frantic among them form a wiſh which they did not enjoy. But diſſention, the never-failing attendant on anarchy and miſrule, ſoon made its way among them, and blaſted all their towering proſpects.

Cromwell and his independents were now maſters of the ſoldiery, who no longer looked upon themſelves as ſervants to the parliament, but as its lawgivers. Fairfax, who had been the unhappy, and, as far as appears, the unwilling inſtrument of his country's miſery, was not proof againſt the arts of Cromwell, who, on every occaſion, molded him to his purpoſe. The parliament, though ſtill all powerful in London, had, for ſome time, been apprehenſive that the army was aiming at the ſupreme authority, and therefore wanted to get rid of theſe troubleſome ſervants; an opportunity now ſeemed to offer, convenient for effecting their deſign: the toops in almoſt all parts of the kingdom made loud complaints for money, and the army under Cromwell eſpecially backed their remonſtrances with ſomewhat that looked like threatening; hereupon that whole body was threatened to be ſent to Ireland; and the preſbyterian faction in the houſe politically ſuffered them to live at free quarters, that the diſbanding them, which was reſolved upon, might be leſs unpopular, though they received little or nothing of their arrears †.

The head-quarters of the army was at St. Edmundſbury, in Suffolk, while theſe matters were debating in parliament. Cromwell looked upon this as the critical minute for perfecting his great deſigns: nevertheleſs he continued to practiſe the moſt exquiſite diſſimulation in the houſe; he ſmote his breaſt; he threw up his eyes; he ſhed tears; and poured out ſuch a torrent of paſſionate aſſeverations concerning his fidelity to the houſe, the patience and reſignation of the army under their oppreſſions, and the unwearied labours which he and his aſſociates had employed in making them eaſy, that he impoſed even on thoſe who had themſelves been thoroughly verſed in the ſame arts: he recommended every ſevere expedient for repreſſing the mutiny which now began to encreaſe among the ſoldiery; and by theſe deſperate counſels, he at once ſeemed to prove his own ſincerity, and increaſed thoſe diſcontents which he propoſed to convert to his own advantage. In the mean time he

* Hume.

† It will perhaps amaze the reader to know, that the horſe and dragoons were no leſs than forty-three weeks in arrears, amounting to two hundred and fifty-two thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-ſix pounds; and the foot eighteen weeks, amounting to ſeventy-eight thouſand two hundred and fifty pounds; in all three hundred and thirty-one thouſand pounds. See Journ. of the Houſe of Com. March 26. I mention this important particular, becauſe moſt hiſtorians have adopted a wild notion, as if the army without any provocation, had all of a ſudden ſtarted out in rebellion againſt the parliament.

carefully pointed out to Fairfax, the diviſions and diſtractions both in church and ſtate; he repreſented to him, that the army was now the only principle of unity, and the center to which all lines muſt point; that the ſoldiers were the choſen of God, and had with them that unerring light of grace which ſet at nought all ſublunary inſtitutions, and corrected all human errors: in a word, he engaged Fairfax to countenance a petition from the army againſt their being diſbanded.

Matters ſtood thus between the parliament and army when the former, encouraged by the aſſurances they had from Cromwell, Jackſon, Skippon, and other officers, of the fidelity of their reſpective troops, determined, by one bold ſtroke, to attempt to preſerve their authority. Accordingly on the twenty-firſt of May, eleven regiments were voted to be disbanded, at different times and places, under the direction of Fairfax and Skippon; and that the others ſhould be ſent to Ireland. Inſtead of the obedience which the parliament flattered itſelf would have been paid to this decree, a council of officers met at St. Edmundſbury, to conſider thereof; at the ſame time ten ſoldiers out of each regiment of horſe and foot were choſen as agitators (or agents) for their reſpective regiments; and theſe all conſulting together, it was unanimouſly reſolved not to ſubmit to this decree; and the council of the army appointed a general rendezvous for all the regiments, in order to provide for their common ſafety. The independent party began now to prevail more and more in parliament, and the preſbyterians were ſo much intimidated, that many of them joined with the former in giving a commiſſion to Cromwell to go to the head-quarters of the army, in order to quiet the diſſatisfied ſoldiers; and a declaration was iſſued, that if the ſubſcribers to the petition againſt diſbanding the army, ſhould proceed no farther in their oppoſition to that meaſure, now reſolved upon by the houſe, they ſhould be retained in the parliament's good graces; and that thoſe who ſhould continue their preſent diſorderly conduct, ſhould be proceeded againſt as enemies to the ſtate.

In the mean time the council of agitators ſtruck a blow of the laſt importance, and which muſt be allowed to be the moſt ſenſible meaſure that men in their circumſtances could purſue. They thought they had as much right as the parliament to be jailors to the king, and that his perſon was the only pledge they could have for their ſafety, in their deſign of coming to an open rupture with their maſters. This was ſuggeſted by the genius of Cromwell, who endeavoured to perſuade the agitators (who were a body of men diſtinct from the council of war, and acted for the common ſoldiers), to take both the glory and the danger of the enterprize. Accordingly, on the fourth of June, a party of five hundred horſe was detached in private to Holmby (where the king then reſided), under the command of one Joyce, who, before the commencement of the war, had followed the trade of a taylor, but was now raiſed to the rank of a cornet, and was an active agitator in the army. Though it was late at night when they arrived, and the king was gone to bed, Joyce, having gained admiſſion into the houſe, went with very little ceremony into the king's room, with a piſtol in his hand, and told his majeſty he muſt forthwith go with him to the army. It was in vain to reſiſt: the king, after protracting the time as long as he could, ſtepped into his coach, and was immediately conveyed to the army, which was now on its march to the general rendezvous, at Triplo heath, near Cambridge. The parliament apprized of this event by their commiſſioners, who had the charge of the king at Holmby, were ſtruck with fear and conſternation. Fairfax himſelf was no leſs confounded at the king's arrival: that bold exploit performed, by Joyce, had never been imparted to the general; but Cromwell, by whoſe direction it had been done, and who was now arrived from London, cleared up all doubts and difficulties. The army being thus maſters of the king's perſon, in a little time became maſters of the parliament likewiſe, and managed all things juſt as they pleaſed, agreeable to what Cromwell is reported to have ſaid to ſome of his intimate friends, "that now he had the king in his hands, he had the parliament in his pocket."

On the ſixteenth of June the army drew up a charge of treaſon againſt eleven members of the houſe of commons, the chief of the preſbyterian party, accuſing them with betraying the cauſe of the parliament, endeavouring to break and deſtroy the army, &c. theſe were Denzil Holles, eſq. ſir Philip Stapleton, ſir William Lewis, ſir John Coltworthy, ſir William Waller, ſir John Maynard, major general Maſſey, Mr. recorder Glyn, colonel Walter Long, colonel Edward Harley, and Mr. Anthony Nicholls. This round dealing of the army with the parliament, frightened the city of London ſo much, that, in great hurry, they ſent a deputation of the aldermen and common-council to St. Alban's, into the neighbourhood of which the mutineers were now advanced, to diſclaim any intention to raiſe forces or oppoſe the army. The parliament had ſettled the militia of London, according to the deſire of the citizens, in the hands of the preſbyterians, but being now over-awed by the army, they revoked their ordinance, and ſettled it as was before; upon this the common-council petitioned to have it ſettled their own way; and at the ſame time (July 26) a great multitude of the city apprentices, ſtirred up, no doubt, by the leading presbyterians in the city, came in a tumultuous manner to the parliament-houſe, and compelled them by threats and violence to do it, and alſo to vote that the king ſhould come to London. The crafty Cromwell enjoyed this ſtorm, which he ſaw would ſoon ſweep before it the obſtacles to his ambition: and indeed the tranſactions of the parliament at this time were ſo inconſiſtent, ſo tumultuous, and ſo contradictory, that they deſerve no mention in hiſtory: to-day the independents mob, to-morrow that of the presbyterians prevailed. The parliament had no longer with it thoſe able men who could direct the tumult, for the tumult now directed the parliament, which really had no will of its own. The commons, on the twenty-ſeventh of July adjourned to the thirtieth; and in the mean while not only Lenthall, ſpeaker to the houſe of commons, but the earl of Mancheſter, who was ſpeaker to the houſe of peers, with a great number of the members of both houſes, fled with their regalia to the army, which, upon their arrival, and the news of the Weſtminſter tumults, immediately directed its march towars London, in order, as they gave out, to reſtore the violated privileges of parliament.

Lenthall

Lenthall and Manchester were both presbyterians, and such a step in them was altogether unaccountable; but they probably thought that the army must in the end prevail, and they were willing to secure the interest of that party which was likely to have the ascendant.

The parliament, driven from their temporizing maxims, and obliged, either to abandon at once, or support by force, their power and liberty, prepared themselves for a vigorous defence, and resolved to oppose the violence of the army. On the thirtieth of July both houses met, and immediately elected new speakers, lord Hunsdon, and Henry Pelham; they repeated their former orders for levying troops: they constituted Massey commander: they ordered the trained-bands to guard the lines; and nothing was to be heard through the whole city but the sound of military preparations. It soon appeared, however, that all their resources were unequal to the present occasion. As the army advanced, Rainsborow, being sent over the river with a party of horse, presented himself before Southwark, and was readily admitted by some soldiers who were posted there for its defence, and who were determined not to divide their interests from those of the army. It was in vain to attempt resistance. The army marched through the city in triumph on the sixth of August; but observed the greatest order and regularity. They conducted to Westminster the two speakers, who took their seats without opposition. The eleven secluded members, being charged as the authors of the tumult, were expelled the house; and most of them abandoned the kingdom: seven peers were accused of high treason: the mayor, one sheriff, and three aldermen, committed to the Tower: several citizens and officers of the militia confined in other prisons: every decree of the parliament reversed from the time of the tumult till the return of the speakers: the lines about the city levelled: the independents re-established in the command of the militia: regiments stationed in Whitehall and the Meuse: and, in a word, the parliament reduced to a state of the most abject and deplorable slavery.

As to the king, he was obliged to attend the motions of the army since his late seizure, till, upon their approach to London, he was conducted to Hampton-court, where he was treated with great respect and civility by the heads of the army, and had all due honours paid him; though, in reality, he was no better than their prisoner. The parliament, or rather the army, who directed all their votes, put the command of the Tower into Fairfax's hands, declaring him at the same time generalissimo, with a power to put in or displace such officers as he pleased: but they were still at a loss how to dispose of the king's person. The independents had him in their power at Hampton-court. Cromwell and the presbyterian party both entered into treaty with him; the Scots likewise, by the earls of Lauderdale, Loudon, and Lanerk, their commissioners, proposed to carrying him off. Charles, who equally dreaded all those parties, was under a dreadful perturbation of spirit: at last perceiving that he had been the dupe of Cromwell, and being secretly apprized that the latter was forming dangerous designs against his life, resolved to withdraw himself from the army, and, accompanied only by sir John Berkeley, Ashburnham, and Legg, he privately left Hampton-court, in the night-time, on the thirteenth of November, and his escape was not discovered till near two hours after his departure, when those who entered his chamber found on the table some letters addressed to the general and the officers who had attended him.

The parliament was struck with the news of Charles's escape, and made it high-treason and death without mercy for any one to conceal him. But on the fifteenth they were eased of their fears by a letter from Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, acquainting them that the king was then at Cowes. This Hammond had espoused a daughter of the famous Hampden, and was entirely devoted to the interest of Cromwell; but as he was at the same time a nephew to Dr. Hammond, the king's favourite chaplain, and was generally reputed a man of honour and integrity, it had been judged proper by Charles and the companions of his flight, to apply to him in the present necessity, when no other expedient could be devised. Accordingly Charles went over to the Isle of Wight, and put himself under Hammond's protection, hoping there to find an asylum, instead of which he only met with a new prison.

Some historians have imagined that the king's retreat to the Isle of Wight was entirely voluntary; others think his going thither was the effect of Cromwell's artifice, who tried to urge him to this measure by groundless alarms, purposely conveyed to him, as if the agitators had sworn to take his life. Be this as it will, certain it is Charles was never guilty of a weaker step, nor one more agreeable to Cromwell and his enemies. He was now, by orders of the parliament, confined in Carisbrook castle, with orders that none of his friends or adherents should be admitted to his presence, or to remain on the island. He was now in a place removed from his friends, at the disposal of the army, whence it would be almost impossible to deliver him, either by force or stratagem. Charles, however, in this melancholy situation, was not without an appearance of a resource: he held a secret correspondence with the lord Inchiquin, who commanded for the parliament in Ireland; he had private assurance of a strong support from abroad; he was even at this time, by his agents, tampering with the chief officers of the navy; he was carrying on intrigues with the presbyterians in the city; by Cromwell's connivance he held intelligence with officers about his (Cromwell's) own person; and he had now concluded a treaty with the Scots, in all respects disadvantageous and dishonourable; and therefore, by the vicious logic of the Scottish commissioners, who persuaded him to sign it, not to be observed farther that as it served the present turn. By this treaty he approved of their solemn league and covenant, and confirmed all they had done against episcopacy in Scotland; and made some other concessions, which in his soul he abhorred; in consideration of which the Scots engaged themselves to pour a new army into England, and the king was to protect all his subjects of his three kingdoms who should join him.

During the anarchy which now prevailed, the fatal consequence of a divided capital, an insolent army, and the flight and imprisonment of their lawful sovereign, the same spirit which had so long animated the independents, on a sudden took possession of several of the common soldiers of the army, who formed themselves into a body under the

the name of Levellers, an appellation which ſignified their deſign of reducing every thing to an equality, and acknowleging no ſuperior in church, army, or ſtate. They did no more indeed than what the commons had done before them; they copied the examples of their officers, and their pretenſions ſeem to be full as well founded as thoſe of the others. Their numbers were conſiderable: Cromwell, finding that they were likely to become very dangerous, as they acted upon his own principles, and that, if they were ſuffered to go on, they might deprive him of the fruit of all his policy and labour, formed the ſudden reſolution to quell them at the hazard of his own life. He repaired to a meeting of thoſe levellers, with a guard of choſen men, with whom he had always been victorious, and began to expoſtulate with the mutineers, in a canting ſpeech, about the reaſon of their violent proceedings. Receiving an inſolent anſwer from one of the moſt licentious, he knocked down two or three of them with his own hand, and falling on the reſt with incredible fury, he diſperſed the whole body, cauſed ſome of them to be hanged by ſentence of a court-martial, and ſent a conſiderable number priſoners to London. By acting with the ſame vigour and intrepidity on ſeveral other occaſions, he ſubdued the mutinous ſpirit of this dangerous ſect, and reduced the army to ſubmiſſion.

While theſe things were in agitation, Charles, in order if poſſible, to ſatisfy the wiſhes of his people, had promiſed, by a meſſage ſent from Cariſbroke caſtle, to relinquiſh, during his own life, the power of the militia, and the appointment of all the officers of ſtate; on condition that, after his death, theſe prerogatives ſhould be reſtored to the crown: but the parliament, directed by the independents and the army, inſtead of agreeing to theſe terms, drew up four propoſitions, which they ſent him as preliminaries, and to which they demanded his poſitive aſſent before they would engage in any treaty.

By the firſt of theſe he was deſired to beſtow upon the parliament the military power for twenty years, together with an authority to raiſe whatever money ſhould be found neceſſary for ſupporting the forces; and, even after the expiration of the twenty years, they reſerved a right of reſuming the ſame authority, whenever the ſafety of the kingdom ſhould ſeem to require it. By the ſecond, he muſt revoke all the proclamations and declarations which he had iſſued againſt the parliament, and acknowlege that aſſembly to have taken arms for their own juſt and neceſſary defence. By the third, he was to repeal all the acts, and cancel all the patents of peerage, which had paſſed the great-ſeal, from the time of its being carried to Oxford by the lord-keeper Littleton. By the fourth, he muſt grant the two houſes power to adjourn as they pleaſed: a demand, in appearance of no great moment; but calculated by the independents with a view of removing the parliament to places where it would be wholly under the direction of the army. The king thought it hard, that he ſhould be obliged to make ſuch conceſſions, while nothing was ſtipulated in his favour; and to depend entirely on the generoſity of his enemies, for what he ſhould afterwards obtain. He requeſted, therefore a perſonal treaty with the parliament, and begged that the terms, on both ſides, ſhould be previouſly ſettled, before any conceſſions were demanded.

The refuſal of Charles ſo exaſperated the independent party, that many bitter ſpeeches were made againſt him in the houſe of commons, particularly by Cromwell and his ſon-in-law Ireton, the former of whom ſeemed now to have reſolved upon the taking the life of Charles. He durſt not, however, impart the depth of his deſign to any but Ireton, and one or two boſom favourites; but though he concealed it from Fairfax, yet he ſoon preached and prayed him and the other officers into a ſpirit that was fit for his purpoſes. Having thus fixed the army, he knew he ſhould have no difficulty with the parliament, where, upon the king's rejecting the propoſitions, ſir Thomas Wroth had the boldneſs to move, not only that he ſhould be removed cloſe priſoner to ſome inland caſtle, but that articles of impeachment ſhould be drawn up againſt him, himſelf deprived of the government, and a new form of government eſtabliſhed. This motion was ſeconded by Ireton and Cromwell, with great warmth, but in general terms; for they only recommended it to the houſe to ſettle the kingdom without the king, who had rejected all there propoſitions, promiſing the army in ſuch a caſe would ſtand by the parliament: "but (ſays Cromwell, with a ſtern look, clapping his hand to his ſword) teach not the army, through deſpair to ſeek their ſafety by ſome other means than adhering to you who will not ſtick to yourſelves; and how deſtructive ſuch a reſolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think, and leave you to judge."

In fine, the houſe, over-awed by his menaces, reſolved, on the third of January, 1648, "that no more addreſſes ſhould be made to the king, nor meſſages received from him: and to this the lords ſome days after agreed; the army now promiſing, in an addreſs to both houſes, to ſtand by the parliament againſt the king, on whom Hammond was ordered to have a ſtricter guard than ever, upon an information that a fleet of Dutch ſhips had anchored near the Iſle of Wight, with a deſign to reſcue him.

The king being reduced to this melancholy condition, by the inſolence of the army, began to be deeply pitied by the more moderate part of his ſubjects, many of whom began to ſtir for him in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, in which they were joined by the presbyterians, from their hatred to the independents. Even the parliament, who were ſtill moſtly presbyterians, though they had loſt their leaders, had not gone ſuch lengths againſt the king, if they had not been over-awed by the army. What much encouraged the inſurrections in England, was a proſpect of a powerful aſſiſtance from Scotland; for the Scottiſh commiſſioners having entered a ſtrong proteſtation againſt forcing upon the king the four propoſitions already mentioned, and their proteſt being diſregarded, provoked at this and many other indignities to which they were expoſed, and touched with compaſſion for the misfortunes and ſufferings of their ſovereign, had undertaken to arm Scotland in his favour. In this they ſucceeded ſo well that they procured a vote of the Scottiſh parliament to raiſe forty thouſand men for the reſcue of the king's perſon, and to give the command thereof to the duke of Hamilton, contrary to the ſentiments of the kirk commiſſioners and the

the zealous covenanters under the marquis of Argyll; who were apprehenſive; that if this ſcheme ſhould ſucceed, it would effect the reſtoration of monarchy without the eſtabliſhment of presbytery.

While the Scots were preparing for the invaſion of England, every part of that kingdom was filled with tumults, inſurrections, conſpiracies, and diſcontents. The presbyterians, who, by their credit and intereſt, had chiefly ſupported the war, were provoked to find themſelves over-reached and over-powered by the fraud and chicanery of the independents. The royaliſts, incenſed at the cruel treatment which the king ſuffered from the army, were ſtrongly prompted to reſtore him to liberty, and to regain the advantages, which they had formerly loſt, All orders of men were fired with indignation at ſeeing the civil ſubjected to the military power, and the king and parliament at once inſlaved by a mercenary army. But though the whole nation ſeemed to unite in their hatred of military uſurpation, the views entertained by the ſeveral parties were ſo different, that little concert was obſerved in theſe inſurrections.

Langhorne, Poyer, and Powel, presbyterian officers, who headed bodies of troops in Wales, were the firſt who declared themſelves, and, early in the beginning of the year 1648, aſſembled a conſiderable army in thoſe countries, which were warmly attached to the royal cauſe: young Hales and Goring, who had been made earl of Norwich, excited commotions in Kent: an inſurrection was raiſed in Eſſex by lord Capel, ſir Charles Lucas, and ſir George Liſle: the earl of Holland, who, ſince the beginning of the civil wars, had frequently ſhifted ſides, endeavoured to collect forces in Surry: Morrice had ſurprized the caſtle of Pomfret, in Yorkſhire.

What ſeemed of the greateſt importance, was the general ſpirit of diſcontent that had ſeized the navy. No leſs than ſeventeen ſhips, lying in the mouth of the river, declared againſt the army; and ſetting Rainsborow, their admiral, on ſhore, ſailed over to Holland, and put themſelves under the command of the prince of Wales. About the ſame time the king's ſecond ſon, the duke of York (afterwards king James II.) who was then about fifteen years old, and was a kind of a ſtate priſoner in St James's palace, eſcaped more fortunately from his confinement than his father had done from Hampton-court, and retired to Holland, where he joined his brother the prince of Wales. All theſe events however ſeemed only as the means to haſten the ruin of the unhappy king.

The genius of Cromwell, or the anger of Heaven upon a nation ſo beſpotted with crimes of the fouleſt dyes as England now was, prevailed over every human precaution. Cromwell marched in perſon into Wales; and, after taking Pembroke caſtle, which ſtood a ſiege of four weeks, he put an end to the commotions in that part of the country: Langhorne, Poyer, and Powell, who ſurrendered priſoners at diſcretion, were tried by a court-martial, and condemned to draw lots for their lives; the lot falling on Poyer, he was accordingly ſhot to death. General Fairfax (now a lord by the death of his father) ſucceſsfully oppoſed the royal party in Kent, under the earl of Norwich: he defeated him at Maidſtone, and drove him with his men into Eſſex, where thoſe who had taken arms under lord Capel, ſir Charles Lucas, and ſir George Liſle, were forced to ſhut themſelves up in Colcheſter, where they endured a long ſiege, and at laſt were compelled to ſurrender. Lucas and Liſle were ſhot to death; Goring (earl of Norwich) and Capel were ſent priſoners to Windſor caſtle: In the courſe of this ſummer the earl of Holland, Villiers duke of Buckingham, and his brother Francis, were defeated at Kingſton upon Thames, by colonel Liveſey: the earl was taken priſoner, the duke fled into France, and the lord Francis was ſlain.

Cromwell now ſaw his bloody policy of governing by the ſword, ſucceed beyond expectation: it was not now as formerly, when he had the unarmed authority of parliament, and the timorous citizens of London to deal with, for the nation now on every ſide was in a blaze, which could be quenched only with ſtreams of blood. Beſides Kent, Eſſex, Wales, and the northern counties; the Corniſhmen were up in arms, but were defeated at Penzance by ſir Hardreſſe Waller, who afterwards took poſſeſſion of Exeter. In like manner the inhabitants of Rutlandſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Northamptonſhiere, and the neighbouring counties; took arms, and were aſſembled near Stamford. Sir John Owen had renewed the war in Wales, and beſieged Caernarvon caſtle; but was defeated and taken priſoner by colonel Carter. From theſe circumſtances the reader may conclude how expert ſix or ſeven years daily experience had made the parliament's army in the trade of murder, ſince about thirty thouſand of their troops could keep upwards of a million in ſubjection, for the army was now actually at war with all the people of England. Its moſt determined enemies were thoſe who had been moſt active againſt Charles in the beginning and progreſs of the war, and were therefore conſidered by the army as apoſtates, and they were on all occaſions hated with greater ſeverity than the royaliſts themſelves.

The invaſion from Scotland ended no leſs fatally than the other attempts made this year in behalf of the royal cauſe. The Scottiſh army, under duke Hamilton, amounting to near twenty thouſand men, entered England on the thirteenth of July, and were joined by five thouſand Engliſh, under ſir Marmaduke Langdale; and falling upon the parliament's army, under major-general Lambert, near Appleby, in Weſtmoreland, they forced him to retire into the town, from whence he retreated to Kirby Steven, and afterwards to Bowes leaving ſome of his forces behind to defend the caſtle, which was beſieged, and taken on the ſeventh of Auguſt, by ſir Philip Muſgrave. The Scots ſtaid ſome time at Kendal, and major-general, Lambert's arny increaſed daily with additional forces: at length Cromwell, having quietted the commotions in Wales, marched with his forces to join him, and in his way took the town of Pomfret, but the caſtle ſtill held out for the king, but was reduced by Lambert before the end of the year. Hamilton leaving Kendal, directed his march into Lancaſhire, with an intent to advance to London: this Cromwell was reſolved to prevent at all hazards, and therefore marched to Preſton, where Hamilton and Langdale lay with their forces. Here Cromwell ventured to attack them with a body not amounting to half their number; and though the royaliſts behaved with uncommon bravery, yet,

not being properly ſupported by their confederates, were on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, entirely routed, and moſt of them put to the ſword. Hamilton and his troops were alſo ſhamefully defeated, and chaſed to Uttoxeter, where the duke himſelf was taken priſoner by the lord Grey of Groby, and ſent in ſafe cuſtody to Aſhby de la Zouch, in Leiceſterſhire: ſir Marmaduke Langdale was apprehended in an inn.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the prince of Wales, having ſent his brother, the duke of York, to the Hague, went on board the fleet at Helvoetſluys, and ſet ſail for England, in order to join and head the Scottiſh army when it ſhould enter that kingdom. When he arrived at Yarmouth, the inhabitants refuſed him admittance; then he directed his courſe to the river Thames, and took ſeveral rich veſſels belonging to the Londoners, which were afterwards reſtored. Mean while the earl of Warwick aſſembled a ſquadron, with which he ſailed in queſt of the prince, and anchored his ſhip ſo near him in the river, that an engagement was thought unavoidable. The prince of Wales was eager for battle, and accordingly weighed in order to attack the earl; but the wind failing, and afterwards blowing full in his teeth, he could not execute his reſolution: Warwick being reinforced with ſome freſh ſhips, and the royal fleet being in want of proviſions, young Charles was perſuaded to return to Helvoetſluys, whether he was followed by the enemy.

Cromwell improving the ſucceſs he had obtained over the Scottiſh army, marched directly to Edinburgh; by which vigorous ſtep he broke the the meaſures of the royaliſts ſo much, that Berwick and Carliſle, which Hamilton had taken, were reſtored to the Engliſh parliament: and leaving Lambert in Scotland with ſome troops, he returned with his army to England, where his preſence was now much wanted by his party, who by this time had firmly reſolved the death of their ſovereign.

For at the beginning of theſe troubles the preſbyterian party in the houſe, in the city, and other places of the kingdom, began to reſume their courage. Several petitions were preſented for a perſonal treaty with the king; and when the army was removed from London into different parts of the kingdom to quell the riſings of the people, the ſecluded members, and others who had abſented themſelves, having returned to their ſeats, the votes of no more addreſſes were repealed, and it was reſolved by both houſes "to enter into a perſonal treaty with the king; and Newport, in the Iſle of Wight, ſhould be the place of treaty; and that his majeſty ſhould be there with, honour, freedom, and ſafety; and five lords and ten commoners were appointed commiſſioners for managing the negociation, which was allowed to laſt for forty days from the day of its commencement*." This laſt was an artful proviſion thrown in by the independents in the houſe, who wanted to ſpin out matters till the re-approach of the army to the neighbourhood of London, when they knew they could carry every thing they wiſhed. Accordingly, ſir Henry Vane, junior, who was one of the commiſſioners for the commons, ſo delayed the treaty by ſtarting new difficulties, that it was not began till the fifteenth of September, a month after Cromwell had defeated the Scots, and the army was every where victorious. By the ſame means the treaty itſelf was prolonged till Cromwell was returned out of Scotland, and at hand to ſupport Fairfax and the reſt of the army, which being now collected together, after its various ſucceſſes, had its head-quarters at Windſor, and none remained to ſtem the torrent of its bloody rage, but the helpleſs king and parliament. At Cromwell's inſtigation the general officers agreed upon that execrable remonſtrance, which in effect took off the head of Charles. On the twentieth of November, after ſome debates had paſſed between the two houſes concerning the perſons to be excepted from pardon, colonel Ewers, at the head of ſeven other officers, preſented to the commons this remonſtrance. It began with a demand to drop the treaty with the king, and to bring him to juſtice; to declare the prince of Wales and the duke of York to be incapable of government; that the army be ſatisfied out of the eſtates of delinquents; that juſtice be done to the capital cauſes of war; that a period be put to that parliament; that the frequent returns of annual or triennial parliaments be ſecured; that there be a more equal repreſentative of the people in the houſe of commons; that all who had borne arms for the king ſhould be diſabled from electing or being elected; that the ſupreme power of government ſhould be inveſted in the repreſentatives of the people, among whom there ſhould be liberty of entering diſſents; that all future kings ſhould be elected by the people, but without any negative voice; that all matters of general ſettlement ſhould be eſtabliſhed by the general contract of the people; but that none ſhould have a ſhare in it, who ſhould oppoſe the matters contained in that remonſtrance.

The parliament, though on all hands ſurrounded with the moſt imminent danger, and though unable to reſiſt the uſurpations of the army, nobly determined to oppoſe them to the laſt; and rather involve the nation in anarchy and confuſion, than give their authority to thoſe violent and deſperate meaſures which were now projected. They deigned not to return any anſwer to the remonſtrance of the army; but the latter had concerted meaſures to put it out of the power of the parliament to obſtruct their deſigns: for colonel Hammond received an order, on the twenty-ſecond of November, from Fairfax to attend him, and to reſign to colonel Ewers (the ſame who had preſented the army's remonſtrance) the cuſtody of the king's perſon, which was accordingly done, and the helpleſs king was, on the thirtieth of the ſame month, carried over to Hurſt caſtle†, where he was again ſhut up from all his attendants, and continued cloſe priſoner. The preſbyterians exerted themſelves anew on this occaſion againſt the army, which they perceived to be upon the point of giving law to the parliament, On the fourth of December they voted "that the removal of the king out of the Iſle of Wight was without the knowlege and conſent of the houſe." Next day it was voted by a majority of one hundred and twenty-nine againſt eighty-three, "that the an-

* See Journ. of the Houſe of Comm. July 28, 29, 1648.

† A fortreſs in Hampſhire, ſituated on a narrow neck of land, oppoſite and almoſt extending itſelf over to the Iſle of Wight.

ſwers

ſwers of the king to the propoſitions of both houſes (during the treaty at Newport) are a ground for the houſe to proceed upon, for the ſettlement of the kingdom."

This vote brought matters to a criſis between the parliament and the army; the officers, conſcious of their own ſtrength, reſolved no longer to keep meaſures: employing the name of Fairfax (for he ſtill ſuffered them to make uſe of his name) they conducted the army to London on the ſixth of December, and poſted guards in Whitehall, the Meuſe, St. James's, Durham-houſe, Covent-garden, and Palace-yard. Next day colonel Pride, formerly a dray-man, had ſurrounded the houſe with two regiments, by whom above forty members, as they were coming to the parliament, were ſeized, and committed to the cuſtody of the guards in ſeveral inns in Weſtminſter and the parts adjoining: and, not ſatisfied with this, they preſented a paper to the houſe, wherein they accuſed major-general Brown and ninety members, for inviting the Scots into England the laſt ſummer, and therefore required they might be excluded the houſe. Even this violent outrage was not ſufficient to ſubdue the parliament: they adjourned for four or five days, in which ſpace the army was buſied in completing their form of government.

Upon re aſſembling the two houſes, it was found that above one hundred and ſixty members were excluded; and none were now ſuffered to enter but the moſt fierce and deſperate of the independents who hardly amounted to ſixty in number. This flagarant violation of the liberties of parliament was commonly known by the name of Colonel Pride's Purge. The tranſactions of the remaining part of the parliament, if this inſignificant aſſembly deſerves that honourable appellation, were ſuch as might naturally be expected from the frantic members of which it was compoſed: they forthwith annulled the former vote, and declared the king's conceſſions unſatisfactory. They reſolved, that no members, abſent at this laſt vote, ſhould be admitted until they had ſigned it, as agreeable to their judgment. They confirmed their former vote of non-addreſſes; and they ordered into cuſtody ſir William Waller, ſir John Clotworthy, the generals Maſſey, Brown, Copley, and other leaders of the preſbyterians. The excluded members having publiſhed a paper, repreſenting the outrages which had been offered to them, and proteſting againſt all acts, which, from that time, ſhould be paſſed in the houſe of commons; the independent members oppoſed it by a declaration, in which they declared it a falſe, ſcandalous, ſeditious libel, and tending to the ſubverſion of the fundamental liberties and privileges of parliament*.

And now the fall of the unhappy king came on apace. Cornwall, who was then returned to his ſeat in the houſe of commons, and had been thanked for his ſervices in Scotland, had now no other difficulty in completing the murder of Charles, but to diſguiſe the horror of the deed from Fairfax, who began to fear he had gone too far, nor could all the arts of Cromwell reſtore him to perfect quiet. The remnant of the houſe of commons, conſiſted of a ſet of men raiſed from the loweſt claſs of life, the ſlaves of the army, whoſe officers exerciſed unlimited power in all proceedings: the city itſelf was in ſubjection to them. Cromwell, who could do what he pleaſed with the ſoldiers, got them to preſent petitions againſt the king; and the counties of Somerſet and Norfolk, with the fleet under the earl of Warwick, ſent a declaration in which they joined with the army: the common-council of London, which had ſo lately declared for the king, now wholly under the direction of the victorious party, concurred in the petition to have him brought to trial. At length this bold refuſe of the houſe of commons preſumed to form a reſolution which far tranſcended all former acts of treaſon and fanaticiſm: on the twenty-third of December they appointed a committee to draw up a formal accuſation or impeachment of his majeſty. Colonel Harriſon, the ſon of a butcher, was commanded to conduct the royal victim from Hurſt caſtle to Windſor. On the twenty-eighth of December, the committee having made its report, an ordinance for trying the king was brought into the houſe of commons by Scot, an independent miniſter. This was founded on a vote which made it "high treaſon in a king of England, for the time being, to levy war againſt the parliament and kingdom of England." This ordinance, with many deteſtable particulars, was very quickly carried through the commons, and on the ſecond of January, 1649, it was carried up to the houſe of peers by the lord Grey of Groby.

The houſe of peers, during the whole courſe of the civil wars, had poſſeſſed little authority or influence; but ſince the king's fall, it had been wholly inſignificant; and moſt of the members, diſguſted at the public proceedings, declined to give their attendance. It happened, however, that day, to be more full than uſual, and they were convened to the number of ſixteen. Without the leaſt doubt or heſitation, they unanimouſly rejected the vote of the lower-houſe, and adjourned themſelves for ten days; hoping by this means, to reſtrain the furious career of the commons.

But the commons were not to be diverted from their purpoſe by ſo ſmall an obſtacle: they voted to proceed in trying the king, and in all other matters, without the concurrence of the lords; and on the fourth of January they paſſed the following votes, which will beſt ſpeak for themſelves as to the purpoſe they were to ſerve:

"Reſolved, &c. That the commons of England in parliament aſſembled, do declare that the people are, under God, the original of all juſt power.

"And alſo declare that the commons of England in parliament aſſembled, being choſen by, and repreſenting, the people, have the ſupreme power in this nation.

"And do alſo declare, that whatever is enacted, or declared for them, by the commons in parliament aſſembled, hath the force of law; and all the people of this nation are included thereby, although the conſent and concurrence of the king, or houſe of peers, be not had thereunto."

They alſo voted, "That all members and others, appointed to act in any ordinance with peers, were empowered and enjoined to ſit, act, and execute, notwithſtanding the peers joined not therein." And ſo earneſt were both the commons and the army about the king's trial, that the queen, deſiring

* Journals of the Houſe of Com. Dec. 14, 20.

to

to ſee her huſband before his arraignment, could not obtain a paſs for her ſecure coming and returning.

On the ſixth of January, the ordinance for the king's trial was turned into an act of the commons alone, and engroſſed: and proclamation was made two days after, in Weſtminſter hall, Cheapſide, and the Old Exchange, for witneſſes to come in againſt him; and commiſſioners were appointed for trying him. At firſt it was propoſed to name ſome of the houſe of peers to be commiſſioners for that purpoſe; but, upon ſecond thoughts, that intention was laid aſide, and Thomas lord Fairfax, general, Oliver Cromwell, eſq. lieutenant-general, Henry Ireton, eſq. commiſſary-general, major-general Philip Skippon, ſir Hardreſſe Waller, knight, and other perſons, to the number of one hundred and forty-five, were appointed commiſſioners and judges on this ſurprizing trial.

When thoſe commiſſioners met, they choſe ſerjeant Bradſhaw for their preſident. He was a bold inſolent lawyer, and voted into the preſidentſhip, not for his abilities, of which he is ſaid not to have been deſtitute in his profeſſion, but becauſe he was void of all tenderneſs towards names, perſons, or offices, and was dauntleſs enough to go coolly through the impious work. Dr. Doriſlaus, Steele, Aſhe, and Cooke, were appointed aſſiſtants to the court, for drawing up and managing the evidence: the former of thoſe was a civilian; the other three were common lawyers, and Steele appears to have been a man of parts. The court in which they were to act was chriſtened by the name of the High Court of Juſtice, and provided with proper officers and decorations, to give it an auguſt appearance. Bradſhaw was attended by a guard, had a ſword of ſtate, and a mace, emboſſed with the king's own arms, carried before him; and he behaved with that gravity which became a ſupreme magiſtrate.

On the nineteenth of January the king was brought from Windſor to St. James's houſe, and all things were prepared for his fatal tragedy, in which the commons proceeded with unabated earneſtneſs, notwithſtanding the houſe of lords, and the remonſtrance of the parliament of Scotland, now convened, againſt it.

On Saturday, January 20, 1649, the king was brought before the high court of juſtice, in Weſtminſter hall, having been guarded thither by colonel Hacker and about thirty officers armed. I ſhall not detain the reader with the particulars of this execrable trial, which are to be found in every hiſtory of thoſe times; they are neither intereſting nor inſtructive: it is ſufficient to ſay that Charles's deportment before his infamous judges was very majeſtic; he looked undauntedly on the array of troops that attended him, and the pageantry of the court; and, without moving his hat, or ſhewing the regicides the ſmalleſt mark of reverence, he ſeated himſelf in a chair of crimſon velvet, prepared for him within the bar. It may be thought ſtrange by ſome readers, that as a great number, if not the majority, of the commiſſioners who were impowered to act on this occaſion, deteſted the guilt of the court, they did not attend and endeavour to prevent the ſentence*: but the truth is, the furiouſneſs of the army was ſuch, that had any difficulty occurred in condemning Charles, it would have purged the court as it had done the parliament.

The ſubſtance of the charge againſt the king was, "that he had endeavoured to ſet up a tyranical power, and to that end had raiſed and maintained a cruel war againſt the parliament." The king, on the hearing this charge read by the clerk of the court, made no other anſwer but by denying the authority of the court; the ſame he did on the twenty-ſecond and twenty-third. At length being brought before them a fourth time, on January 27, he earneſtly deſired before ſentence, to be heared before the lords and commons (intending, as it was thought, to have reſigned his crown to his eldeſt ſon Charles, prince of Wales), but his requeſt was not granted; and ſo ſtill perſiſting in diſowning the juriſdiction of the court, and conſequently in his refuſal to anſwer the charge, his ſilence was taken for confeſſion; ſentence of death was paſſed upon him, after an inſolent ſpeech made by Bradſhaw, all the members preſent ſtanding up by way of approbation: their names were as follows; Bradſhaw, preſident, Liſle, Say, Cromwell, Ireton, Hardreſſe Waller, Bourchier, *Hevening-ham*, *Pennington*, Martin, Purefoy, Barkſtead, *Tomlinſon*, Blackiſton, Millington, Conſtable, Ludlow, Hutchinſon, Liveſey, Tichburn, Roe, Lilburne, Smith, Edwards, Clement, Wogan, Norton, *Harvey*, Venn, Scot, *Andrews*, Fleetwood, Mayne, J. Temple, Scrope, Dean, Okey, Hewſon, Goffe, *Holland*, Carew, Jones, Corbet, *Allen*, Pelham, Blagrave, Walton, Harriſon, Whalley, Pride, Ewers, Grey of Groby, Danvers, Maleverer, More, Alured, Cawley, Stapley, Downs, Horton, *Hammond*, *Love*, Potter, Garland, Dixwell, P. Temple, Waite. The ſentence ran: "That he, Charles Stuart, king of England, having been convicted and attainted as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, ſhould be put to death, by ſevering his head from his body." This ſentence, and the warrant for execution, in conſequence thereof, were ſigned and ſealed by all the commiſſioners above mentioned, except ſuch of them whoſe names are printed in *Italic* characters. And here it will be neceſſary to take notice, that colonel Richard Ingoldſby's hand and ſeal were, againſt his conſent, put to the death-warrant, by Oliver Cromwell; but his early diſclaiming the fact, and his active and ſucceſsful endeavours for the reſtoration of king Charles II. to his crown and kingdoms, not only obtained his pardon, but alſo gained him the king's favour, who conferred on him the dignity of a knight of the Bath at his coronation.

* It was a remark, that in calling over the court the firſt day of the king's trial, when the crier pronounced the name of lord Fairfax, which had been inſerted in the number, a voice came from the gallery, crying, "He has more wit than to be here." When the impeachment was read, "in the name of the good people of England; "That is a lye," ſaid the ſame voice, in a ſhriller tone, "Not a half, nor a quarter: where are the people or their repreſentatives? Oliver Cromwell is a rogue and a traitor."

Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, gave orders to fire at the place from whence theſe inſolent ſpeeches proceeded, calling out, "Down with the whores; ſhoot them:" but it was ſoon found, that the lady Fairfax was there, and that it was ſhe who had the courage to utter them. She was a perſon of very noble birth, the daughter of Horace lord Vere of Tilbury; but, being miſled by the prejudices of the times, ſhe had long encouraged her huſband's zeal againſt the royal cauſe, and was now, as well as he, filled with abhorrence at the fatal and unexpected conſequences of all his victories and ſucceſſes. Hume, Carte, Rapin.

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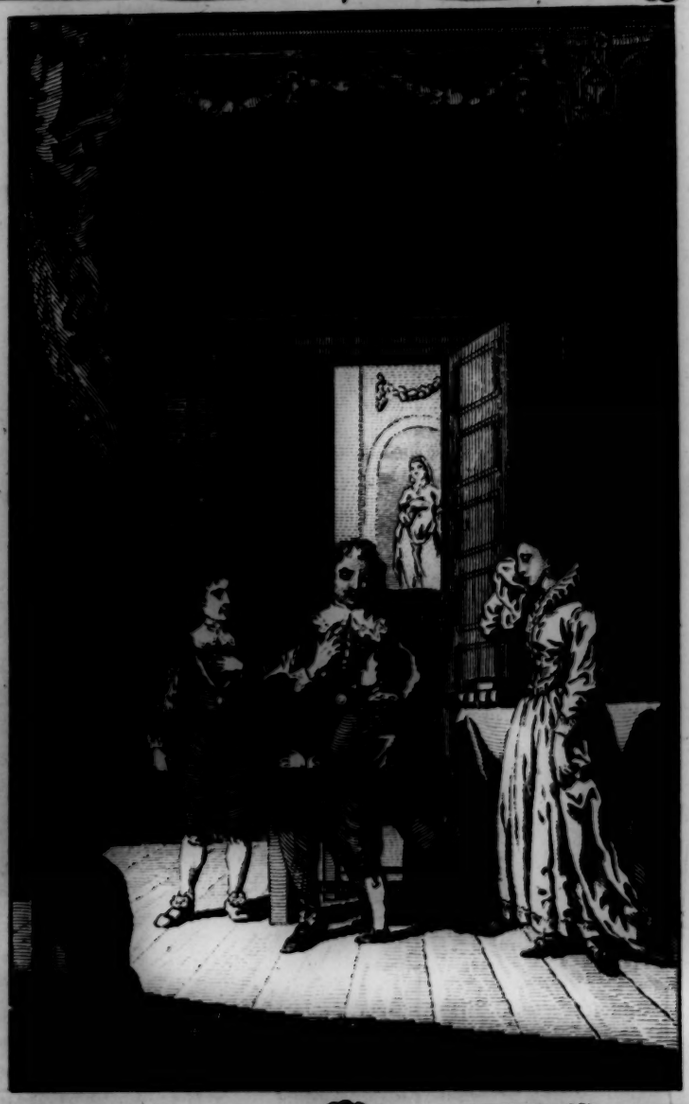
Charles I. taking leave of his Children.



To his Grace
Duke of
This Plate is most

FORWARD

Cha.s Dowglas,
Dover.
humbly Inscribd.

By this time Pau, and another ambaſſador from the States General, had arrived in England, and had preſented to the houſe of commons letters from their maſters, demanding a reſpite of Charles's ſentence, which was flatly denied them: in like manner the Scottiſh commiſſioners at London gave in very warm remonſtrances to the houſe in favour of the king; but they were laid aſide without being read, and the commiſſioners were voted to go from England to Scotland, to preſerve a good intelligence between the two kingdoms.

Fairfax now found himſelf truly miſerable, for contributing ſo much to the woes he could not prevent; and had even formed a deſign, which, if it had been executed, would have freed him from the load of diſloyalty under which he laboured: this was, to aſſemble ſome of the officers moſt attached to him, and forcibly reſcue the king from the hands he was in. Underſtanding the death-warrant was ſigned, in order to gain time he repaired to Cromwell, to procure a reſpite, for ſome days at leaſt, of the execution; but Cromwell penetrated into his deſign, and, knowing Fairfax's weak ſide, ſeemed to approve of the motion, but requeſted his excellency to join with him and his brother officers in ſeeking God for a bleſſing upon their endeavours. This happened on the morning of the king's execution; and Fairfax was ſo plied with prayers, that after the king's head was ſtruck off, meeting Herbert in one of the galleries of Whitehall, he aſked how his majeſty did? and was amazed and confounded when he heard of his being beheaded.

Three days were allowed the king between his ſentence and his execution; this interval he chiefly employed in reading and devotion, having obtained leave for Juxon, biſhop of London, for whom he had a great regard, to attend him: all his family that remained in England were ſuffered to viſit him: it conſiſted only of the princeſs Elizabeth and the duke of Gloceſter. Their meeting was extremely tender: Charles cautioned them both againſt popery, and the young duke againſt accepting the crown during the lives of his brothers: Charles then gave them a few jewels, which he told them was all that he could bequeath them: and the reader may eaſily conceive their parting to be the moſt moving that could happen.

On the thirtieth of January he was conducted on foot through St. James's Park to Whitehall, accompanied by Dr. Juxon, and guarded by a regiment of foot, under the command of colonel Tomlinſon. He had taken the ſacrament in the morning; and continued in his devotions at Whitehall till noon, where he drank a glaſs of wine and eat a morſel of bread: then he went through the Banqueting-houſe to the ſcaffold, erected adjoining to that edifice. It was covered with black cloth; in the middle of it appeared the block and ax, with two executioners in vizors; ſeveral troops of horſe and companies of foot were drawn up on each ſide, and the palace was ſurrounded by a multitude of ſpectators. The king eyed the apparatus of death with great compoſure, and aſked if there was not a higher block: then addreſſing himſelf to the colonels Tomlinſon, Hacker, and ſome other perſons who were on the ſcaffold, he declared himſelf innocent of having commenced war againſt the parliament: he owned that his fate was a juſt judgment from Heaven, for having conſented to the execution of an unjuſt ſentence againſt the earl of Strafford: he forgave all his enemies, exhorted the people to return to their obedience, and acknowlege his ſucceſſor as their lawful ſovereign; and ſignified his inviolable attachment to the proteſtant religion as profeſſed by the church of England. While he prepared himſelf for the block, Dr. Juxon told him there was but one ſtage more, which, though troubleſome, was ſhort, and would convey him to heaven, where he ſhould find ineffable joy and comfort: "I go (ſaid the king) from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no diſturbance can be." "You are exchanged (replied the good biſhop) from a temporal to an eternal crown; a good exchange!" Charles, having taken off his cloak, delivered his George to the prelate, pronouncing the word "Remember!" Then he laid his neck upon the block, and ſtretching out his hands as a ſignal, one of the men in vizors ſevered his head from his body at one blow, and the other holding it up, ſtreaming with blood, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor!" The ſpectators teſtified their ſorrows in ſighs, tears, and lamentations; and a great number attempted to dip their handkerchiefs in the blood of their murdered prince. The body was put into a coffin covered with black velvet, and removed to an apartment in Whitehall, then embalmed, and expoſed for ſeveral days at the palace of St. James's: at length the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, and the earls of Southampton and Lindſey, obtained permiſſion to bury it in the church of Windſor, where it was privately interred, without any funeral ceremony.

Thus fell Charles I. king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the murderous decree of his own ſubjects, and the ignominious hand of a common executioner. There had been ſeveral inſtances formerly of kings of England depoſed by act of parliament, and of the wives of kings who had fallen by the ſtroke of the executioner; Mary, queen of Scots, had been ſentenced to death by Engliſh commiſſioners, who had no other right over her life than what a robber has over the defenceleſs perſon who falls into his hands: but there had never yet been an inſtance of any people bringing their own ſovereign to the block, with all the pomp and ſolemnity of juſtice: we muſt go back three hundred years before our æra to find an example of the like cataſtrophe, in the perſon of Agis, king of Lacedemon.

There have been, through the courſe of this reign, ſo many opportunities for the reader to make himſelf acquainted with the character of Charles, that I ſhall be as conciſe as poſſible in what I have to ſay on that head. King Charles was certainly poſſeſſed of great abilities, and was endowed with many excellent qualifications: he was ſtrictly ſober, chaſte, temperate, and conſtant in his devotions, both public and private. Happy had it been for himſelf and the nation, had he been as good a King as he was a Man! his aiming at more power than the conſtitution allowed, was the firſt cauſe of his misfortunes. The falſe ſteps he afterwards committed, the aſcendancy the queen and thoſe he truſted had over him, increaſed the diſtempers of his reign; and his loſing entirely the confidence of his people, with the claſhing intereſt of parties, violent and furious in their oppoſition to each other, at laſt completed his ruin, after a trouble-

a troubleſome reign of twenty-three years, ten months, and three days.

Matters of religion make up great part of Charles's hiſtory: ſome have impiouſly charged him with being a friend to popery: and others, from the conceſſions he made in favour of preſbytery, will not allow him to have died in the faith of the church of England. It is to his immortal honour that we can ſay, that all his tenderneſs for his queen's perſon never brought him to harbour the ſmalleſt thought of adopting her religion; and we have it from unqueſtionable authority, that when he was at Oxford, he made the following declaration, as he was going to receive the ſacrament from the hands of archbiſhop Uſher: "My lord, I copy here many reſolved proteſtants, who may declare to the world the reſolution I do now make. I have, to the utmoſt of my power, prepared my ſoul to become a worthy receiver; and may I receive comfort from the bleſſed ſacrament, as I do intend the eſtabliſhment of the true reformed proteſtant religion, as it ſtood in its beauty in the happy days of queen Elizabeth, without any connivance at popery. I bleſs God, that, in the midſt of theſe public diſtractions, I have ſtill liberty to communicate; and may this ſacrament be my damnation, if my heart do not join with my lips in this proteſtation.*"

Charles, by his queen Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV. of France, had four ſons and five daughters, namely:

1. Charles James, who died in the cradle.
2. Charles, prince of Wales, by whom he was ſucceeded.
3. James, duke of York.
4. Henry, duke of Glocceſter, who died after the Reſtoration.

1. Mary, who eſpouſed William of Naſſau, prince of Orange, by whom ſhe was left a widow.
2. Elizabeth, confined by the regicides in Cariſbrook caſtle, where ſhe died of grief.
3. Ann, and
4. Catherine, who died in their infancy.
5. Henrietta Maria, who was carried in her infancy, by the counteſs of Dalkeith, into France, where ſhe married Philip, duke of Anjou and Orleans, brother to Lewis XIV †.

The COMMONWEALTH of ENGLAND. A. D. 1649.

THE parliament, for ſuch we muſt now call the ſmall inconſiderable part of the houſe of commons that continued ſitting, having murdered their ſovereign in the manner already related, proceeded to ſettle the government of the ſtate. The firſt ſtep they took after the execution of the king, was to iſſue a proclamation, forbidding all perſons, on pain of incurring the penalty of treaſon, to acknowlege or declare Charles Stuart, commonly called the prince of Wales, as ſovereign of England: they likewiſe voted that thoſe members of the houſe of commons who had, on the fifth of December, approved, by a vote, of the late king's conceſſions for a peace, at the Iſle of Wight, ſhould never again be re-admitted; and that even ſuch others who had given their negatives to the ſaid conceſſions, were ordered not to ſit in parliament till they had entered their diſſent to them.

The houſe of peers continued yet ſitting, and as the commiſſions of the judges were determined by the king's death, they ſent to the commons for a conference about that, and other matters relating to the ſafety of the government; but they, without returning an anſwer, paſſed a vote the ſame day (February 5), by which they declared "the kingly office to be unneceſſary and burthenſome, and that the houſe of peers was dangerous and uſeleſs, and therefore to be laid aſide." But that they might not be totally excluded from government, it was declared, "that they might be capable of being elected into the houſe of commons," of which three of them only afterwards accepted, the earls of Pembroke and Saliſbury, and the lord Howard of Eſcrick; but the reſt of the lords in general, burning with indignation at this inſult put upon them by this fag-end of the houſe of commons, publiſhed a proteſtation in the name of all the peers and barons of the realm, in which they proteſted againſt all

* Dr. Wellwood ſays of king Charles, that he had a good taſte for learning, and a more than ordinary ſkill in the liberal arts, eſpecially painting, ſculpture, architecture, and medals: he acquired the nobleſt collection of any prince of his time, and more than all the kings of England before him. He ſpoke ſeveral languages very well, and with a ſingular good grace. The book which he wrote during the height of his troubles, and which he entitled Icon Baſilike, is a collection of the prayers and meditations of the king in the exerciſe of his private devotions, and reflections. The ſtyle of this book is ſtrong, elegant, and perſpicuous; and it abounds with ſuch manly ſentiments of piety and good ſenſe, as do great honour to the royal author. Charles was not only a man of letters himſelf, but a judge of literary merit, and a generous patron of learning and ingenious men. He was very liberal to the celebrated Flemiſh painter ſir Peter Paul Rubens, by whoſe advice he purchaſed the cartoons of Raphael (which were lately removed from Hampton-court to the Queen's Palace in St. James's Park); together with many excellent pieces of painting from foreign countries. He likewiſe careſſed Vandyke, who was the pupil of Rubens, and even beſtowed on him his own kinſwoman in marriage. His architect was the famous Inigo Jones, an artiſt that far ſurpaſſed all his cotemporaries, and left many monuments of his inimitable genius, that ſtill remain in England. Laws the muſician was a particular favourite with Charles, who uſed to call him the Father of Muſic. He beſtowed particular marks of favour upon the renowned Hervey, who, to the eternal honour of the Engliſh nation, diſcovered the circulation of the blood, by his own ſagacity aſſiſted by experiments.

During the peaceable period of this reign, the commerce of England increaſed conſiderably to the Eaſt Indies, Guinea, Spain, and Turkey. The colony of New England became populous; for great numbers of puritans fled thither in conſequence of being ſeverely treated by Laud and his high-church party: the catholics afterwards, to avoid the ſame kind of perſecution from the puritans, reſorted to America, and ſettled the colony of Maryland.

† Carte.

acts,

acts, votes, and orders of parliament, that ſhould be made during their excluſion.

This made little impreſſion on the commons; and, to prevent the aſſembling of the lords, the army, by their appointment and connivance, ſet a guard upon the door of that houſe; and, in further proſecution of their former votes againſt monarchy, they framed and paſſed "An act for the exhæredation of the royal line, and the abolition of monarchy in that kingdom," by which it was decreed, that the nation ſhould be henceforth governed by the repreſentatives of the people, under the form of a commonwealth.

Sir Abraham Reynoldſon, then lord-mayor, a perſon of great integrity and loyalty, refuſed to publiſh this act in the city of London, for which he was forthwith diſcharged from his office, and, with three of the aldermen that had joined him, was committed priſoner to the Tower; and one Andrews being choſen by the common-council mayor in his ſtead, he, with Pennington and other aldermen, proclaimed this moſt audacious act in the city. But this ſubverſion of the conſtitution not being reliſhed by the people in general, the parliament thought fit to give them ſome ſatisfaction, by publiſhing a declaration, in which they endeavoured to ſhew the reaſons of their proceedings; wherein ſeveral plauſible pretences were exhibited: among others, they made a promiſe of "deliverance from the bondage introduced by the Norman conqueſt, and of maintaining the ancient laws (which they extolled for their excellency and equality); adding, that they might well conſiſt with the preſent government of a republic, upon ſome eaſy alterations of form, only leaving the ſubſtance entire, and reforming the abuſes thereof. They promiſed likewiſe the eſtabliſhment of a firm and ſafe peace, the advancement of the true proteſtant religion, and the liberal maintaining of a godly miniſtry; the ſettling of treaties and alliances with foreign princes and eſtates; the encouragement of the manufactories, for the increaſe and flouriſhing of trade, and the maintaining of the poor in all places of the land."

About the time of publiſhing this declaration, to complete the model of their government, they aboliſhed all the ancient forms of ſovereignty in the ſtile and teſts of writs, commiſſions, and other public inſtruments; and ordered for the future all of them to be iſſued "in the names of the keepers of the liberties of England, by authority of parliament." They next cauſed the old great-ſeal to be broken, and a new one to be made, having on one ſide a red croſs and harp quartered, as the arms of England and Ireland, with this inſcription, THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND; and on the other ſide the repreſentation of the houſe of commons aſſembled, with this motto, IN THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING RESTORED, MDCXLVIII. And, as another enſign of their dominion, they appointed that all the money which from that time was to be coined, ſhould, inſtead of the king's impreſſion, bear the croſs and harp, with this motto, GOD WITH US. The clauſes in the firſt of Elizabeth, and the third of James I. which enjoined taking the oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance to the king and his ſucceſſors, were now repealed, and a new oath, called "the engagement," was enjoined to be taken by all who were put into places of public truſt, "to be true and faithful to the government eſtabliſhed, without king or houſe of peers". The ancient judicial and legiſlative power of the king and both houſes of parliament they aſſumed to themſelves; but the executive part of government they committed to a council of ſtate, conſiſting of thirty-nine perſons *, whoſe places were to continue for one whole year, and then a new council of ſtate to be choſen; and thus the commonwealth government was fully eſtabliſhed.

In the mean while, the parliament of Scotland, who, by their commiſſioners here, had in vain proteſted againſt any violent meaſures being purſued with regard to the captive king, no ſooner heard of his horrid murder, than they, on the third day of February this year, proclaimed his ſon Charles at the Croſs of Edinburgh. They afterwards called home their commiſſioners in England, who, juſt at their departure, ſent an expoſtulatory declaration to the houſe of commons, wherein they put them in mind of all their vows, obligations, and proteſtations for the maintenance of the king's perſon and juſt rights, and upbraided them with their ſhameful abjurations and infringement of the ſame, by their late bloody proceedings. This was ſo ill received by the parliament, that they impriſoned the meſſenger that preſented it, and voted the paper ſcandalous and ſeditious, and all ſuch perſons traitors who ſhould join with them, or adhere to the ſubſcribers. They likewiſe ſecured the perſons of the commiſſioners, till a copy of the paper was ſent into Scotland, to ſee if the parliament and eſtates there would acknowlege the ſame; upon which a meſſenger was ſent from the parliament of Scotland, to juſtify what their commiſſioners had done, and to complain of their detention as a breach of the law of nations. The Engliſh parliament, unwilling to embroil themſelves in a war with Scotland, ordered the commiſſioners to be releaſed, and they returned home; but theſe proceedings increaſed on both ſides the diſtruſt and jealouſy they had of each other.

In March, a new high court of juſtice was erected, of which Bradſhaw was again preſident, for the new trial of duke Hamilton (as earl of Cambridge in England) the earls of Holland and Norwich, the lord Capel and ſir John Owen, who had been principally active during the preceding ſummer, in the attempts made to free the king out of the hands of his enemies by force of arms. They were all convicted, and ſentenced to die; but, upon their petitioning the parliament, their pardon or execution was to be determined by the votes of the houſe, when duke Hamilton and lord Capel were caſt, and ſir John Owen ſaved by a conſiderable majority. The houſe being equally divided as to the two earls, the former was caſt, and the latter ſaved, by the ſingle vote of the ſpeaker. Accordingly Hamilton, Holland, and

* Theſe were the chiefs of the army, and others of deſperate fortunes, and the moſt active in the late rebellious tranſactions, viz. the earls of Denbigh, Muſgrave, Pembroke, and Saliſbury, the lords Grey, Fairfax, Grey of Groby, Liſle, Rolles, and St. John, Wilde, Bradſhaw, Cromwell, Skippon, Pickering, Maſſam, Hazelrig, Harrington, Vane, jun. Danvers, Armine, Mildmay, Conſtable, Pennington, Wilſon, Whitelocke, Martin, Ludlow, Stapleton, Heveningham, Wallop, Hutchinſon, Bond, Popham, Valentine, Walton, Scot, Purefoy, and Jones.

Capel, were beheaded the twenty-ninth of March, on a ſcaffold before Weſtminſter-hall.

It was now thought fit to aboliſh the council of agitators, who were at firſt ſet up by Cromwell and his aſſociation, to oppoſe the presbyterians in their project of disbanding the army. They had now done their maſter's work, and had been the chief inſtruments in all the late tranſactions; and leſt they ſhould take it in their heads to carry matters farther than the preſent rulers, between whom and the officers of the army there was now a perfect agreement, cared they ſhould, thoſe who had firſt ſet them up, judged it expedient to put them down; but this could not be effected without ſome effuſion of blood; for thoſe ſons of rapine and miſrule having notice of what was intended againſt them, after having in vain drawn up and preſented a remonſtrance to the parliament for continuing them as a council, had recourſe to arms; and about four thouſand met at Burford, under the direction of Thomſon, a man formerly condemned for ſedition by a court-martial, but pardoned by his colonel. Their reſiſtance was not long-lived; Fairfax and Cromwell attacked them ſuddenly; four hundred were taken priſoners; ſome of them put to death, and the reſt pardoned; and this mutinous ſpirit was for the preſent totally ſuppreſſed. Let us now attend the ſteps of the lawful heir to the crown, deprived of his right, and turned out a wanderer to the wide world.

Charles prince of Wales, now Charles II. by the death of his father, no ſooner heard of that tragical event, than he took the title of king, being then eighteen years of age. He at that time reſided at the Hague, whither two gentlemen had been ſent by the parliament of Scotland, to acquaint him with their proceedings in his behalf, and to invite him into their kingdom; upon which Charles reſolved to go to France, that from thence he might more eaſily paſs into ſome part of his own dominions, to receive their commiſſioners. With this view he left Holland in the month of April, and came to St. Germains, near Paris, where the queen his mother then was; and all the way as he paſſed through the cities of the United Provinces and the Spaniſh Netherlands, he was very ſplendidly entertained. The duke of Lorraine met him on the frontiers of France, and the king of France came in perſon to Champagne to receive him, and accompany him to Paris, and from thence to St. Germains, where he ſtaid a few months, together with his brother the duke of York, who came to him out of Holland, where we will leave him for the preſent, and turn our eyes towards the new government in England.

The parliament, notwithſtanding their inconſiderable number, found every thing at home compoſed into a ſeeming tranquility, by the terror of their arms. Foreign powers, conjoined in mutual hoſtilities, had neither leiſure nor inclination to interfere in the domeſtic quarrels of this iſland. Scotland had, indeed, in open defiance of the new republic, proclaimed the ſon of the murdered king; but the Engliſh having no pretext to intermeddle in the affairs of that kingdom, ſuffered the Scots for the preſent to ſettle their government after their own manner. Ireland being ſubject to the dominion of England, demanded a more anxious and more immediate care.

When the marquis of Ormond, in obedience to the command of his late majeſty, ſurrendered Dublin and the other fortreſſes to the parliamentary forces, he came over to England, was admitted to the king's preſence at Hampton-court, received a grateful acknowledgment for all his paſt ſervices, and, during ſome time, lived in tranquility near London. But being ſoon after baniſhed, together with other royaliſts, to a diſtance from that city, and ſeeing the cauſe of his maſter actually ruined, he thought proper to withdraw into France, where he joined the queen and the prince of Wales. As ſoon, however, as he heard of the tragical death of his ſovereign, he inſtantly returned into Ireland; and forming a confederacy of the catholics, as well as of ſuch proteſtants as adhered to the royal cauſe, he aſſembled ſixteen thouſand men, with which he advanced upon the parliamentary garriſons; and having taken Dundalk, Tredagh, Newry, and other fortreſſes, he prepared, in the ſpring of this year, to lay ſiege to Dublin. In fine, the affairs of the royaliſts in a ſhort time appeared in ſo proſperous a condition, that it was thought by every one that the young king would repair in perſon into Ireland.

In this exigency, the governors of the new commonwealth thought it behoved them to take the moſt vigorous meaſures for the preſervation of that valuable iſland; and it was voted to ſend over a conſiderable body of forces for its defence. On this occaſion there were ſtruggles betwixt the ſeveral parties in the government: the preſbyterians endeavoured to procure the lieutenancy of Ireland for Waller, the independents for Lambert. After the execution of the king, Cromwell himſelf began to aſpire to a government, where ſo much glory, he ſaw, might be gained, and ſo much intereſt acquired. In his abſence, he took care to have his name mentioned in the council of ſtate; and both friends and enemies united immediately in voting him into that honourable poſt. The former imagined, that the motion had been made at his own requeſt; the latter wanted to remove him to a diſtance, and flattered themſelves that, during his abſence, they ſhould be able to open the eyes of Fairfax, whom he had hitherto blinded by his hypocritical profeſſions.

Oliver being now appointed general for this expedition, and lord-governor (that was the title given him) of that iſland, both for civil and military affairs, for three years, he loſt no time in making all the neceſſary preparations for his departure, and in the mean time ſent over conſiderable ſuccours to colonel Jones, the parliamentary governor of Dublin; by the help of which that officer made ſuch vigorous and ſucceſsful ſallies, that he not only forced the marquis of Ormond, who had by this time formed the ſiege of the Iriſh capital, to abandon his enterprize; but falling upon him in his retreat, put his army to the rout.

This was in the beginning of Auguſt, 1649; and a few days after Cromwell ſet ſail from Milford-haven, and arrived ſafe at Dublin with his whole army, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand men, to the inexpreſſible joy of the king's enemies in Ireland. Having refreſhed his men, he entered immediately on the great work he came about. His firſt attempt was upon Drogheda, a ſtrong town, and well garriſoned with the flower of Ormond's forces, under

under the command of ſir Arthur Aiton, which he reſolutely took by ſtorm, and put all that he found in arms therein to the ſword; an act of terror that much facilitated his future conqueſts, and after this many places ſubmitted to him without ſtriking a ſtroke.

In October he took Wexford by ſtorm in the like manner, and with the like effect as he had done Drogheda. In ſhort, Cromwell carried on his conqueſts with ſuch amazing rapidity, that in about nine months time he almoſt completed the reduction of the whole iſland; when, about the middle of May 1650, he was recalled by the parliament, in order to enter upon a new ſcene of artifice in another place. Leaving therefore his ſon-in-law Ireton, his deputy, to finiſh what remained to be done, he embarked for England; and landing at Briſtol, proceeded in perfect triumph to London, where he arrived amidſt the loud acclamations of the people, and had all imaginable honour and reſpect paid him by the members of parliament, officers of the army, the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, and other perſons of diſtinction in the ſtate.

In the mean time, the young king had removed, in September, from St. Germains, and came over to the iſland of Jerſey, where his authority was ſtill acknowleged by colonel Clavering, governor of that place: and now finding that Ireland was on the point of being irrecoverably loſt, he fixed his thoughts entirely upon Scotland; to which country he had been again and again invited over by the violent covenanters, but ſtill upon their own terms. Though thoſe were exceſſively diſagreeable to Charles, yet he had ſeveral conferences with Windram, who was ſent about the latter end of this year (1649) from Scotland to Jerſey. The ſubſtance of the propoſitions from the Scots to Charles were as follow:

"I. That he would ſign the covenant, and paſs an act for all perſons in Scotland to take it, and to ratify all that had been done there concerning the ſame. II. That he would paſs divers acts of the parliament of Scotland, which were ratified by their two laſt ſeſſions; as for his approbation of their diſclaiming Dr. Hamilton's deſign for receiving the ſeveral acts made by the Engliſh for the militia, and for the kings of Scotland to have no negative voice in that parliament. III. That he would withdraw his commiſſioners to Montroſe for raiſing forces, to be ſent from beyond ſeas into Scotland, and to give preſent orders for the ſtopping thereof. IV. That he would put away all papiſts from about him, and let none be of his council but known proteſtants. V. That he would appoint ſome place about Holland to treat with commiſſioners from the eſtates of Scotland, who would ſend eminent lords to him, to treat and conclude there upon all particulars; and from the time he ſhould come into Scotland, they would provide for him what was neceſſary to make him and his train to reſide in a regal manner. VI. That he would give a ſpeedy anſwer to their deſires."

This is the mildeſt form of the Scottiſh conditions; for they were afterwards loaded with many odious particulars againſt the beſt friends of the royal family in both kingdoms, and with many intolerable indignities to the perſon of Charles himſelf. When the propoſitions came to be debated in Charles's council, it was reſolved to put off the acceptance of them for a few months longer, when the king was to give the commiſſioners from Scotland a final hearing at Breda, a place much more commodious for treating than Jerſey was. Charles made uſe of this reſpite in encouraging the marquis of Montroſe to haſten the preparations in which he was at that time actually engaged, to reſcue the king his maſter from the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the earl of Argyle and his party of rigid covenanters. Montroſe having laid down his arms, in conſequence of the late king's orders, had retired to France, after being degraded by the Scottiſh parliament. Charles, after the tragical death of his father, had ſent Montroſe a renewal of his commiſſion, as captain-general of Scotland; and ordered him to endeavour to raiſe a body of forces in Germany, and make a deſcent in Scotland; chuſing rather to come in by force of arms than upon the ſlaviſh conditions offered him. Montroſe having completed his levies, landed in the north of Scotland, in the beginning of April, 1650, hoping that he ſhould be ſoon ſtrengthened by the coming in of the people, in conſequence of a declaration he had cauſed to be publiſhed, previous to his deſcent, inviting his countrymen to join him in revenging the late king's murder, and in reſtoring his preſent majeſty: but herein he was diſappointed, and the Scottiſh government took ſuch effectual meaſures in oppoſing him, that before the end of April he was entirely defeated by colonel Strachan, who commanded a body of troops, independent of Leſly. This defeat was owing to the rawneſs and inexperience of his troops; two hundred of whom were killed, and one thouſand two hundred taken priſoners. The whole Scottiſh army ſoon after advanced againſt them under Leſly. As to himſelf, he ſeems to have been ſomewhat defective in point of intelligence, and to have been ſurprized by Strachan ſo ſuddenly, that he had no opportunity of diſplaying his wonted conduct and courage. He eſcaped however from the rout of this field; and, if we are to believe the tradition of the Scots themſelves, he was betrayed by a gentleman of the country who owed him ſingular obligations. All I am certain of is, that he was ſent up priſoner to Edinburgh, where he was put to death, with ſuch circumſtances of cruelty and ignominy, as barbarians would not have offered to a man whoſe virtues did honour to the human ſpecies.

After the death of Montroſe, Charles finding himſelf abſolutely without reſource, he in a manner gave the Scots a charte blanche, agreed to all their mortifying propoſitions, quitted Holland (whither he had lately gone from Jerſey), and putting himſelf in the power of thoſe who had ſo lately hanged his general and faithful friend and protector, he embarked for Scotland in the beginning of June, where he arrived, after a very hazardous voyage, having been once in danger of ſhipwreck, and more than once, of falling into the hands of Popham, admiral of the parliament fleet, which had been ſent out to intercept him in his paſſage. Before he was permitted to ſet foot on ſhore, he was required to ſign the covenant, and with this requeſt he thought proper to comply. Duke Hamilton, the earls of Lauderdale, Dunfermlin, and other noble-

men attached to the royal cauſe, were immediately removed from his preſence, and were obliged to withdraw to their eſtates, where they lived without any truſt or authority. None of his Engliſh friends who had ſerved under his father were ſuffered to remain in the kingdom, the duke of Buckingham excepted; whoſe attendance on his perſon, Charles, by the moſt earneſt intreaties, did with great difficulty obtain.

The parliament of Scotland now entered into deep conſultation about forming an army for the ſervice of the king, as they pretended; and an act was publiſhed for the rating of every fourth man through the kingdom, capable of bearing arms. Leſly, earl of Leven, was appointed general of the foot, and Holbourn major-general; David Leſly lieutenant-general of the horſe, and Montgomery major-general; the ſupreme command of the whole army being reſerved for Charles himſelf, whom, on the 15th of July, they again ſolemnly proclaimed king at the Croſs of Edinburgh; and it was even intended to have crowned him the following month, but certain obſtacles interpoſed which prevented it. Charles himſelf, though treated with great reſpect and deference, was totally debarred from all exerciſe of regal power, and was allowed to indulge in no kind of amuſement; and the ſpirit of the Scots in religious matters being at that time remarkably gloomy and ſevere, the young king was forced to ſubmit to many auſterities that were extremely diſagreeable to his natural temper, and which probably produced, or at leaſt ſtrengthened, that indifference for religion, which, during the remaining part of his life, he always diſcovered.

The Engliſh parliament was no ſooner informed of the king's arrival in Scotland, than they immediately began to prepare for a war, which they plainly perceived muſt now prove inevitable; and they reſolved not to ſuffer one half of the iſland to be an aſylum for a perſon who pretended to be king of the other likewiſe. The rulers of the new commonwealth had hitherto ſupported the change of government with as much prudence and conduct, as they had ſhewn rage and fury in bringing it about: and it was the aſtoniſhment of all Europe, to behold a handful of private men, without any chief to command them, keep the peers of the realm at a ſilent and inactive diſtance, ſtrip the biſhops of their dignity, reſtrain the multitude within the bounds of order and obedience, maintain an army of ſixteen thouſand men in Ireland, and the like number in England, ſupport a formidable fleet, well provided, and punctually pay all demands, without any one member of the houſe enriching himſelf at the nation's expence. To provide for ſo great a charge, they obſerved the ſtricteſt œconomy in the management of the revenues formerly annexed to the crown, and made a ſale of the forfeited lands of the biſhops and chapters for ten years. In ſhort, the nation paid a tax of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds per month; a tax ten times greater than that of ſhip-money, which Charles I. had attempted to raiſe by his own authority, and which was the firſt cauſe of the diſaſter and bloodſhed which followed.

This parliament was not under the direction of Cromwell, he being at that time on an Iriſh expedition; but it was chiefly guided by the independent party, who ſtill bore a great ſway. It having been reſolved by the houſe to aſſemble an army againſt the Scots, they reſolved that Cromwell ſhould be ſent with it, next in command under Fairfax: accordingly, he received orders to quit Ireland, which he had almoſt ſubdued, and he returned in triumph to London. Fairfax, on having the chief command offered him, refuſed to accept of it; for though he had ſuffered the army to make uſe of his name in murdering their ſovereign, and enſlaving their fellow-ſubjects, yet he could not entertain the thoughts of invading the Scots, whom he regarded as zealous preſbyterians, and united to England by the ſacred bond of the ſolemn league and covenant. The parliament in vain ſolicited him to act as their general; he was peremptory in his refuſal; and, to put a ſtop to their importunities, he reſigned his command, and retired to end his days in peace. This was no extraordinary reſolution, at a period and in a country where every one acted by his own rules. This however proved the æra of Cromwell's greatneſs, who, on the reſignation of Fairfax, was appointed "general and commander in chief of all the armies of the commonwealth;" a poſt of the utmoſt importance in a ſtate which ſtood entirely by arms.

The army being modelled and appointed after Cromwell's own mind, and all the grimace of faſting and praying being over, Cromwell, on the 29th of June, left London, and on the 22d of July entered Scotland, at the head of near twenty thouſand men; and in the way he marched, he found the country deſerted by its inhabitants, and every thing carried away that might ſerve to ſubſiſt his army; ſo that he could procure no proviſions but what were ſent him by ſhipping from England. It was therefore neceſſary for him to come to an engagement as ſoon as poſſible. The diſpoſition of the Scottiſh generals were ſuch as might have rendered all Cromwell's experience and valour uſeleſs, had it not been for the inſolence of their men. The Scots were poſſeſſed of Edinburgh caſtle, and their army under Leven and Leſly, which was more than equal to that of the Engliſh, poſted ſo advantageouſly near that city, that it could not be attacked. Cromwell had all the country between Dunbar and Edinburgh, a ſpace of about eighteen miles; but though he marched and counter-marched his army, and though his men had all advantages in all ſkirmiſhes, yet he ſaw nothing before his eyes but famine, for the ſtormy weather did not admit his receiving any proviſions from his ſhips. He ſtill endeavoured, by acts of humanity to the Scots who fell into his hands, and of juſtice upon his own ſoldiers who were found plundering the country, to make a party among the Scots. But all was in vain; and their preachers already began to triumph from the pulpits, as if the whole Engliſh army was upon the point of being deſtroyed. Matters remained in this ſituation till the beginning of September, when Cromwell was forced to march from his camp on Pentland-hills, in order, as Whitelock expreſſes, to fight for his victuals; and, on the firſt of September, marched to Dunbar, hoping at that place to receive ſome proviſions from his fleet; but Cromwell, to his great joy, perceived that the Scots had left their ſtrong camp between Edinburgh and Leith; and on the firſt of September,

ber, they took poſſeſſion of another ſtrong camp near Dunbar, from whence he found means to draw them into the level ground.

This was regarded by Cromwell as the omen of a ſure victory; and one body of the Scots coming down to ſupport another, the engagement, on the third of September, became general, but the diſpute unequal; for the Scots were ſo far from ſtanding the ſhock of Cromwell's veterans, that though their forces were become by this time much ſuperior to his, they ſuffered themſelves, almoſt without reſiſtance, to be cut in pieces: according to the relation made to the houſe of commons by major White, who was diſpatched by Cromwell to London with the news of the victory, the defeat of the Scots was owing to the impatience of their preachers, who had the whole power over the private men, and who drove their generals from their wiſe conduct, which muſt have obliged Cromwell either to have laid down his arms, or to have fought under the moſt ruinous diſadvantages. The chief diſpute was about a paſs between Dunbar and Edinburgh, which the Engliſh gained, and thereby opened their way to the Scottiſh army upon equal terms. Upwards of four thouſand of the Scots were killed in the battle, and in their flight towards Edinburgh ten thouſand were taken priſoners, one half of whom were deſperately wounded, or unfit for ſervice, and the other half ſent to London, to be marketed for as common ſlaves to the Engliſh plantations in America: and all their colours, artillery, arms, ammunition, tents and baggage, were taken by Cromwell, with moſt of their officers of note, whoſe names deſerve no particular mention in hiſtory. The Scots immediately, in conſternation, quitted Edinburgh and Leith, when Cromwell took poſſeſſion of them, and then laid ſiege to Edinburgh caſtle, which he became maſter of about the end of December.

The covenanters, humbled by their late defeat, began to relax in their ſeverity to their ſovereign: Hamilton, Lauderdale, and all his other friends, were ſuffered to approach him, and his coronation was performed with great pomp and ceremony at Scone, on the firſt of January, 1651.

Upon the news of the defeat of the Scots at Dunbar, the king of Spain ordered Cardinas to take upon him the character of his ambaſſador, and to demand an audience of the parliament; he ſent notice at the ſame time to Charles's ambaſſadors that they muſt immediately leave his court and dominions. Affairs between France and the new republic were upon a leſs amicable footing; the trading friends of the parliament having ſuffered great hardſhips in France: cardinal Mazarine, who had then the government of the ſtate during the minority of Lewis XIV. in vain endeavouring to amuſe Augier, who was reſident in France on the part of the parliament, that miniſter was called home; repriſals were granted upon the French ſhipping, and all Europe thought a war between the two nations unavoidable; but they were deceived in their conjectures, ſuch a war being by no means conſiſtent with the plan the parliament had laid down. This year alſo the court of Portugal, after ſuffering ſeverely for giving ſhelter to prince Rupert with his ſquadron of ſhips, ſent an ambaſſador to make their conceſſion, who was admitted to audience in the parliament-houſe, with great ſtate.

Early in the ſpring of the year 1651, the Scots had aſſembled another army, under the duke of Hamilton and general Leſly; and encamped at Torwood, in the neighbourhood of Stirling. The king himſelf was preſent in the army, and his generals determined to purſue the ſame prudent and cautious meaſures, which, ſo long as they were embraced, had been ſo ſucceſsful during the former campaign. With this view they entrenched themſelves much in the ſame manner as before the battle of Dunbar, and were well ſupplied with proviſions from the county of Fife. This made Cromwell, then at Edinburgh, reſolve, at all events, to cut off the communication with thoſe parts; and having ſent over a good body of troops into Fife, under the generals Lambert and Overton, on the fourth of June, they totally routed a ſtrong party of the king's, which was ſent againſt them. Cromwell, ſoon after, viz. in the month of July, alſo paſſed over with his whole army, and then marching northward, he made himſelf maſter of Perth, or St. Johnſtoun, and thus poſted himſelf at the king's back.

Charles now found himſelf under the neceſſity, if he ſtaid in Scotland, either to fight the Engliſh army, or to ſtarve in his camp: reduced to this extremity, he embraced a reſolution worthy a prince contending for empire; the way to England being perfectly clear, he determined immediately to advance into that country, where he imagined that all his friends, and all who were diſſatisfied with the preſent government, would repair to his ſtandard. He prevailed on the generals to agree to his propoſal, and, with one conſent, the army, amounting to the number of fourteen thouſand men, quitted their camp, and, on the ſixth of Auguſt, entered England by Carliſle. The king immediately cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed at the head of the army, as he did at all the market-towns he paſſed through.

Cromwell foreſaw and foretold the fate of this march; and his conqueſts in Scotland were now rapid and important: for, after making himſelf maſter of Perth, and ſeveral other forts, he ſaw the whole country, excepting Stirling, quite open before him, and therefore detached Lambert to follow upon the ſkirts of the king's army, with a conſiderable party, and leaving colonel George Monk (then an officer under him, and afterwards the famous general Monk) to command in Scotland, he began his march in perſon with the main body of the army in purſuit of the king.

The parliament exerted themſelves to the utmoſt on this occaſion: they not only publiſhed an act ſtrictly forbidding the abetting Charles Stuart, or any of his adherents, on pain of high-treaſon, but ordered the militia of the ſeveral counties to be drawn out to obſtruct his march; and the lord Fairfax, quitting his retirement, took the field with a conſiderable body for the ſame purpoſe; ſo that in a few days Charles had as great an army to encounter before him, as that which followed him at his heels; he alſo found that his friends did not come in to him ſo faſt as he had expected: he had ſome hopes that Shrewſbury and Gloceſter would have declared for him; but in this likewiſe he was diſappointed; and Lambert had made ſuch diſpatch, that, on the thirteenth of Auguſt, he was within half a day's march; and in two days after he was joined by major-general Harriſon with a body

body of troops, making in the whole ſix thouſand horſe beſides three thouſand foot, which were poſted to defend Warrington bridge, to ſtop the paſſage of the royal army; but when Charles came to Warrington, he attacked the troops which had been poſted to defend the bridge with ſo much ſucceſs, that Lambert was obliged to retire, and the royaliſts took poſſeſſion of the town on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt. Though there was no great matter in this advantage, yet it made a great noiſe in London, and threw all things into confuſion. News coming to Charles's army of the diſtracted condition of that city, it occaſioned a debate in council concerning the immediate march of the army thither; but, upon the reſult, it was reſolved to make good all the paſſes that were thereabouts, for their better ſecurity, and to march forthwith to Worceſter, of which place the king eaſily made himſelf maſter, by means of the warm ſide which the inhabitants there had for his cauſe.

I ſhall not trouble the reader with all the manifeſtoes, proclamations, and the like publiſhed by Charles after his entering England, nor with the particulars of the many wiſe precautions made uſe of by the parliament to defeat his invaſion: it is certain that very little regard was paid to any thing that came from the king. General Maſſey had received a wound, which diſabled him from being ſo uſeful as he had promiſed to be to Charles; and Cromwell, after his army had ſuffered incredible fatigues in its march, was joined by lieutenant-general Fleetwood and colonel Deſborough, at Warwick, on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, from whence they made diſpoſitions to inveſt Worceſter, which Charles was fortifying while his army lay near the town. He had by this time been joined by the lord Talbot, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Shrewſbury, and the lord Howard; but he ſtill remained in a very deſperate condition, being on the firſt of September, hemmed in on all ſides by the parliament's troops.

The earl of Derby, ever ſince the death of the late king, had lived in the Iſle of Man, without acknowleging the authority of the parliament; but hearing of Charles's march into England, he came over, and began to exert himſelf with great ſucceſs in Lancaſhire and Cheſhire: he got together about fifteen hundred horſe, but, before he could join the king, he was ſet upon by colonel Lilburne, with a body of parliament forces, and entirely defeated, himſelf with difficulty eſcaping to the royal army before Worceſter.

On the third of September, being that day twelve-month that the battle of Dunbar was fought, Cromwell charged the king's army ſo furiouſly, that, after ſome hours diſpute, they were driven back on both ſides the Severn, and retiring into the city in the utmoſt confuſion, were followed by Cromwell's men, who made a dreadful ſlaughter of the royal troops, and obtained a complete victory. According to the beſt accounts two thouſand royaliſts were cut in pieces, and upwards of ſeven thouſand taken priſoners on that and the ſucceeding days. The chief of the priſoners were the duke of Hamilton, the earls of Derby, Cleveland, Lauderdale, Ruthen, Carnwarth, and Kelly, the lord Spynie, ſir John Packington, ſir Ralph Clare, ſir Charles Cunningham, colonel Graves, Fanſhaw, ſecretary to Charles, ſix colonels of horſe, thirteen of foot, nine lieutenants-colonels of foot, ſix majors of horſe, thirteen majors of foot, thirty-ſeven captains of horſe, ſeventy-two captains of foot, fifty-five quarter-maſters, eighty of the king's domeſtics, with his coach and equipages, and a collar of SS. and ſtandard. The king himſelf muſt have been taken, had not the earl of Cleveland, ſir James Hamilton, colonel Careleſs, and a few other gallant officers, prevailed with the foot to keep the enemy a little in play till Charles could have time to eſcape, which he did, with about ſixty horſe, by one of the gates of the city in the duſk of the evening. He was attended by the duke of Buckingham, the earls of Shrewſbury, Cleveland, and Derby, with ſome other Engliſh and Scottiſh noblemen. His eſcape was chiefly favoured by the greedineſs of the parliament army, who immediately fell to plundering the town and lodgings of the royaliſts. We muſt not forget to obſerve, that the brave duke of Hamilton was mortally wounded in the engagement, and died a few days after. Cromwell, after the battle, ordered the walls of Worceſter to be levelled with the ground. Charles having fled as far as Kidderminſter, he was adviſed, by the earl of Derby, to make the beſt of his way to a place called Boſcobel, in Shropſhire, but upon the confines of Staffordſhire, inhabited by William Penderel and his wife, truſty perſons on whom he might depend. Thither Charles was conveyed, while the lords and others in his train took leave of him, and made the beſt of their way to join Leſly, who was on his march northwards; but in their route thither the earls of Derby and Lauderdale, with ſome other perſons of diſtinction, were taken priſoners by the enemy. The earl of Derby was carried to Cheſter, where being condemned by a council of war, he ſuffered death at Bolton ſoon after. Sir Timothy Fetherſtonehaugh, with ſeveral other loyal perſons, underwent the ſame fate, about the ſame time. The earl of Lauderdale was ſent priſoner to Windſor caſtle; and the earl of Cleveland, with the lords Wentworth and Kenmure, and the generals Maſſey and Middleton, having been taken at the ſame time, were ſent to different priſons; but the duke of Buckingham, with the lords Levingſton and Talbot, eſcaped beyond ſea. It muſt not be forgot that the eſcape of Charles was greatly facilitated by colonel Careleſs, who kept ſeveral of the purſuing parties in play with a ſmall handful of men he picked up upon the road.

The proper agents for ſecreting Charles being provided, he was inſtantly diſguiſed in the moſt homely cloaths their ſeveral habitations would afford, and transformed into a woodman; but the enemy had got ſo good intelligence, that, the day after the battle, ſome of the parties were at the neighbouring villages in ſearch of him, and actually paſſed very near the place where he abſconded. Three brothers, of the name of Penderel, acted as ſcouts upon the skirts of the adjoining fields; a fourth brother acted as an inſtructor of his majeſty in his new ſtate; and one or two other perſons behaved with equal fidelity. In a few days finding his ſafety there to be precarious, he made an attempt, with his faithful conductors, to paſs into Wales, where he thought he would be more in ſecurity, but he found it impracticable, through the vigilance of his enemies: their ſoldiers lay upon all the roads, and guarded all the paſſes upon the

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MUSEUM

King Charles 2.d with Col.l Carlis conceal'd in the Oak.

To his Grace
L.d C.l Sackville.
Duke of
Dorset.
This Plate is most
humbly Inscribed.

rivers, and though all imaginable care was taken to diſguiſe the perſon and diſcolour the skin of Charles, yet he was ſeveral times in danger of being taken. Being obliged to return to Boſcobel, his ſtrength and ſpirits were quite exhauſted; but being joined by colonel Careleſs, he betook himſelf next day to a neighbouring wood, where he mounted the oak, which the devotion of his family's friends have ſince idolized under the name of Royal. This umbrageous tree for ſome time protected Charles from the purſuit of his enemies, and thus for ſeveral days he led a kind of woodland life, not without ſome diverting adventures too minute for this hiſtory, until he was diſcovered by the lord Wilmot, who had been concealed by Mr. Whitegrave and Mr. Huddelſton, both of them papiſts, the latter a prieſt. By their advice he changed his lodging to Mr. Whitegrave's houſe, being guarded thither on horſeback by the five brothers Penderel. All this time the parliament officers were very inquiſitive about Charles in the neighbourhood of thoſe parts; and perhaps it would have been more difficult to have concealed him, had not the houſes where he abſconded generally belonged to Roman catholics, and contained many ingenious lurking holes in the walls, wainſcotting, and the like, for the benefit of their prieſts when hard beſet by the officers of juſtice. In the neighbourhood of this place lived colonel Lane, a loyal gentleman, who was well known to the lord Wilmot, and therefore truſted by him with the ſecret of the king's concealment: after ſome conſultation it was reſolved to make uſe of a paſs that Mrs. Jane Lane, the colonel's ſiſter, had obtained for herſelf and a ſervant to go to Briſtol. Upon this Charles was equipped as a ſervant-man, and was mounted on the ſame horſe before the lady, another gentleman and his wife being in company, and the lord Wilmot attending them at a diſtance as a ſervant, with a hawk on his fiſt; in this equipage they travelled, not without Charles running many risks of being diſcovered, till they came to a gentman's houſe within three miles of Briſtol. From thence he removed to colonel Windham's houſe, at Trent, and endeavoured to procure a paſſage from Charmouth to France; but being not only diſappointed, but almoſt diſcovered, he was obliged to return to Trent; and his dangers every hour multiplying, he went to Heale, near Saliſbury, and from thence to Brighthelmſtone in Suſſex, and, on the fifteenth of October, went on board a ſmall bark at Shoreham, which landed him in Normandy, near Havre de Grace.

Cromwell in the mean time returned in triumph to London: he was met a few miles from the city by the ſpeaker of the houſe in his formalities, accompanied by ſeveral of the members, and the lord-mayor and magiſtrates of London, in their formalities. The firſt thing they did after his return, was to perſuade the parliament to an abuſe of the victory their troops had gained, and which was ſo flattering to the Engliſh; for Monk having in a ſhort time completed the reduction of Scotland, the Engliſh republic had diſpatched ſir Henry Vane, St. John, and other commiſſioners, to ſettle the government of that kingdom, and an act paſſed including the Scots in the commonwealth with England; the Scots, who in general were more favourably inclined to the parliament than to the king, not being diſpleaſed with this eſtabliſhment.

During theſe tranſactions in England, Ireton, Cromwell's ſon-in-law, after many ſucceſſes in Ireland, died at Limerick of the plague, and the command of the army in that kingdom was given to lieutenant-general Ludlow: the adminiſtration of civil affairs was truſted to commiſſioners. Ludlow continued to proſecute the war with equal vigour and good fortune, and every where defeated the diſpirited Iriſh.

Never had England been more powerful than ſince it had become a commonwealth. The parliament, which was wholly compoſed of republicans, formed the extraordinary project of joining the ſeven United Provinces of Holland to England, as it had lately incorporated Scotland. The ſtadtholder, William II. ſon-in-law to Charles I. was lately dead, after having attempted to make himſelf abſolute in Holland, as Charles I. had attempted to do in England, and with no better ſucceſs: he left an infant ſon behind him, and the Engliſh parliament hoped that the Dutch would as eaſily give up their ſtadtholder as England had done its king, in which caſe the united republic of England, Scotland, and Holland, might hold the ballance of Europe: but the friends of the houſe of Orange oppoſed this project with all their might, and repreſented the propoſed union as ſo detrimental to the freedom and commerce of their own nation, that the ſtates not only refuſed to come into it, but the Engliſh ambaſſadors were very much affronted by the populace. The parliament finding they could not bring the Dutch to their terms, ſought all occaſions of breaking with that republic; and to this end, in the beginning of the year 1652, they paſſed an act, forbidding all commodities that were not of the growth and manufacture of the country from whence they came, to be brought to England in any other than Engliſh bottoms; which put an end to the commerce between England and Holland.

The ſtates of the United Provinces hereupon ſent ambaſſadors to requeſt the repeal of this act; but the Engliſh parliament were ſo far from anſwering their deſire, that they inſiſted on ſatisfaction for ſeveral old injuries done by the Dutch to the Engliſh, in particular the maſſacre of Amboyna, in the reign of James I. A war therefore neceſſarily enſued, in which were fought ſeveral of the moſt terrible and bloody ſea-fights that ever had been known, between the Dutch under the famous Van Tromp, and the Engliſh under the renowned Blake. It would be neither pleaſing nor inſtructive to the reader, were we to particularize the ſeveral circumſtances of thoſe ſcenes of bloodſhed and raging animoſity, which took up the chief part of the year 1652: let it ſuffice then to obſerve, that the Dutch were generally worſted, though the Engliſh alſo ſuffered great loſs.

The expences of this war made the parliament contrive all ways they could to huſband their finances; and becauſe they thought the entertainment of the duke of Gloceſter (whom, ſince the murder of the king, they had kept as a kind of ſtate priſoner at St. James's) too great an expence, they reſolved to ſend him abroad: and, about the beginning of February, 1653, they ſent him with two ſervants to Dunkirk, promiſing to allow him a ſmall penſion for his maintenance, if he would not

go near his brother nor any of his relations: but as ſoon as he arrived on the other ſide of the water, he was received according to his birth and quality; and from Bruſſels he was attended to the princeſs of Orange, at Breda, from whence he was conducted to Paris, to the king his brother. His ſiſter, the princeſs Elizabeth, died a few days before he left England, in the Iſle of Wight, where ſhe had been confined ever ſince the murder of her father.

It is commonly obſerved, that it is much eaſier to obtain a conqueſt than ſecure it; and in nothing was this more viſible than in the preſent poſture of affairs in England, where the new commonwealth, now advanced to the very pinnacle of power and proſperity, began to ſink under its own weight, and, by inteſtine diviſions at home, to meet that ruin, which all the ſtrength and power of their enemies abroad, or their confederates, could not effect.

Some of the wiſeſt and moſt diſcerning of the houſe of commons had, for ſome time, began to dread Cromwell's great influence and power, and had concurred in carrying on the war by ſea, that they might have a pretence for increaſing the national expence, which might oblige the parliament to diſband the army, and thus by degrees overthrow the dangerous power of the general. Cromwell ſaw into theſe ſchemes, as they had penetrated into his, and, without heſitation, reſolved to prevent them; and as he never lingered in the execution of his projects, he forthwith proceeded to effectuate his purpoſe. His influence in the army being altogether unlimited, he knew he might ſafely depend on their aſſiſtance in whatever he ſhould attempt: he accordingly called a council of his officers, in which it was reſolved (and carried into execution) to preſent a petition to the houſe, demanding the payment of their arrears, and affirming that the public revenues, if rightly and honeſtly managed, would be ſufficient for the regular ſubſiſtence of the land army, as well as for all the other neceſſary expences of government. The parliament ordered the officers to be reprimanded for this inſolent addreſs, and forbid to intermeddle in the adminiſtration. Then the petitioners produced another remonſtrance, importing that the members had not performed their promiſe of diſſolving their aſſembly, that there might be a regular ſucceſſion of parliaments; they therefore deſired they would put an end to their adminiſtration, after having convoked another parliament, and named a council of ſtate to adminiſter affairs in the mean time. This propoſal was ſeconded by all the members who enjoyed employments in the army, as well as by the preſbyterians, who had been admitted into the houſe, in conſequence of having ſworn to the engagement; but the majority was of a different opinion: they reſolved, that it was not a proper time to diſſolve the parliament, while the nation had a war and a great many important affairs upon its hands; but that the vacant ſeats ſhould be filled up by new elections. At the ſame time they appointed a committee to prepare a bill for an act prohibiting all perſons to preſent ſuch petitions, on pain of being guilty of high treaſon.

Cromwell finding the parliament thus warm, knew he had no time to loſe, therefore on the twentieth of April (1653) while the commons were ſitting and debating on thoſe matters, and the diſbanding of the army, he went, attended by a detachment of choſen men, to the houſe, and, having ſet a guard about the doors and avenues, he entered, followed by a number of officers who were moſt at his devotion, and having taken his place, and liſtened for ſome time attentively to the debates; he whiſpered to Harriſon, that he now thought the parliament ripe for a diſſolution. Harriſon requeſted him to think ſeriouſly before he undertook ſo dangerous an action. "You ſay well," replied Cromwell, and ſat ſtill for about a quarter of an hour. When the debates were finiſhed, and the ſpeaker was going to put the queſtion, he ſuddenly roſe up, reviled the parliament in the moſt opprobrious terms for their tyranny, cruelty, and oppreſſion: then ſtamping with his foot, which was the ſignal for the ſoldiers to enter, he ordered the ſpeaker to leave the chair, telling the houſe to be gone, that they were no longer a parliament, that the Lord had done with them, and had made choice of other inſtruments. After this fanatic ſpeech, he reviled ſeveral of the members preſent by name, reproaching one as a drunkard, another as a whoremaſter, &c. then pointing to the mace, he bade one of his ſoldiers to take away "that fool's bauble," as he termed it. Major-general Harriſon then went up to the ſpeaker, who ſtill kept his chair, and pulled him out of it by violence: Cromwell then turning to the members, "it is you (ſaid he) that have forced me to this: I have prayed to the Lord night and day, that he would rather ſlay me than put me upon this work." Having ſaid this, he turned out all the members one by one, locked the doors of the houſe himſelf, and carried away the keys in his pocket.

Thus, by one bold effort of power, Cromwell in a few minutes effected a work, which would have coſt a common plodding politician his whole life to have brought about, and in the end he might have been the victim of his own intrigues. What is ſtill more ſtrange, is, that the parliament being thus diſſolved by force, and there being no acknowleged legiſlative authority, every thing did not fall into confuſion. Cromwell's genius had foreſeen and provided againſt ſuch a conſequence. At firſt he made ſome cunning eſſays to procure an invitation from the chief of the members of parliament to take upon himſelf the government. But in this he was unſucceſsful, and by his own authority he appointed a new council, compoſed of men whom he thought moſt likely to advance his deſign: "Oliver Cromwell, eſq. captain-general, lieutenant-general Fleetwood, major-general Lambert, lord-commiſſioner Liſle, major-general Harriſon, colonel Deſborough, colonel Hewſon, colonel Montagu, colonel Tomlinſon, colonel Jones, colonel Sydenham, colonel Lawrence, Anthony Stapely, eſq. ſir Charles Wolſey, John Carew, eſq. Walter Strickland, eſq. Mr. Hope, Mr. Norton, Mr. Bennet, Mr. Broughton, Mr. Holliſter, Richard Major, eſq. Mr. Courtney, Mr. St. Nicholas, Mr. Meyer, and Mr. Williams."

At Cromwell's inſtigation, this council nominated one hundred and forty-four perſons to repreſent the nation in parliament: theſe were chiefly taken from the loweſt claſs of people, ſuch as ſhopkeepers and journeymen handicrafts: one of the moſt active members of this ridiculous aſſembly was

was a leatherſeller in Fleet-ſtreet, called Praiſe God Barebones*, whence this parliament was called, by way of deriſion, Barebones Parliament. Cromwell, by his own authority, ſent a written order to all theſe members, requiring them to come and take upon them the ſovereign power, and to govern the nation: this order, or writ, is too curious to with-hold it from the reader's peruſal. It ran in the following terms:

"Foraſmuch as, upon the diſſolution of the laſt parliament, it became neceſſary that the peace, ſafety, and good government of this commonwealth ſhould be provided for; in order whereunto divers perſons, fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honeſty, are by myſelf, with the advice of my council of officers, nominated, to whom the great charge and truſt of ſo weighty affairs is to be committed, and having good aſſurance of their love to and courage for God, and intereſt of his cauſe, and of the good people of the commonwealth:

"I, Oliver Cromwell, captain-general and commander in chief of all the armies and forces raiſed, and to be raiſed, within this commonwealth, do hereby ſummons and require you,— —— (being one of the ſaid perſons nominated) perſonally to appear at the council-chamber, commonly called by the name of the Council-chamber in Whitehall, within the city of Weſtminſter, on the fourth day of July next enſuing the date hereof, to take upon you the ſaid truſt, unto which you are hereby called, and appointed to ſerve as a member for the county of——; and hereof you are not to fail.

"Given under my hand and ſeal the ſixth day of June, 1653.

"Oliver Cromwell."

This aſſembly, after ſitting about five months, during which time it became the object of ridicule and contempt to the whole nation, came to a reſolution to diſſolve itſelf, and a motion was made and carried, on the ſecond of December, "that the ſitting of this parliament any longer, as now conſtituted, will not be for the good of the commonwealth, and that therefore it was requiſite to deliver up unto the lord-general, Oliver Cromwell, the power which they received from him. And that motion being ſeconded by ſeveral of their members, the houſe roſe; and the ſpeaker, with ſeveral of the members of the houſe, departed out of the houſe to Whitehall, where they, being the greater number of members ſitting in parliament, did, by a writing under their hands, reſign unto his excellency their ſaid powers; and Mr. Speaker, attended with the members, did preſent the ſame accordingly." By this means the politic Cromwell, who had all along managed matters in ſuch a manner as to bring on this iſſue, was again in poſſeſſion of the ſupreme power. Calling a council of his officers, he adviſed with them how the government ſhould be carried on; when his creature, Lambert, propoſed another ſcheme of government, which was to temper the liberty of a commonwealth by the authority of a ſingle perſon, who ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by the name of Protector. This was agreed to, and it was unanimouſly voted, that the captain-general, Oliver Cromwell, ſhould be choſen into that high office: at the ſame time a paper, called the Inſtrument of Government, was produced and read to them, which contained as it were the pacta conventa of the future conſtitution. This inſtrument conſiſted of forty-two articles, which would be too long for inſertion here; I ſhall therefore content myſelf with giving the heads of the principal articles, which were:

"I. A parliament to be called every three years.

"II. The firſt to aſſemble on the third of September, 1654.

"III. No parliament to be diſſolved till it hath ſat five months.

"IV. Such bills as are offered to the protector by the parliament, if he aſſent not in twenty days, to be laws without him.

"V. That his council ſhall not exceed the number of twenty-one, nor leſs than thirteen.

"VI. That immediately after the death of the preſent and ſucceeding protectors, the council ſhall chuſe another before they riſe.

"VII. No protector, after the preſent, ſhall be general of the army.

"VIII. The protector ſhall have power to make war and peace.

"IX. That, in the interval of parliaments, the protector and his council may make ſome laws that ſhall be binding to the ſubject."

Cromwell was inſtalled into his high office on the ſixteenth of December, by the title of His Highneſs the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with prodigious ſolemnity, in the court of Chancery, attended by the commiſſioners of the great-ſeal, the barons of the Exchequer, the judges in their robes, the council of ſtate, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, and all the officers and other perſons of diſtinction of his party in and about London.

The new protector now proceeded to nominate a council, in purſuance of the article for that purpoſe in the inſtrument of government already recited; theſe were, colonel Edward Montague (afterwards earl of Sandwich), colonel John Lambert, Philip lord viſcount Liſle, colonel John Deſborough (newly made alſo one of the generals

* The enthuſiaſts of this age ſeemed to deſpiſe the New Teſtament in compariſon of the Old; from which they uſually borrowed the names which they beſtowed upon their children. The appellations of James, John, Peter, and Andrew, were rejected for thoſe of Hezekiah, Habbakuk, Joſhua, Zerobabel. Sometimes a whole ſentence of ſcripture was uſed as a name. Here follow the names of a jury enrolled in the county of Suſſex about this time:

Accepted Trevor, of Norſham,
Redeemed Compton, of Battle,
Faint not Hewet, of Heathfield,
Make Peace Heaton, of Hare,
God reward Smart, of Fivehurſt,
Stand faſt on high Stringer, of Crowhurſt,
Earth Adam, of Warbleton,
Called Lower, of the ſame,
Kill Sin Pimple, of Witham,
Return Spelman, of Watling,
Be Faithful Joiner, of Britling,
Fly Debate Roberts, of the ſame,
Fight the good fight of faith White, of Emer,
More Fruit Flower, of Eaſt Hadley,
Hope for Bending, of the ſame,
Graceful Harding, of Lewes,
Weep not Billing, of the ſame,
Meek Brewer, of Okeham,

"Cromwell," ſays an anonymous author of thoſe times, "hath beat up his drums clean through the Old Teſtament. You may learn the genealogy of our Saviour by the names of his regiment. The muſter-maſter has no other liſt than the firſt chapter of St. Matthew."

at

at ſea), ſir Gilbert Pickering, ſir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, ſir Charles Wolſey, major-general Skippon, Walter Strickland, eſq. colonel William Sydenham, colonel Philip Jones, Francis Rous, eſq. John Lawrence, and Richard Major, eſq.

The firſt act of theſe counſellors, after their eſtabliſhment, was to iſſue the following proclamation, notifying the new form of government.

"Whereas the late parliament diſſolving themſelves, reſigned their powers and authorities, the government of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in a lord protector and ſucceſſive triennial parliaments, now eſtabliſhed: and whereas Oliver Cromwell, captain-general of all the forces of this commonwealth, is declared lord-protector of the ſaid nations, and hath accepted thereof; we have therefore thought it neceſſary (as we hereby do) to make publication of the premiſes, and ſtrictly to charge and command all and every perſon or perſons, of what quality and condition ſoever in any of the ſaid three nations, to take notice hereof, and to conform and ſubmit themſelves to the government ſo eſtabliſhed. And all ſheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, &c. are required to publiſh this proclamation, to the end none may have cauſe to pretend ignorance in this behalf."

Thus did a private gentleman, by an amazing conjunction of courage and hypocriſy, riſe to the kingly power, though under another name. Cromwell was near fifty-three years of age when he attained the ſovereign power, forty-two of which he had paſſed without having had any employ civil or military. He was hardly known in 1642, when the houſe of commons, of which he was a member, gave him a commiſſion of horſe in the army they levied againſt the king: from this beginning he roſe, by the ſteps we have ſeen, to be maſter of that houſe; and, after having humbled and ſubdued Charles I. and his ſon, he now ſtepped into the royal ſeat, and, without being king, reigned more abſolutely and fortunately than any king had ever done. As ſoon as he was inveſted with the protectorſhip, he ordered the army to be paid one month's advance; the magazines of all kinds were ſupplied; in the treaſury (of which he had the ſole management), there were three hundred thouſand pounds, and about half as much in that of Ireland. This year, the Dutch having ſuffered a ſevere defeat in a ſea-fight, in which admiral Van Tromp, the glory of their nation, was ſlain, and half their fleet deſtroyed, they ſued to the new protector for peace; and he dictated the conditions, which were, that they ſhould pay him three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; that the ſhips of the States General ſhould pay the compliment to the Britiſh flag; and that they ſhould never reſtore the young prince of Orange to the office of ſtadtholder. This treaty was finally concluded and ſigned on the fifth of Auguſt, 1654. All the nations of Europe ſeemed to vie with each other in courting this riſing ſtar: the Spaniſh ambaſſador was as early as any to congratulate him on his new dignity; as did alſo the queen of Sweden; the conde or count de Saa, lord-chamberlain of the kingdom of Portugal, arrived in ſplendid embaſſy from that court, to ſue for his alliance; nor were the French behind-hand in owning his power, having given to monſieur Bourdeaux, their reſident here, the dignity of ambaſſador, to qualify him more highly for entering into a negociation with the lord-protector, and added to him the baron de Bas.

An accident, which happened about this time, made great noiſe all over Europe, and ſhewed the ſpirit with which Cromwell intended to govern: don Pantaleon de Saa, brother to the Portugueſe ambaſſador above-mentioned, being full of his own exploits as a ſoldier, and of his high quality, reſented an affront which he imagined had been offered him upon the New Exchange, by ordering his ſervants to his aſſiſtance, and, after wounding ſome Engliſh, he ſhot Mr. Greenaway dead, an Engliſh gentleman, who was innocent of the fact. The murder being committed, the Portugueſe thought to elude the ordinary officers of juſtice by retiring to, and barricading themſelves within the Portugueſe ambaſſador's houſe, which they threatened to defend againſt all attempts to take them; but the fact being notorious, colonel Whaley inveſted the houſe with a party of horſe. Upon this the ambaſſador ordered his domeſtics to their arms, and ſent to complain to Cromwell of a breach of the law of nations: Cromwell with great magnanimity anſwered, that juſtice muſt be done, and that blood muſt be ſatisfied with blood. All the other foreign ambaſſadors in and about London, took a very warm concern in the matter, not being able to conceive that a man of quality, an ambaſſador's brother, and a knight of Malta, as don Pantaleon was, ought to be queſtioned for the murder of a mechanic, for ſo they eſteemed an Engliſh gentleman to be; but all remonſtrances to Cromwell were ineffectual, and the ambaſſador's brother, to the admiration of the world, was tried, condemned, and publicly executed for the murder. Cromwell proceeded ſo coolly in this affair, that he concluded a treaty with the ambaſſador almoſt the very hour that his brother was carrying to execution. By this treaty his Portugueſe majeſty bound himſelf to pay a very large ſum of money by way of indemnification to England, and gave Cromwell all the ſatisfaction in other reſpects he required. Upon the ſame day (July 10, 1654,) and ſcaffold, were executed two gentlemen of the names of Gerard and Vowel, for being concerned in a conſpiracy for killing Cromwell, ſurprizing his guard, and altering the new-eſtabliſhed form of government.

Cromwell being now at peace with all the proteſtant powers of Europe, proceeded with great firmneſs in his government. His fleet and army were more powerful than ever; he never appeared abroad but with an attendance and ſplendor that equalled or exceeded the majeſty of kings; but ſtill the inſtrument of government, by which he reigned, had not been complied with, and a parliament muſt neceſſarily be called in terms of the ſaid inſtrument: the writs were acccordingly iſſued by the protector, and the parliament met on Sunday the third of September, when the protector went in great ſtate, and opened it with a ſpeech, in which he informed them of the ſteps he had taken for modelling the new government; aſſured them of his upright intentions; recapitulated what he had done for the nation; told them he had convoked a free parliament, and that he did not pretend to be their maſter, but their fellow-labourer. Notwithſtanding all the pains he had taken to procure a favourable parliament, he ſoon found himſelf

ſelf diſappointed in his endeavours: they choſe Lenthall their ſpeaker, at his recommendation; but their firſt deliberations were employed in examining the nature of that authority by which they were convoked. Cromwell had too many friends in the houſe to believe this enquiry would be brought to any determination; nevertheleſs he would not tamely ſuffer his power to become the ſubject of diſpute, he therefore ſummoned them to the Painted Chamber, where he talked to them in a ſtyle quite different from that which he had uſed in his firſt harangue: he ſaid, they aſſumed too much liberty in queſtioning the eſtabliſhed government, from whence they derived all their authority; for if they were not lawfully aſſembled, they had no power to deliberate. At their return to the houſe they found a guard at the door, which would not ſuffer any member to enter till he had ſigned a recognition, by which he promiſed to be faithful to the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that he would never conſent to a change in the government eſtabliſhed under a protector and a parliament. A good number, who refuſed to ſign the engagement, were excluded from the houſe, and many ſigned it with no other view than that of having opportunities to thwart Cromwell's meaſures. Several members engaged in a conſpiracy, formed chiefly by the cavaliers, to take arms in different parts of the kingdom: Cromwell having received intelligence of the ſcheme from his ſpies, anticipated the purpoſe of his enemies by diſſolving the parliament, eleven days before the expiration of the time fixed by the act of government; and he gave them to underſtand at parting, that he knew ſeveral members were engaged in a plot againſt his adminiſtration.

The meeting of a diſcontented parliament is always a ſure ſign of a diſcontented nation: the haſty and abrupt diſſolution of ſuch a parliament never fails to inflame the diſcontent to a higher degree of malignity. The members of this aſſembly returning to their ſeveral counties, carried along with them that ſpirit of diſaffection which they had diſcovered in the houſe.

The royaliſts ſeeing this general diſaffection towards the government, could no longer be held in ſubjection; they raſhly imagined that every one that was diſpleaſed, like them muſt have adopted the ſame views and intereſt. This falſe notion urged them on to practices which, in the end, ſubjected them and their friends to the ſevereſt vengeance.

The cavaliers (for by this name we are henceforth to diſtinguiſh the royal party) had deſigned two inſurrections, one in the North, and another in the Weſt. The former, which was to have been headed by Wilmot, earl of Rocheſter, was wholly laid aſide before it was well begun: but the year 1655 was opened by a riſing in the Weſt. Sir John Wagſtaff, colonel Penruddock, Grove, and Jones, entered Saliſbury, with about two hundred horſe, at the time of the Lent aſſizes, ſeized the judges and the ſheriff, and proclaimed the king. But finding the people not in a diſpoſition to join them, they marched farther weſtward, and being purſued by a troop of horſe that lay in the neighbourhood, under colonel Butler, they were defeated on the fifteenth of March, and moſt of them taken priſoners. Penruddock and Grove were executed at Exeter, and ſeveral were tried and hanged both there and at Saliſbury; but Wagſtaff luckily made his eſcape. The remainder of the inſurrection, which, if properly carried on, might have gone a good way towards reſtoring the royal authority, was cruſhed with ſtill greater eaſe to the government. Cromwell had ſo exact intelligence, that neither ſir Thomas Harris in Shropſhire, nor ſir Henry Slingſby in Yorkſhire, nor the earl of Rocheſter in the North, nor many thouſand noblemen and gentlemen who had engaged to riſe, gave the government any farther uneaſineſs than to be at the trouble of ſecuring their perſons, or chaſing them beyond ſea to their diſconſolate king, who remained all this while concealed at Terveer, with an intention to embark for England; but returned to Cologne as ſoon as he underſtood the confederacy was defeated.

Cromwell, enraged at theſe attempts of the royaliſts, determined to humble their mutinous ſpirit by ſome ſevere chaſtiſement. With this view he iſſued an edict for levying the tenths of all cavaliers, and to inflict other ſevere taxes upon thoſe concerned. The moſt obnoxious of the royal party, who eſcaped death, were tranſported to the Engliſh colonies in America. In order to levy the cruel and oppreſſive impoſition he had laid upon thoſe who remained at home, the tyrant appointed twelve major-generals, among whom he parcelled out the whole kingdom of England: theſe men, in conjuction with commiſſioners, were empowered to decimate whoever they pleaſed, to raiſe all taxes impoſed by the protector and his council, and to ſeize and impriſon any perſon who ſhould incur their jealouſy or ſuſpicion; nor was there any appeal from their deciſion, but to the protector himſelf and his council. Veſted with ſuch unlimited powers, theſe major-generals became ſo many tyrants, and ſo oppreſſed the people, that Cromwell thought it neceſſary firſt to reſtrain, and afterwards totally to aboliſh them; but not till they had anſwered his ends on the wretched royaliſts, not one of whom, fooliſh and forward as they generally were, durſt publicly avow his principles.

Cromwell having now reduced the kingdom, if not to a perfect obedience, at leaſt to a total ſubjection, had leiſure to look abroad and attend his concerns in foreign countries. He had for ſome time been equipping a very formidable fleet, the deſtination of which was known to no one, not even the commanders themſelves; only it was given out that they were going on an expedition that would bring great increaſe of honour to the nation, and of wealth to thoſe concerned in it. Before we proceed to unravel this ſecret, it will be neceſſary to give the reader a curſory view of the ſituation of the ſeveral powers of Europe, at that time connected with England.

The famous war of Germany, occaſioned by the Palatine's acceptance of the crown of Bohemia, and which had now raged with great violence for the ſpace of thirty years, was at laſt terminated by the treaty of Weſtphalia. In 1648, the young Palatine was reſtored to part of his dominions; and the rights and privileges of the ſeveral members of the Germanic body were thoroughly fixed and aſcertained.

Guſtavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, who had hitherto ſupported the proteſtant intereſt in Germany, was ſucceeded on the throne by his daughter

Chriſtina; and that princeſs, tired of the fatigues of royalty, had reſigned the crown to her kinſman Charles Guſtavus, who trod in the ſteps of the great Adolphus, and carried his arms to the ſouth ſide of the Baltic.

In France, cardinal Richelieu, deſirous of humbling the houſe of Auſtria, had artfully encouraged the troubles againſt Charles I. of England. His ſucceſſor Mazarine purſued the ſame plan of politics too far; for, inſtead of maintaining the balance between the king and parliament, he ſuffered Charles to be totally ſubdued, and a much more formidable power to be erected on his ruins. He ſacrificed the intereſts of Charles II. to his fear of diſobliging the new republic, by which he was ſo little regarded, that their fleet attached the French navy on their way to the relief of Dunkirk, which was beſieged by the Spaniards, and which by that means, fell into the hands of the enemy. The cardinal thought proper to digeſt this affront: and even ſent ambaſſadors to London to ſolicit the protector's friendſhip.

The court of Spain had obſerved the ſame conduct with regard to the troubles of England; and had diſcovered a ſtrong partiality in favour of the parliament. True it is, that, after the death of Charles I. they received lord Cottington and chancellor Hyde, as ambaſſadors from the young king; but they received them coldly, and diſappointed them in the purport of their embaſſy, which was to procure ſome ſupply of money for their indigent prince. Aſcham, ſent thither as the parliament's envoy, was murdered by ſome Iriſh officers at Madrid; and the court of Spain either could not or would not deliver up the author of this outrage; though one of them was actually ſeized *.

Whether the protector was provoked at this incident, or whether he was cajoled and encouraged by Mazarine, is not now to be determined; what we know for certain is, that he reſolved to adhere to the intereſts of France, and to declare war againſt the Spaniſh monarchy. The king of Spain (Philip VI.) had by this time gotten intelligence that the great naval preparations making in England were deſigned to make an attempt upon his dominions in the Weſt Indies; and therefore, after having diſpatched expreſſes into thoſe parts, to put them upon their guard, he ſent the marquis de Leda in a ſpendid embaſſy to the protector, to divert or prevent the proſecution of his hoſtile deſigns. The marquis arrived at London on the twenty-ſecond of May, 1655, but had ſo cold a reception, and was ſo much diſcouraged in his negociation, that he quickly returned home.

In the mean while a ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips, having on board Venables, with five thouſand ſoldiers, ſet ſail for the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, under the command of admiral Penn, to whom Cromwell delivered his orders ſealed up, that he ſhould not know their purport till he had reached a certain latitude: by theſe he was directed to make a deſcent upon the iſland of Hiſpaniola, and attack the capital, St. Domingo. They arrived there in ſafety and good health; but, by ſome miſconduct in landing the troops, the deſign miſcarried, and they were repulſed to their ſhips with great loſs. In order to make ſome amends for this miſcarriage, the fleet ſailed to Jamaica, which they conquered almoſt without oppoſition, and took poſſeſſion of it in the name of the Engliſh republic, on the ſecond of June, 1655. Having left ſome troops on this iſland, they returned to England about the beginning of September; and the protector was ſo exaſperated at their having failed in their attempt upon Hiſpaniola, that he ordered Penn and Venables to be ſent to the Tower; from whence, however, they were not long after releaſed. In the mean time care was taken to reinforce the garriſon of Jamaica, and that colony ſoon after became what it ſtill continues, a flouriſhing and wealthy colony.

The king of Spain was no ſooner informed of theſe hoſtilities, than he iſſued orders for confiſcating all the effects belonging to the Engliſh in his dominions, and the Spaniſh trade thereby fell into the hands of the Dutch, who were thereby ſoon indemnified for the loſſes they had ſuſtained in the war with England. On the twenty-third of October, this year, Oliver publiſhed a treaty of peace which he had concluded with France: one principal condition of this treaty was the excluſion of Charles II. and all his relations and adherents, out of the king of France's dominions. Cardinal Mazarine governed in France, during his ſovereign's minority, as abſolutely as Cromwell now did in England: and having entered into a cloſe connexion with the uſurper, he was determined to deny him nothing. Charles II. had actually ſolicited one of the cardinal's neices in marriage; but the bad condition of the royal fugitive's affairs, which obliged him to take ſo humiliating a ſtep, was the only cauſe of his meeting with a refuſal; and the cardinal is ſaid to have formed the deſign of marrying the very niece he had refuſed to the king of England, to one of Cromwell's ſons. Henrietta of France, the mournful relict of Charles I. and mother to his exiled children, ſaw herſelf reduced to beg of the cardinal to intercede with Cromwell that ſhe might at leaſt receive her jointure. It was certainly the moſt extreme and grievous of all humiliations, to be obliged to ſue for ſubſiſtence to the man who had ſpilt her huſband's blood on a ſcaffold. Mazarine, after ſome few remonſtrances in the queen's favour to the protector, acquainted her that he had not been able to obtain any thing: ſhe therefore continued in very low circumſtances at Paris, with the ſhame and mortification of having implored Cromwell's pity. As to the young king, he having foreſeen what the connexion between France and England would end in, had ſome time before retired into Germany, and lived at Cologne, with the duke of Gloceſter, his younger brother: the duke of York, in conſequence of the above-mentioned treaty, now left the French court, and entered into the army commanded by the prince of Condé and don John of Auſtria, to learn the art of war againſt France, which had thus infamouſly abandoned his family.

Cromwell, immediately after his elevation to the protectorſhip, had ſent the gallant admiral Blake, with a fleet, into the Mediterranean, to chaſtize the corſairs of Barbary, who had committed depredations on the Engliſh traiders: upon this command he exerted himſelf in ſo vigorous and effectual a manner, that thoſe piratical ſtates were obliged to implore the mercy of the Engliſh republic, and to ſubmit to every condition which

* Hume, Voltaire.

her admiral was pleaſed to impoſe, the fame of whoſe valour was now diffuſed all over Europe.

Upon the diſmiſſion of Penn from the navy, colonel Montagu (afterwards the famous earl of Sandwich), one of the commiſſioners of Cromwell's treaſury, was appointed to ſucceed him; and, early in the year 1656, was ſent out with a ſtrong ſquadron to reinforce Blake, and to carry him orders for acting vigorouſly againſt the Spaniards. Having joined Blake in the Mediterranean, the two admirals anchored with their fleet, on the twentieth of April, before Cadiz, and it was deliberated in a council of war to attack that port; but it was judged impracticable, for want of a ſufficient body of land forces: the admirals therefore divided their fleet into two ſquadrons; one under captain Stayner, was left to cruize before Cadiz, with a view to intercept the Spaniſh plate fleet on its return home; the other, under the two admirals, ſtood for the coaſt of Portugal, to revictual and refit their ſhips. On the ſeventeenth of September, captain Stayner diſcried the Spaniſh homeward-bound Weſt India fleet, conſiſting of eight large ſhips. Though Stayner had with him but ſeven frigates, yet he immediately attacked the Spaniards; and, though he could bring but three of his ſhips to act, he took two of the Spaniſh ſhips, ſunk and burnt three, and three eſcaped, according to the account ſent by the admirals to the government of England. In the admiral's ſhip, which they took, they found an immenſe quantity of ſilver; and proper care being taken to prevent embezzlements, Montagu returned with the booty and part of the fleet to England, carrying with him the ſon of the marquis de Badajox priſoner, his father, a Spaniſh Weſt India governor, his mother and ſiſter, being burnt to death in the engagement: but himſelf was nobly treated and ſympathized with by Montagu.

While the Engliſh nation was thus acquiring glory abroad, at home Cromwell continued to rule with deſpotic ſway: he had deprived Harriſon, Overton, Rich, Okey, and others, of their commiſſions, becauſe they had great influence in the army, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed him from the time of his aſſuming the office of protector: on the other hand, conſcious of his own unpopularity, he endeavoured to engage the affections of the people by an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. The benches were filled with judges of incorruptible integrity, who gave their deciſions without reſpect of perſons; and he laid aſide his major-generals, who had now incurred the hatred and reſentment of the whole nation. And now thinking that he had eſtabliſhed his authority on a firm foundation, and that, in order to make it as laſting as it was extenſive, it wanted nothing but the conſent of a national aſſembly; he therefore convoked a parliament: but as he had no great confidence in the good-will of the people, he employed every art to influence the electors, and to fill the houſe with his own creatures. By thoſe and many other arts and contrivances the protector ſecured an undiſputed majority, and fully imagined he ſhould now be able to accompliſh all his ambitious projects.

Among the firſt acts paſſed by this obſequious parliament, which ſat down on the ſeventeenth of September this year, was one "for renouncing and diſannulling the title of Charles Stuart unto the ſovereign dominions of the nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland." This was the firſt act of that nature which had the leaſt appearance of a parliamentary ſanction. An act was alſo paſſed "for the ſecuring his highneſs the lord protector's perſon, and the continuance of the nation in ſecurity and peace." This act was occaſioned by the diſcovery of a plot ſome time before, that had been entered into by the Fifth Monarchy men, or Anabaptiſts as ſome call them, among whom was major-general Harriſon, to depoſe Cromwell; but it was timely diſcovered by the vigilance of the protector's ſpies; as was alſo another conſpiracy formed this year againſt his life by one Miles Sandercome, a leveller. In a word the members of this parliament proceeded in every thing juſt as Cromwell would have them: they approved of the war with Spain, and granted large ſums of money for carrying it on; and, after they had ſat ſome months, a formal motion was made by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for advancing Cromwell to the royal dignity: this propoſal occaſioned great diſorders, and threw the whole houſe into parties. The chief oppoſition proceeded from the major-generals, and ſuch officers as were attached to their intereſt. Lambert, Deſborough, and the other officers, made no ſcruple openly to declare, that if Cromwell accepted the crown, they would inſtantly reſign their commiſſions, and would no longer have it in their power to ſerve him: but, notwithſtanding all their oppoſition, the motion was approved by a great majority in the houſe; and a bill was brought in and paſſed, on the fourth of April following, for that purpoſe.

Cromwell was undoubtedly deſirous of obtaining the crown; and it was more than probable that the motion for offering him the title of King, was made with his own knowlege, and carried through by the intereſt of his dependents in the houſe; but he was extremely diſconcerted by the oppoſition of Lambert and the other officers. He dreaded a mutiny in the army, and indeed a general inſurrection throughout the whole kingdom; he therefore declined accepting the regal title, when it was firſt offered him by a committee of the houſe, and deſired ſome time to conſider of it. Hereupon another committee was appointed to reaſon with the protector, and overcome any ſcruples that might prevent him from accepting this offer. The conference laſted for ſome weeks, all which was apparently done to gain time, in order to bring the army to approve of the deſign; which Oliver finding he could not do, he, with great ſhew of humility, on the eighth of May, told the parliament, that he could not undertake the government with the title of King. This plainly implying, that he was willing to hold the reins of government with any other title, the houſe formally confirmed him in his dignity of Protector, and aſcertained his authority by a ſolemn act, entitled, "the Humble Petition and Advice*." Cromwell having obtained this ſanction of his authority, reſolved to conſecrate his title by a new auguration, which was performed on the twenty-

* By this deed, which conſiſted of forty-two articles, the authority of the protector was in ſome things augmented, in others it was conſiderably diminiſhed. He was empowered to name his ſucceſſor; he had a perpetual revenue ſettled on him of

Chriſtina; and that princeſs, tired of the fatigues of royalty, had reſigned the crown to her kinſman Charles Guſtavus, who trod in the ſteps of the great Adolphus, and carried his arms to the ſouth ſide of the Baltic.

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Whether the protector was provoked at this incident, or whether he was cajoled and encouraged by Mazarine, is not now to be determined; what we know for certain is, that he reſolved to adhere to the intereſts of France, and to declare war againſt the Spaniſh monarchy. The king of Spain (Philip VI.) had by this time gotten intelligence that the great naval preparations making in England were deſigned to make an attempt upon his dominions in the Weſt Indies; and therefore, after having diſpatched expreſſes into thoſe parts, to put them upon their guard, he ſent the marquis de Leda in a ſpendid embaſſy to the protector, to divert or prevent the proſecution of his hoſtile deſigns. The marquis arrived at London on the twenty-ſecond of May, 1655, but had ſo cold a reception, and was ſo much diſcouraged in his negociation, that he quickly returned home.

In the mean while a ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips, having on board Venables, with five thouſand ſoldiers, ſet ſail for the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, under the command of admiral Penn, to whom Cromwell delivered his orders ſealed up, that he ſhould not know their purport till he had reached a certain latitude: by theſe he was directed to make a deſcent upon the iſland of Hiſpaniola, and attack the capital, St. Domingo. They arrived there in ſafety and good health; but, by ſome miſconduct in landing the troops, the deſign miſcarried, and they were repulſed to their ſhips with great loſs. In order to make ſome amends for this miſcarriage, the fleet ſailed to Jamaica, which they conquered almoſt without oppoſition, and took poſſeſſion of it in the name of the Engliſh republic, on the ſecond of June, 1655. Having left ſome troops on this iſland, they returned to England about the beginning of September; and the protector was ſo exaſperated at their having failed in their attempt upon Hiſpaniola, that he ordered Penn and Venables to be ſent to the Tower; from whence, however, they were not long after releaſed. In the mean time care was taken to reinforce the garriſon of Jamaica, and that colony ſoon after became what it ſtill continues, a flouriſhing and wealthy colony.

The king of Spain was no ſooner informed of theſe hoſtilities, than he iſſued orders for confiſcating all the effects belonging to the Engliſh in his dominions, and the Spaniſh trade thereby fell into the hands of the Dutch, who were thereby ſoon indemnified for the loſſes they had ſuſtained in the war with England. On the twenty-third of October, this year, Oliver publiſhed a treaty of peace which he had concluded with France: one principal condition of this treaty was the excluſion of Charles II. and all his relations and adherents, out of the king of France's dominions. Cardinal Mazarine governed in France, during his ſovereign's minority, as abſolutely as Cromwell now did in England: and having entered into a cloſe connexion with the uſurper, he was determined to deny him nothing. Charles II. had actually ſolicited one of the cardinal's neices in marriage; but the bad condition of the royal fugitive's affairs, which obliged him to take ſo humiliating a ſtep, was the only cauſe of his meeting with a refuſal; and the cardinal is ſaid to have formed the deſign of marrying the very niece he had refuſed to the king of England, to one of Cromwell's ſons. Henrietta of France, the mournful relict of Charles I. and mother to his exiled children, ſaw herſelf reduced to beg of the cardinal to intercede with Cromwell that ſhe might at leaſt receive her jointure. It was certainly the moſt extreme and grievous of all humiliations, to be obliged to ſue for ſubſiſtence to the man who had ſpilt her huſband's blood on a ſcaffold. Mazarine, after ſome few remonſtrances in the queen's favour to the protector, acquainted her that he had not been able to obtain any thing: ſhe therefore continued in very low circumſtances at Paris, with the ſhame and mortification of having implored Cromwell's pity. As to the young king, he having foreſeen what the connexion between France and England would end in, had ſome time before retired into Germany, and lived at Cologne, with the duke of Gloceſter, his younger brother: the duke of York, in conſequence of the above-mentioned treaty, now left the French court, and entered into the army commanded by the prince of Condé and don John of Auſtria, to learn the art of war againſt France, which had thus infamouſly abandoned his family.

Cromwell, immediately after his elevation to the protectorſhip, had ſent the gallant admiral Blake, with a fleet, into the Mediterranean, to chaſtize the corſairs of Barbary, who had committed depredations on the Engliſh traiders: upon this command he exerted himſelf in ſo vigorous and effectual a manner, that thoſe piratical ſtates were obliged to implore the mercy of the Engliſh republic, and to ſubmit to every condition which

* Hume, Voltaire.

her admiral was pleaſed to impoſe, the fame of whoſe valour was now diffuſed all over Europe.

Upon the diſmiſſion of Penn from the navy, colonel Montagu (afterwards the famous earl of Sandwich), one of the commiſſioners of Cromwell's treaſury, was appointed to ſucceed him; and, early in the year 1656, was ſent out with a ſtrong ſquadron to reinforce Blake, and to carry him orders for acting vigorouſly againſt the Spaniards. Having joined Blake in the Mediterranean, the two admirals anchored with their fleet, on the twentieth of April, before Cadiz, and it was deliberated in a council of war to attack that port; but it was judged impracticable, for want of a ſufficient body of land forces: the admirals therefore divided their fleet into two ſquadrons; one under captain Stayner, was left to cruize before Cadiz, with a view to intercept the Spaniſh plate fleet on its return home; the other, under the two admirals, ſtood for the coaſt of Portugal, to revictual and refit their ſhips. On the ſeventeenth of September, captain Stayner diſcried the Spaniſh homeward-bound Weſt India fleet, conſiſting of eight large ſhips. Though Stayner had with him but ſeven frigates, yet he immediately attacked the Spaniards; and, though he could bring but three of his ſhips to act, he took two of the Spaniſh ſhips, ſunk and burnt three, and three eſcaped, according to the account ſent by the admirals to the government of England. In the admiral's ſhip, which they took, they found an immenſe quantity of ſilver; and proper care being taken to prevent embezzlements, Montagu returned with the booty and part of the fleet to England, carrying with him the ſon of the marquis de Badajox priſoner, his father, a Spaniſh Weſt India governor, his mother and ſiſter, being burnt to death in the engagement: but himſelf was nobly treated and ſympathized with by Montagu.

While the Engliſh nation was thus acquiring glory abroad, at home Cromwell continued to rule with deſpotic ſway: he had deprived Harriſon, Overton, Rich, Okey, and others, of their commiſſions, becauſe they had great influence in the army, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed him from the time of his aſſuming the office of protector: on the other hand, conſcious of his own unpopularity, he endeavoured to engage the affections of the people by an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. The benches were filled with judges of incorruptible integrity, who gave their deciſions without reſpect of perſons; and he laid aſide his major-generals, who had now incurred the hatred and reſentment of the whole nation. And now thinking that he had eſtabliſhed his authority on a firm foundation, and that, in order to make it as laſting as it was extenſive, it wanted nothing but the conſent of a national aſſembly; he therefore convoked a parliament: but as he had no great confidence in the good-will of the people, he employed every art to influence the electors, and to fill the houſe with his own creatures. By thoſe and many other arts and contrivances the protector ſecured an undiſputed majority, and fully imagined he ſhould now be able to accompliſh all his ambitious projects.

Among the firſt acts paſſed by this obſequious parliament, which ſat down on the ſeventeenth of September this year, was one "for renouncing and diſannulling the title of Charles Stuart unto the ſovereign dominions of the nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland." This was the firſt act of that nature wnich had the leaſt appearance of a parliamentary ſanction. An act was alſo paſſed "for the ſecuring his highneſs the lord protector's perſon, and the continuance of the nation in ſecurity and peace." This act was occaſioned by the diſcovery of a plot ſome time before, that had been entered into by the Fifth Monarchy men, or Anabaptiſts as ſome call them, among whom was major-general Harriſon, to depoſe Cromwell; but it was timely diſcovered by the vigilance of the protector's ſpies; as was alſo another conſpiracy formed this year againſt his life by one Miles Sandercome, a leveller. In a word the members of this parliament proceeded in every thing juſt as Cromwell would have them: they approved of the war with Spain, and granted large ſums of money for carrying it on; and, after they had ſat ſome months, a formal motion was made by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for advancing Cromwell to the royal dignity: this propoſal occaſioned great diſorders, and threw the whole houſe into parties. The chief oppoſition proceeded from the major-generals, and ſuch officers as were attached to their intereſt. Lambert, Deſborough, and the other officers, made no ſcruple openly to declare, that if Cromwell accepted the crown, they would inſtantly reſign their commiſſions, and would no longer have it in their power to ſerve him: but, notwithſtanding all their oppoſition, the motion was approved by a great majority in the houſe; and a bill was brought in and paſſed, on the fourth of April following, for that purpoſe.

Cromwell was undoubtedly deſirous of obtaining the crown; and it was more than probable that the motion for offering him the title of King, was made with his own knowlege, and carried through by the intereſt of his dependents in the houſe; but he was extremely diſconcerted by the oppoſition of Lambert and the other officers. He dreaded a mutiny in the army, and indeed a general inſurrection throughout the whole kingdom; he therefore declined accepting the regal title, when it was firſt offered him by a committee of the houſe, and deſired ſome time to conſider of it. Hereupon another committee was appointed to reaſon with the protector, and overcome any ſcruples that might prevent him from accepting this offer. The conference laſted for ſome weeks, all which was apparently done to gain time, in order to bring the army to approve of the deſign; which Oliver finding he could not do, he, with great ſhew of humility, on the eighth of May, told the parliament, that he could not undertake the government with the title of King. This plainly implying, that he was willing to hold the reins of government with any other title, the houſe formally confirmed him in his dignity of Protector, and aſcertained his authority by a ſolemn act, entitled, "the Humble Petition and Advice *." Cromwell having obtained this ſanction of his authority, reſolved to conſecrate his title by a new auguration, which was performed on the twenty-

* By this deed, which conſiſted of forty-two articles, the authority of the protector was in ſome things augmented, in others it was conſiderably diminiſhed. He was empowered to name his ſucceſſor; he had a perpetual revenue ſettled on him;

twenty-ſixth of June, 1657, in Weſtminſter-hall, with the like pomp and magnificence as at a coronation. Then the parliament adjourned itſelf to the twentieth of January. After the adjournment the protector ſtripped Lambert of all his commiſſions, which he beſtowed on his own ſon-in-law, Fleetwood; but he ſtill indulged Lambert with a penſion of two thouſand pounds a year, as a bribe for his quiet and peaceable behaviour. Being thus confirmed protector by the authority of his parliament, and having fortified himſelf by alliances abroad, he began to make it his next care, for the better eſtabliſhing his intereſt at home, to advance his neareſt friends and relations, and to match his children into the nobleſt families: his eldeſt ſon Richard Cromwell, he called out of the country, where he led a private life, to bring him acquainted with a court, and to initiate him into the knowlege of public affairs. Soon after his arrival he prevailed on the univerſity of Oxford to elect him their chancellor, in which honour he was ſolemnly inſtalled at Whitehall. His ſecond ſon Henry Cromwell, he made lord lieutenant of Ireland: his two younger daughters, Mary and Frances, he matched to the lord Falconbridge, and Mr. Robert Rich, grand-ſon to the then earl of Warwick; the nuptials of both being kept with great pomp and ſplendor, at Whitehall and Hampton-court.

According to the conditions of the late treaty between England and France, by which each power was to aſſiſt the other, if attacked by an enemy, the French court ſent this year to demand auxiliary forces from England, to aſſiſt it in its war with the Spaniards in Flanders; which requeſt was readily granted by the protector, and ſix thouſand foot forthwith ordered to be ſent over under the command of ſir John Reynolds, an officer remarkable for his courage and other military accompliſhments, who had been ſome time commiſſary-general of Ireland, under Ireton. The arrival of theſe forces enabled the French to make themſelves maſters of two very important places in the Spaniſh Netherlands, Montmedi and St. Venant: and ſoon after of the ſtrong fort of Mardyke, which afforded them an eaſy paſſage to the conqueſt of Dunkirk, which followed not long after. The fort was by the French delivered into the hands of major-general Morgan and the Engliſh, who fortified it in ſuch a manner, that the Spaniards, ſenſible how much it imported to the preſervation of Dunkirk to recover this fort, made an attempt, with a very numerous body of forces, to take it by ſtorm, but were beaten off with great loſs.

King Charles having reſided at Cologne ever ſince he left France, now entered into a treaty with the court of Spain, by which he was allowed to reſide privately at Bruſſels, with a penſion of ſix thouſand livres a month, and half as much for his brother, the duke of Gloceſter, who, after his father's death, had been ſent to Holland by order of the parliament; beſides, the court of Spain engaged to furniſh Charles with ſix thouſand men as ſoon as he ſhould be poſſeſſed of a good port in England. This treaty being ratified, the king quitted Cologne, and repaired to the Low Countries, at the ſame time that Leopold reſigned that government to don John of Auſtria, natural ſon to Philip IV. Lord Muſkerry, who commanded an Iriſh regiment in France, abandoned that ſervice at his majeſty's deſire, and joined the Spaniſh army; and four other regiments, conſiſting of Engliſh, Scots, and Iriſh, followed their example. About this time there was a plot laid for an inſurrection in England, in favour of the king, and the marquis of Ormond came over to London to favour the deſign; but Cromwell, having notice of it by his ſpies, publiſhed a proclamation for apprehending the conſpirators before they could form a body: the marquis narrowly eſcaped, but Dr. Hewit, ſir Henry Slingſby, Mr. Mordaunt, and ſeveral others were ſeized; and the two former being tried by an high court of juſtice, were condemned and executed.

During the whole of this year the Spaniards were greatly diſtreſſed by the remarkable good fortune of the Engliſh arms, eſpecially at ſea: for in the ſpring of this year, the gallant Blake, who had been for a long time cruizing in the Mediterranean, to intercept the Spaniſh plate-fleet, having received advice that it had got ſafe into the bay of Santa Cruz, in the iſland of Teneriffe, he ſailed thither with his fleet, reſolved to give a good account of them. On the twentieth of April he had an opportunity of obſerving the ſituation of the enemy, whom he found diſpoſed in a very formidable poſture: the bay was defended by a ſtrong caſtle, well furniſhed with cannon, beſides ſeven forts in ſeveral parts of it, all united by a line of communication, and ſupplied with a good number of muſqueteers. Don Diego Diagues, the Spaniſh admiral, had moored his ſmaller veſſels cloſe to the ſhore, and the larger galleons farther off, with their broadſides to the ſea. Blake was rather animated than diſcouraged by this warlike appearance. Favoured by a briſk gale, which blew full into the bay, he inſtantly ruſhed in among the thickeſt of the enemy. After an obſtinate ſtruggle of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to the Engliſh valour, and quitted their ſhips, which were ſet on fire, and conſumed with all their treaſure. The greateſt danger ſtill remained to the Engliſh. They were expoſed to the fire of the caſtle and forts, which muſt, in a ſhort time, have done them conſiderable damage: but the wind ſhifting, ſo as to blow from the ſhore, enabled them to weather the bay; where they left the Spaniards equally confounded at their own loſs, and the happy temerity of their undaunted victors.

This was the laſt and greateſt action of the illuſtrious Blake, for he died on ſhip-board on his return home: the protector, to ſhew his eſteem for his memory, gave him a pompous interment in Henry VII's chapel, at Weſtminſter.

We cannot cloſe the hiſtory of this year without taking notice of the memorable trial of one James Naylor, the great champion and ringleader

of one hundred thouſand pounds a year, a million a year for the fleet and army, and three hundred thouſand pounds for the civil government; beſides what ſums ſhould be occaſionally raiſed by the parliament: and he was allowed to appoint another houſe, the members of which ſhould enjoy their ſeats during life, and exerciſe ſome functions of the former houſe of peers. But he relinquiſhed the authority, which he had formerly claimed, of enacting laws with the conſent of the council; and he engaged, that no member of either houſe ſhould be excluded without the conſent of that houſe, to which they belonged. In other reſpects the Humble Petition was the ſame with the Inſtrument of Government.

of the ſect called Quakers*, who, having ſpread his doctrine, and gained many proſelytes to it, in divers parts of the nation, was more eſpecially taken notice of at Briſtol, and was from thence brought up to London, attended by ſeveral men and women of his opinion, who all the way they came (the women eſpecially) are ſaid to have ſung hoſannahs to him, and to have uſed the ſame expreſſions towards him as anciently the people of the Jews did to our Saviour, when he rode triumphant into Jeruſalem. The parliament took it upon them to judge him themſelves, before whom being convened, he was accuſed of blaſphemy, for aſſuming to himſelf divine honours, and ſuch attributes as were due to Chriſt only; and tho' he uſed many cunning ſophiſms and evaſions to clear himſelf, ſuch as argued him not altogether ignorant of human letters, he was nevertheleſs ſentenced by the houſe to be firſt publicly whipped, pilloried, and ſtigmatized as a blaſphemer; then to be reconveyed to Briſtol, there to be alſo whipped; laſtly, to be brought back to London, to remain in Bridewell during pleaſure; which ſentence was punctually inflicted on him.

The parliament met again according to the adjournment on the twentieth of January, 1658. This ſeſſion, which differed from the other as much as one diſtinct parliament could poſſibly have done from another, gave more diſturbance to Cromwell's ambition and ſafety, than he, with all his policy and foreſight, was aware of.

In the firſt place, the admiſſion of thoſe members who had been excluded the houſe of commons the laſt ſeſſion, and who now returned to their ſeats in conſequence of the following article in the Humble Petition, "that the perſons who are legally choſen, by a free election of the people, to ſerve in parliament, may not be excluded from doing their duties, but by the conſent of the houſe whereof they are members." Cromwell would gladly have eluded this article if he could; but there was no poſſibility for him to do it without coming to extremities with the nation. The next thing which proved prejudicial to his high towering views of arbitrary power, was the erecting of a new aſſembly, intended, in imitation of the monarchical conſtitution, to anſwer to the houſe of peers; but it was not thought proper to give it that name, but to diſtinguiſh it only by the title of the Other Houſe: it conſiſted partly of ſuch whom the protector principally relied upon, in the army and other departments, many of whom were picked out of the houſe of commons, to be called (by his writ of ſummons) to the Other Houſe; partly of the late excluded commonwealthmen, and ſuch alſo of the army whom he thought hereby to win over to his party; and about half a ſcore of the old nobility were nominated, but refuſed to attend. Now in this contrivance, whatever his expectations might be, Cromwell found himſelf wretchedly diſappointed, ſince by the coming in of great numbers of the lately excluded members, and the tranſlation of ſeveral of his warmeſt friends among the commons into the Other Houſe, his intereſt was greatly weakened; and ſir Arthur Haſelrig, and the reſt of the ſtaunch republicans, diſdaining to accept of Cromwell's offered baronage, took their places among the commons, in order by their preſence to ſtrengthen their own party, by which means the republican faction grew ſo powerful, that an undiſputed majority appeared againſt the protector, and the commons refuſed to acknowlege the authority of his Other Houſe, which had been ſummoned: even the legality of the Humble Petition and Advice was queſtioned, as being enacted by a parliament which was deprived of its liberty by a great number of its members having been excluded by military force, for not agreeing to take the oath of recognition.

Cromwell, apprehenſive of ſome ſecret combination between the parliament and the malecontents of the army, determined once more to try a ſtrain of authority, and therefore acquainted the commons, that he expected they ſhould pay the ſame regard to the Other Houſe, and give it the ſame appellation as had been given to any former houſe of peers in England. But the commons, inſtigated by Lambert and Haſelrig within doors, and Harriſon and the fifth-monarchy-men without, paid no regard to his threats or his authority, but again reſumed their ſtrictures upon the late Humble Petition and Advice. Hereupon Cromwell determined to allow them no leiſure for carrying their ſchemes into execution, and therefore, without conſulting any one, on the fourth of February flung himſelf into a mean coach, and going to the houſe ſent for the commons into the Painted Chamber, where, after reproaching them with their factious ſpirit, and charging them with being privy to conſpiracies againſt his authority, and in favour of "the king of Scots (as he affected to call Charles); ſince ſuch (ſaid he) is your purpoſe, and ſuch are your proceedings, I think it high time to put an end to your ſitting: I therefore declare this parliament diſſolved: and God be judge between me and you." "Amen," replied the members, with no leſs vehemence than the protector. Thus was Cromwell driven from one inconvenience to another; from the inconvenience of a parliament that croſſed him, to the inconvenience of no parliament at all, whereby he found himſelf equally ſtraitened for want of thoſe ſupplies of money which he expected. Soon after the diſſolution of the parliament, he caſhiered ſeveral officers of the army whom he thought not ſufficiently devoted to his purpoſe. Reynolds, the protector's

* Among the various ſects produced in the laſt twelve years of civil diſcord and anarchy, one of the moſt remarkable was that of the quakers, which was founded by George Fox, ſon of a weaver, at Drayton, in Lancaſhire. This enthuſiaſt was bound apprentice to a ſhoe-maker; but having a turn to ſpiritual contemplations, he quitted his mechanical profeſſion, and ſtrolled about the country in a leathern doublet, that he might not be interrupted in his ſublime meditations. He wandered in woods, lodged in hollow trees, and read the Bible without ceaſing: at length he believed himſelf inſpired, and began to diſregard the ſcripture as a dead letter. He now aſſumed the character of an apoſtle, returned to the world, and exerted his talents in making proſelytes. The fanatics of theſe times aſſiſted his endeavours with extraordinary ſucceſs. He and his diſciples were ſeized with ſuch violent tranſports of enthuſiaſm as threw them into contortions and univerſal trepidation, from whence they acquired the name of Quakers. Their peculiarities in manners and doctrine are too well known to need any deſcription. They were ſeverely perſecuted, confined in priſons and madhouſes, reviled, ſcourged, and ſet in the pillory; but they ſuffered with ſuch patience and equanimity, as excited the admiration of mankind. They renounced all rites and ceremonies of religion, and pretended to be directed by the illumination of the Spirit. One of this ſect periſhed by attempting to faſt forty days as Chriſt faſted in the wilderneſs. A female quaker appeared naked in the church before Cromwell, the protector, ſaying ſhe was moved by the Spirit to appear as a ſign to the people. A good number believing that the renovation of all things had commenced, threw away their cloaths as ſuperfluities.

ambaſſador and general in France, being unfortunately drowned in the ſpring of this year, in his paſſage to England, was ſucceeded in command by Lockhart, a native of Scotland, who reſided as ambaſſador at Paris*.

The king about this time received a petition ſigned by ſeveral independents, quakers, and anabaptiſts, profeſſing their deteſtation of Cromwell, and offering to riſque their lives and fortunes in his majeſty's ſervice, provided he would aſſent to ſome propoſitions joined to the addreſs. In theſe they demanded that he ſhould reſtore the long parliament, confirm the conceſſions which his father had made in the treaty of Newport, and allow every man to worſhip God in his own way. Charles, who did not reliſh their demands, and had no great opinion of their intereſt, returned a general anſwer, importing he was not of a humour to perſecute any perſon on account of his religion; and that thoſe who were diſpoſed to ſerve him effectually, might always depend upon his favour.

On the third of June, this year, marſhal Turenne, who commanded the French army, undertook the ſiege of Dunkirk, which was but indifferently provided for defence. Don John of Auſtria, governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, drew together all his troops, and amongſt the reſt the Britiſh and Iriſh under the duke of York, to relieve it. The Engliſh under Lockhart were full ſix thouſand at the ſiege, and lay with a brigade of French horſe on the Mardyke ſide, as marſhal Turenne did on the Nieuport ſide, a communication being kept up between the two bodies. After the ſiege had continued about twelve days, intelligence came that don John and the Spaniſh generals were at hand to relieve it: upon which it was reſolved to fight the enemy, and to unite both armies upon the Nieuport ſide. In the mean while the marquis de Leyda, who commanded in the place, made two deſperate ſallies, one upon the French and another upon the Engliſh quarter, but was repulſed in both; and Turenne acknowleged that the Engliſh performed wonders on this occaſion. The junction of the two armies being formed, though Lockhart was very ill of the ſtone, yet he appeared at the head of the Engliſh, who, with the French horſe, formed the left of the army. The Spaniards likewiſe were in two bodies; their left wing was commanded by the prince of Condé, and their right by don John, the duke of York, and the marquis of Caracene: each army conſiſted of about eighteen thouſand, but the diſpute lay between the Engliſh under Lockhart, and the old Spaniſh infantry under don John. Lockhart drew up the men, and formed the attack with the Engliſh upon the flank of the Spaniards, whom he defeated after a very deſperate engagement, in which only two officers of his own regiment eſcaped being killed or wounded: it is certain that the glory of the day was chiefly owing to the Engliſh, who, not content with routing the right wing of the Spaniards, fell upon their left wing, which had put Turenne into ſome diſorder. About two thouſand of the Spaniards were killed and taken priſoners, with the loſs of about two hundred of the Engliſh under Lockhart, beſides great numbers who were wounded. The dukes of York and Gloceſter were preſent in this battle, and ſhewed great perſonal courage, but the Engliſh in the Spaniſh army were far from behaving ſo well as thoſe in the French. The defeat of the Spaniards put an end to their hopes of ſaving Dunkirk. The marquis de Leyda, finding his condition deſperate, made a ſally with all the forces he could collect, but was repulſed with loſs, and received a wound, of which he died in a few days after. On the twenty-fifth of June Dunkirk ſurrendered, and immediately, according to treaty, was given up to Lockhart, who took poſſeſſion of it in the name of the lord-protector of England. Cromwell placed a ſtrong garriſon in this important fortreſs, and made Lockhart governor of it.

While the diſpoſitions were making for the ſiege of Dunkirk, the French monarch, Lewis XIV. endeavoured to cultivate the friendſhip of the protector by every mark of eſteem and regard. Lord Falconbridge, Cromwell's ſon-in-law, was ſent over to Lewis, then in the camp before Dunkirk; and was received with the ſame reſpect which is uſually ſhown by the French court to foreign princes.

Mazarine diſpatched to London his nephew Mancini, along with the duke of Crequi; and expreſſed his ſorrow, that, on account of the multiplicity of public affairs, he could not enjoy the pleaſure which he had ſo long deſired, of paying his compliments, in perſon, to the greateſt man in the world. It appears, however, from good authority, that theſe were not the real ſentiments of the cardinal, who uſed to ſay of Cromwell, that he was no better than a fortunate madman†.

But all the homage paid to his perſon and authority, and all the ſucceſſes which attended his army, were not able to preſerve him from the poignant cares which now preyed upon his mind. Oppreſſed with the burden of public affairs, perpetually apprehending ſome fatal accident in his precarious government, and under continual dread of being aſſaſſinated by the hands of fanatical or intereſted perſons, he felt ſuch a perturbation of ſpirit as left him not a moment's eaſe. He wore defenſive armour under his cloaths, always kept a loaded piſtol in his pocket, and never lay twice in one room. It is ſaid that the death of his favourite daughter, Mrs Claypole, with that of Mr. Rich, his ſon-in-law, and his old friend the earl of Warwick, ſhortened the days of the tyrant: be this as it may, we know that about the middle of Auguſt this year, he was ſeized with the gout, which confined him for ſome days, and ſhifted from his foot into his body; and about the twenty-fourth of Auguſt it appeared he had a tertian ague, upon which, by the advice of the phyſicians, he removed from Hampton-court to Whitehall. It is incredible into what phrenzies of praying, faſting, revelation, and the like, the preachers and retainers about Cromwell's perſon fell during his illneſs: his own imagination, indeed, ſeems to have been ſo tranſported with enthuſiaſtic ravings, that, inſenſible of his danger, he affirmed "that God had reſerved him to greater attempts than ever he had yet undertaken,

* Colonel Saxby, who was a priſoner in the Tower, upon ſome deſign againſt Cromwell, on republican principles, died about this time, and his death was not without ſuſpicion of poiſon. He was a conſtant enemy to the late king and all the royal line, and ſuppoſed to have acted the horrid murder upon him, by cutting off his head, or aſſiſting therein, diſguiſed with a vizor; for upon that action he was promoted from a private trooper to the command of a regiment. † Hume.

ken, and that he was assured he should not die of this sickness." Goodwin, one of his favourite chaplains, had the following expression in one of his prayers, "Lord, we beg not for his recovery, for that thou hast already granted and assured us of, but for his speedy recovery." Nay even Thurloe, his secretary, has the following expression in his dispatch to Henry Cromwell, then in Ireland, "that which is some ground of hope, is, that the Lord, as on some former occasions, hath given to himself (Oliver) a particular assurance that he shall yet live to carry on the work he hath put into his hands." After this frantic stuff coming from the pen of so great a man as Thurloe, we cannot wonder at any thing done or said by the preachers and divines of Cromwell's court; as to himself, I am inclinable to think, with other writers, that in this affair he only acted the hypocrite, as he must know that he hazarded nothing by his prediction of his recovery; for if he did not survive, the rumour of his recovery, which began now to be diffused through the whole kingdom, would keep the minds of men in suspence, and prevent his enemies from coming to any certain resolutions; on the other hand, if he should recover, it would add new credit to his government, and the bulk of the people would actually have believed him to be a prophet.

On the thirty-first of August all the symptoms began to wear a mortal aspect, and the physicians declared he could not withstand the next fit with which he was threatened: the council was no sooner informed of this circumstance, than they immediately sent a deputation to know his will with regard to his successor. He was now become delirious, and altogether incapable of expressing his intention: they asked him if he did not mean that his eldest son Richard should succeed him in the government? A simple affirmative was all he was able to utter. Soon after, viz. on the third of September, he expired, at three o'clock in the afternoon, amidst a storm, so dreadful all over Europe, that it seemed to threaten the wreck of nature, after living fifty-nine years. The day on which he died was likewise much taken notice of, it being the anniversary of his most glorious successes at Dunbar and Worcester.

Historians are not more particular in their accounts of the minute actions of any great man than those of Oliver, and perhaps never man commanded so particular an attention to all his words and ways, deeply politic as he was in all he said and did. We shall endeavour to preserve the middle path between uninstructive brevity and tedious prolixity, in what we have to say of this glorious usurper.

Oliver Cromwell was born at Huntingdon, of a good family of Welsh extraction, their name being originally Williams; but one of his ancestors marrying the sister of the famous Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, in the reign of Henry VIII. a son by that marriage took that name, and transmitted it to his posterity. Oliver made no figure in the world before the breaking out of the civil war. We have seen by what steps and incidents he mounted afterwards to power, which he could not have done, unless he had been endowed with a most extraordinary genius and capacity to discern the favourable incidents as they happened, and dexterously convert them to his own advantage; and with a courage and perseverance in the prosecution of his measures which no danger could appal, no difficulties weary out. After he rose to sovereignty, under the name of protector, though his government was arbitrary, and supported only by military force, he did many things worthy of praise: he encouraged trade and commerce, maintained the honour of the nation, and in many instances shewed himself a magnanimous and intelligent governor. The English nation certainly never made a greater figure abroad since the days of Elizabeth, than it did under Cromwell.

Cromwell was in his disposition morose; he was sober, temperate, parsimonious, though not greedy of another's possessions; he was diligent and punctual in all public affairs. By his dexterous management he kept well with all sects; he did not persecute those of the Romish communion, nor those of the church of England; he had chaplains of all parties; he was an enthusiast with the fanatics, whom he had cheated, subdued, and no longer feared; and would laugh at these with the deists, placing confidence only in the independents, who could not subsist but through him. By this conduct he preserved to the last an authority which had been cemented with blood, and supported by fraud and artifice. Upon the whole, his greatest enemies allow, that had he not employed his great parts to evil ends, and by the most impious and traitorous practices usurped the government which did not belong to him, he might have filled the first posts in it with dignity and reputation to himself, and advantage to his country.

Cromwell was married to Elizabeth, daughter to sir James Bourchier, by whom he had two sons, Richard, who succeeded him, and Henry, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and four daughters, viz. Bridget, married to lieutenant-general Ireton, Elizabeth, to John Claypole, of Northamptonshire, esq. Mary, to the lord viscount Falconbridge; and Frances, to the honourable Robert Rich; all of them ladies of incomparable accomplishments.

Cromwell had a most pompous funeral bestowed upon him, and his body was in all appearance interred in Westminster abbey: but some say it was wrapped in lead, and sunk below-bridge in the river Thames; and others affirm it to have been buried in Naseby field.

Notwithstanding the jarring interests which prevailed at this time, Richard, Cromwell's eldest son, was, immediately on the death of his father, proclaimed protector in London. Far from meeting with any opposition, the whole nation seemed to acknowlege his authority: Fleetwood and Desborough, though secretly discontented with the preference that had been shewn to Richard, as well as to his father, in the government, made the most abject professions of duty to the new protector: Henry Cromwell, Richard's brother, who governed Ireland with great ability, secured him the obedience of that kingdom: general George Monk, who was, with the army under his command, absolute master in Scotland, being greatly attached to his family, immediately proclaimed him in that kingdom: the army, the navy, recognized his title: above ninety addresses were sent up from different counties and corporations, felicitating him on his succession: foreign ministers vied with each other in the usual compliments, and treated him with the same respect as they had done his father. But we shall soon have occasion to see that all this

compliance, eſpecially on the part of the Engliſh, was no better than a deceitful calm, which ſuited the views of all parties, as a breathing-time for concerting their own ends. No one perſon could have been found more unexceptionable for this purpoſe than Richard was; who, not having the talents of his father, could not have the ſame fortune; his ſceptre was not ſupported by the ſword; and as he wanted the reſolution and diſſimulation of Oliver, he knew not either how to make himſelf feared by the army, nor how to manage the different ſects and parties which divided the nation.

Richard ſoon found himſelf treated with contempt, and even inſolence, by his father's council, and therefore thought to ſecure his authority by convoking a parliament, which ſat on the twenty-ſeventh of January, 1659. It conſiſted, like the former, of two houſes, one of which was formed of the principal officers, repreſenting the peers, and the other of deputies from the counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland, repreſenting the three kingdoms; and although there were a great many republicans in the houſe of commons, who held long debates about the Other Houſe, and other points in the Humble Petition and Advice; yet Richard's friends at laſt prevailed, and he was recognized protector by the parliament. But, before it met, ſeveral cabals had been ſet on foot by diſcontented perſons againſt his government. His uncle Deſborough was a republican, and his brother Fleetwood a violent fanatic preſbyterian; conſequently both averſe to the government of a ſingle perſon. Fleetwood was the idol of the army, whom Richard had diſobliged by the promoting ſome officers they diſliked: Lambert and Ludlow, with many other officers whom Oliver had laid aſide, came forth from their retreats, and joined the council againſt the new protector. Some of theſe, under a ſhew of friendſhip, adviſed him to call up to London as many officers as could be ſpared from the regiments quartered in different parts of the country, for the better ſupporting him in his authority, if the parliament ſhould not prove favourable to him.

Richard fell into the ſnare, never ſuſpecting that it was deſigned only to ſtrengthen the combination againſt him, and ordered all the officers that could be ſpared to repair to London. Theſe conſtituted a numerous aſſembly, which met frequently at Fleetwood's houſe, and becauſe he dwelt in Wallingford-houſe, the party were known by the name of the Wallingford-cabal. As ſoon as they were all aſſembled, they aſſumed the name of the Great Council of the Army; and being actuated by Fleetwood, Deſborough, and their aſſociates, they preſented a petition to the protector, demanding "that no member of the army ſhould be ſubject to the civil magiſtrate; and that the officers ſhould enjoy the privilege of chuſing their own general." Richard, ſhocked at their preſumption, and perceiving that their deſign was to make themſelves independent of him, rejected their petition, and even threatened to diſmiſs them from the ſervice, ſhould they make ſuch extravagant propoſals for the future. Had this firmneſs been followed by a proper ſpirit, it might have put an end to all the intrigues of the cabal; but it went no farther than words, and rather encouraged than daunted the petitioners, who preſented a remonſtrance to the parliament, demanding that Fleetwood ſhould be appointed general of the army.

The commons, dreading their deſigns, paſſed a vote, that there ſhould be no aſſembly or general council of officers without the protector's conſent or by his authority; and that no perſon ſhould be permitted to exerciſe an employment in the army, until after he ſhould have taken an oath that he would not interrupt the deliberations of the commons. This meaſure immediately brought matters to a criſis. The officers, conſcious of their own power, reſolved to compel Richard to part with this parliament, ſo unfavourable to their views. They brought up their forces to Whitehall, ſeized all the avenues, and Deſborough, a man of a rough and clowniſh diſpoſition, attended by a ſtrong guard, demanded an audience of the protector, and required him, in the name of all the officers, to diſſolve the parliament. Richard at firſt refuſed; but upon Deſborough's threatening him that they were reſolved to obtain their requeſt by ſome means or other, he complied; and the parliament having adjourned for three days, he publiſhed a proclamation, on the twenty-ſecond of April, 1659, declaring them diſſolved. By this act the protector was conſidered by every one as effectually depoſed.

The council of officers having thus aſſumed the ſupreme authority, began to conſider what form of government they ſhould eſtabliſh; and, after much debate, it was reſolved to retain the appearance of civil authority, and to reſtore the long parliament, which, having brought Charles I. to the block, had been ſo diſgracefully diſmiſſed by Oliver Cromwell, in 1658. This parliament, which was entirely at the devotion of the army, met on the eighth of May in the houſe (having choſen Lenthall their old ſpeaker) to the number of forty-two; and the preſbyterian members who had been excluded, attempted to re-aſſume their ſeats; but they would not admit of ſuch troubleſome aſſociates, and the army ſupported them in their renunciation of thoſe members. This aſſembly was ſo hated for their former tyranny, that the people in general could not forbear deriding them under the denomination of the Rump, in alluſion to their being the moſt inconſiderable and ignoble part of the parliament.

One of the firſt public acts of this parliament, was to ſummon all their members together who were at a diſtance from London, and to publiſh a declaration concerning their meeting, and of their intentions to proceed in the government, without a ſingle perſon, kingſhip, or houſe of peers. They next choſe a committee of ſafety (to which all officers, ſoldiers, and miniſters of juſtice, were to give due obedience), conſiſting of Fleetwood, Haſelrig, Vane, Ludlow, Sydenham, Salaway, and Jones, members of the houſe; to thoſe were added Lambert, Deſborough, and Berry, who were not of the houſe; and Scot, another member: and the time of their continuance was to be for five days, that is, till they could agree upon a council of ſtate.

Richard Cromwell ſtill remained at Whitehall, and many of the Wallingford-houſe officers continued to tamper with him. This came to the ears of the chief republicans; upon which the lord chief-juſtice St. John and ſir Gilbert Pickering were ordered by the houſe of commons to repair

to

to him, to require him to ſign a formal abdication of the government. Had Richard poſſeſſed one ſpark of ſpirit, he had ſtill a fine game to play: the Daniſh ambaſſador, Petrum, offered him any terms if he would declare for Charles, and to bind himſelf and his maſter to make them good. Richard, it is true, had at this time little or no influence in the public councils: but there ſtill was a party in the army who would have been ready, under the ſanction of his name, to have declared againſt the parliament: even Fleetwood and Sydenham, two of the council of ſtate, with ſeveral other members, refuſed to take the oath preſcribed by the parliament againſt the government of a ſingle perſon; and a vote of the houſe paſſed for diſpenſing with their taking it. Several warm ſpeeches had been made in the houſe in his favour, and great oppoſition was made to the promotion of all officers who were known to be enemies to the Cromwell family, or the government of a ſingle perſon. Richard, however, ſigned his abdication, gave in a liſt of his debts, and ſent a very dutiful letter to the parliament, expreſſing his deſire to live quietly under their allegiance and protection.

Thus fell ſuddenly from the pinnacle of fortune, but, by rare felicity, without any hurt or injury, the family of the Cromwells. Richard continued to enjoy an eſtate, which was very ſmall, and loaded too with a large debt, which he had contracted for the funeral of his father. After the Reſtoration, though he eſcaped with impunity, he choſe to retire to the continent, till the ſpirit of party faction ſhould in ſome meaſure be abated. Some time after he returned to England, where he lived to a great old age, not dying till towards the latter end of queen Anne's reign*.

There being a great number of republicans in the army and among the inferior officers, and both Fleetwood and Lambert having been diſappointed in their expectation of ſucceeding Oliver, will account for the ſtrong and early combination againſt Richard. Lambert was ambitious of being a ſecond Cromwell, but as he could not compaſs his end whilſt Fleetwood was general, he complied with the reſt in reſtoring the rump-parliament, in hopes that he ſhould be able to manage Fleetwood as Cromwell had managed Fairfax. But to follow the parliament in their proceedings.

Upon the reſignation of Richard Cromwell, they proceeded to appoint Fleetwood commander in chief; they ordered that all commiſſions ſhould be ſigned by the ſpeaker of the houſe; they voted that Ireland ſhould be governed by commiſſioners appointed in parliament, and recalled Henry Cromwell to London. He obeyed the order with a good grace, though he might have given them abundance of trouble, for he had a great influence among the troops in that kingdom, and was beloved by the people for his mild and upright adminiſtration. The parliament dreading the power of the ſuperior officers, whom they knew were averſe to their government, began to new-model the army; the committee for examining commiſſioners caſhiered many officers whom they ſuſpected, and filled their places with others in whom they could confide: they would have practiſed the ſame method with the troops under Monk, but he was no ſooner apprized of their intentions than he wrote letters to the parliament, complaining of their deſign to ſap his authority, and hinting that it would not be for their intereſt to drive him to extremities. They did not think it prudent to quarrel with an officer of his ability, at the head of twelve thouſand veterans, ſupported by the whole Scottiſh nation; and therefore they recalled the commiſſion they had granted. They continued the tax of thirty-five thouſand pounds a month, which had been impoſed by the parliament during Oliver's protectorſhip; they appointed commiſſioners for the civil government of Ireland, and beſtowed the chief command of the forces of that kingdom upon Edmund Ludlow, an experienced officer and a rigid republican.

We purpoſely omit many particulars of theſe tranſactions, and others in the Journals of the parliament, as their conſtituting a council of ſtate for the more immediate executive power of the commonwealth, the nomination of judges, commiſſioners of the great-ſeal, and commiſſioners of the navy, and colonel Henry Cromwell's letter to the parliament when he ſubmitted to its authority, as not very eſſentially pertinent to this hiſtory.

Fleetwood and his friends were troubled at the reſtriction of his commiſſion, yet he diſſembled his paſſion, and yielded to neceſſity, till a more favourable conjuncture might give him opportunity to enlarge his power; however, both he, Deſborough, Lambert, and many of them, were diſſatisfied with the way of receiving their commiſſions from the hands of the ſpeaker, and would have remonſtrated againſt it; but by enquiring into the temper of the inferior officers, they found them well enough affected towards it, and therefore did not proceed againſt it for that time: and Fleetwood himſelf, to diſſemble his acquieſcence with great ſubmiſſion and proteſtation of obedience to the parliament, received his commiſſion in the houſe, from the hands of the ſpeaker, as did all the reſt of the officers in and about London, who had commands in the army.

The parliament, however, had not ſat long before differences began to ariſe, as uſual, between them and the principal officers of the military. The parliament meditated no leſs than to bring the army under abſolute ſubjection to their authority, while the commanders, aware of their deſign, bent their whole ſtudy to preſerve their poſts and influence over the inferior officers and ſoldiery.

But before this animoſity aroſe to any height, they had information of divers plots forming by the royaliſts, in different parts of the kingdom, with whom the preſbyterians from this time ſeem to have joined, in hopes of freeing themſelves from the reſtraints the independents kept them under. The deſigns of the king's party were, however, fruſtrated by means of the timely intelligence Thurloe, the ſecretary of ſtate, had from Richard Willes, who, being in great confidence with the king and his little court, was entruſted by them with all their cabinet-ſecrets. This man had ſuffered himſelf to be bribed by Oliver, and continually betrayed all the reſolves of Charles and his friends. The only riſing of any conſequence was in Cheſhire, where ſir George Booth having got together about five hundred men, ſeized the city of Cheſter, and publiſhed a manifeſto againſt the parlia-

* Hume.

ment. In the mean time his majeſty removed from Bruſſels to Calais, to be ready if any fortunate event ſhould invite him over; and the duke of York joined him from Breda. Colonel Ireland at the ſame time declared for the king at Liverpool; and Mr. Brooks, one of the members of the long parliament, willing to expiate his former miſtakes, cordially joined with them for the freedom of his country.

The parliament, alarmed at theſe proceedings, cauſed all the horſes in and about London to be ſeized, and all the avenues to the city to be guarded, and ſeveral detachments of horſe and foot to be placed in the roads from the weſt and north-weſt parts of the kingdom. Lambert was ſent, about the beginning of Auguſt, with a brigade, againſt ſir George Booth and his party: the lord Mordaunt, who was ſuſpected of being a principal agent for the king, was ſummoned, on great penalty, to appear; and Brooks and ſome other members of the houſe, whom they ſuſpected to be engaged in the royal cauſe, were, on the penalty of one hundred pounds each, required to attend the ſervice of the houſe. The parliament next ſent to Dunkirk for three regiments, to ſtrengthen the army; and colonel Zanchy brought out of Ireland his regiment of horſe and Axtell's regiment of foot, which landing in Angleſey, marched to join Lambert, who, at his leaving London, had not above fifteen hundred men with him, but by the conjunction of theſe and other troops, on his march, increaſed to about five thouſand. Sir George Booth had not above half that number; and thoſe he had were without any order or diſcipline, moſt of them being noblemen and gentlemen of quality, aſpiring every one to command, whilſt nobody obeyed. Sir George Booth having intelligence of Lambert's drawing near to him, thought to have got a day's march before him into Lancaſhire, to have increaſed his numbers; and to gain time, he and ſir Thomas Middleton ſent a trumpeter with two miniſters, to ſhew the ground of their raiſing an army, and deſired a treaty to ſave the effuſion of blood, to which Lambert agreed, on condition they would firſt lay down their arms, and ſurrender to him the garriſons in their power. To this there was no reply; but ſome of Lambert's men preſſed ſo hard upon Booth, that, at a bridge near Northwich, a ſharp encounter enſued between the forces of each party: the royaliſts defended the paſs very courageouſly, till they were overpowered by numbers. Captain Morris, a gallant loyal gentleman, was killed, and ſome few others of Booth's party; of Lambert's very few fell, and thoſe of no great note. All the vanquiſhed diſperſed themſelves: ſir George Booth and ſir Thomas Middleton made their eſcape; the lord Kilmurry, Mr. Brooks, major-general Egerton, ſir William O' Neil, and others, were taken priſoners, and all the garriſons immediately ſubmitted to Lambert. Sir George Booth was, however, ſoon after ſeized at Newport Pagnel, and conveyed to the Tower of London.

In the mean time Dr. Nicholas Monk, an eminent divine, brother to the general, and a moſt zealous friend to the royal family, came over from Holland to London, in his way to Scotland, where he was ſent to ſee if he could engage his brother to promote his majeſty's cauſe, and was directed to receive farther inſtructions from ſir John Grenville. He firſt applied to Mr. Clarges, brother-in-law to Monk, and communicated his buſineſs to him; and afterwards to Grenville, who much encouraged him in his undertaking, and ſhewed him two letters he had received from his majeſty, one to general Monk and the other to himſelf. Clarges had been ſent by the parliament, upon the reſignation of Richard, to Scotland, to perſuade the general to acknowlege their government, and therefore he did not chuſe to appear openly in this affair, well knowing that the leaſt ſuſpicion of his actions from thoſe in power, might make him uſeleſs to the ſervice he wiſhed well to; however, when the doctor arrived in Scotland, he found means to prevail ſo far on his brother, the general, not a little encouraged by the news of ſir George Booth's ſucceſs, that the latter reſolved to march into England in ſupport of the loyaliſts under arms; but as he had many ſeditious officers in his army, who were ſpies upon all his actions, he was obliged to be very wary and circumſpect in his proceedings; and the news of the fatal defeat of ſir George Booth arriving, he laid aſide for the preſent all deſign of declaring himſelf.

But the ſucceſs which Lambert had met with in quelling the riſing of the loyaliſts was ſo far from eſtabliſhing the authority, that it ſerved only to precipitate the ruin of the parliament. Lambert, conſcious of his own ſtrength, and of the extreme weakneſs of the rump, was no leſs dangerous to them than Booth: he made uſe of a thouſand pounds, voted him as a reward for his ſervice, in bribing the officers under his command, who all ſwore to ſtand true to his intereſts. In purſuance of his advice they framed a petition, and ſent it ſigned to the parliament, demanding that they would comply with the contents of the addreſs formerly preſented by the council of Wallingford-houſe; that they would eſtabliſh general Fleetwood in his command, which, according to his preſent commiſſion, would expire in a few months; that Lambert ſhould be appointed lieutenant-general, Deſborough general of the cavalry, and Monk general of the infantry; that they would take vengeance on thoſe communities which had aſſiſted the enemy in the late inſurrections; and regulate the corporations in ſuch a manner as to exclude from the magiſtracy all ſuch as had expreſſed their affection for a commonwealth. This petition, dated at Derby, was communicated to Fleetwood for his approbation, before it ſhould be preſented to parliament. But ſir Arthur Haſelrig having received intimation of their ſcheme, communicated his intelligence to the houſe; Fleetwood being interrogated on the ſubject, owned the deſign, and three officers, who brought it to town, delivered a copy of the petition to the ſpeaker. The houſe having taken the ſubſtance of it into deliberation, voted, "that to have other officers than thoſe appointed by parliament, would be uſeleſs, chargeable, and dangerous to the commonwealth."

Monk's conduct was all this while ſo impenetrable, that it can only be accounted for by ſuppoſing him to have reſolved to be determined by events, and to chuſe his party as they ſhould preſent. He knew himſelf to be hated on many accounts by Fleetwood and Lambert, and that all their courtſhip to him had proceeded from their fear of what he could do againſt them. He had therefore again and again aſſured the parliament of

his reſolution to ſtand by them at all hazards. At the ſame time his behaviour in regard to thoſe whom he knew to be the king's friends, gave Charles great hopes that he meant him no ill. The parliament however, encouraged by his profeſſions, and extremely incenſed at the above petition, immediately diſmiſſed Lambert, Deſborough, and ſome other officers who had ſigned it; revoked Fleetwood's commiſſion, and appointed commiſſioners to govern the army for a limited time: but the army paid no regard to their acts or reſolutions. Lambert, drawing ſome regiments into the city, ſecured all the avenues to Weſtminſter-hall; and when the ſpeaker arrived in his coach, he in perſon laid hold of the horſes, and, turning them round, very politely conducted him home. The other members were prevented meeting by the like ſtratagem, and two regiments which the parliament had ordered to mount in Old Palace-yard, as a guard to the houſe, finding they could not ſtem the torrent, quietly departed to their quarters.

Thus the rump-parliament was again depoſed by the army, on the thirteenth of October, five months after they had been reſtored. And now there was a ſecond anarchy of a few days, which was rendered tolerable by the army's being kept in exact diſcipline, and by the officers, who had now the ſupreme authority, appointing a council of ten perſons, out of their own body, to take care of ſuch affairs as were moſt preſſing. Then they declared Fleetwood their general, Lambert their lieutenant-general, and Deſborough commiſſary-general of the horſe. At length, on the twenty-ſixth of October, they eſtabliſhed a committee of ſafety, conſiſting of twenty-three perſons, and entruſted to them the government, who were to conſider farther of a ſettlement, "without a king, ſingle perſon, or houſe of peers."

During theſe diſtractions in England, the king, diſheartened by the miſcarriage of every enterprize in his favour, was determined to try the weak reſources of foreign aid; and he repaired to the Pyrenees, where the miniſters of France and Spain were about this time engaged in conferences for compoſing all diſputes between the two crowns, by a final treaty. Don Lewis de Haro, the Spaniſh plenipotentiary, gave the young monarch a very kind and cordial reception, and expreſſed his inclination, had the low condition of Spain permitted him, to furniſh aſſiſtance to the unhappy king. The politic Mazarine, pretending the alliance of France with the Engliſh commonwealth, would not ſo much as deign him an interview; nor could Charles, even by conceſſions that, if true, do him no great credit, obtain aught but empty profeſſions of reſpect and friendſhip. But, while every thing wore ſuch an unfavourable aſpect, blind chance (or what at leaſt we blindly call ſo), by a ſurpriſing revolution, was now preparing the way for Charles to mount the throne of his anceſtors.

Monk, who hated Lambert, no ſooner heard of that demagogue's proceedings in London, and that he governed the army and nation in the name of Fleetwood, than he reſolved to march out of Scotland, with the beſt of his troops, and reſtore the rump-parliament. This meaſure rendered him generally ſuſpected of having formed ſome deep deſigns, either in his own favour, or that of the king, yet nothing certain could be fixed upon, as he all along uſed the moſt profound diſſimulation, and opened himſelf only as circumſtances offered. He now wrote letters to Fleetwood and Lambert, wherein he complained "of their violation of faith to the parliament, and declared his reſolution to endeavour to reſtore them to their power, againſt all oppoſition whatſoever. Fleetwood, Lambert, and Deſborough, were ſtruck with conſternation at this reſolution, ſo peremptorily ſignified to them, and ſent to deſire Clarges to come to them: who, when he came, after ſome queſtion of his knowlege of the general's proceedings (to which he gave very cautious anſwers), they deſired him to go into Scotland, with colonel Talbot (whoſe regiment was then at Edinburgh), to prevail with Monk for a treaty of mediation, to prevent the effuſion of blood: they ſaid they choſe Talbot to accompany him becauſe he was grateful to the general. Clarges was very glad of this opportunity to get away (for he feared to be much worſe treated), and they were ſo preſſing for his departure, that they allowed him but three hours preparation for his journey. Monk, on his ſide, was indefatigable in carrying his deſign into execution: he aſſembled all his officers, the chief of whom he knew to be devoted to his ſervice, having occaſionally, and from time to time, purged his army of all malecontents or ſuſpicious perſons, and laid before them his reſolution to march into England, and reſtore the parliament; to which they unanimouſly gave their conſent, promiſing to ſtand by him with their lives and fortunes: and every precaution was taken by the general and his friends to ſtrengthen themſelves againſt the prevailing faction in England.

During theſe preparations colonel Talbot and Clarges arrived at Edinburgh, on the ſecond of November, with the propoſals for a treaty between general Monk and the committee of ſafety: they were both very well received by Monk, eſpecially Clarges, his brother-in-law, whom he thought himſelf happy to have with him to aſſiſt his deſign. By this gentleman's advice he conſented to a negociation, in order to gain time, and ſent three of his officers, namely, Wilkes, Cloberry, and Knight, as commiſſioners to treat with the committee, though they were expreſly ordered to ſtart ſuch obſtacles as ſhould protract the negociation. They found Lambert at York, with a body of forces, to oppoſe the progreſs of Monk, whom he hated as a rival in military fame and preferment. He ſaid he was ſufficiently authorized to treat with them; but when they demanded the reſtoration of the parliament, he owned he had no inſtructions on that head, and they proceeded to London, where the committee immediately aſſented to all their propoſals. The treaty was accordingly ſigned on the fifteenth of November, both ſides engaging to act vigorouſly in oppoſition to Charles Stuart.

The nation, mean while, had fallen into a ſtate of perfect anarchy; and by refuſing the payment of all taxes, reduced the troops to the greateſt extremities. While Lambert was collecting his forces at Newcaſtle, Haſelrig and Morley entered Portſmouth, and declared for the parliament. A party ſent to quell the inſurrection, were induced by their commander to embrace the ſame intereſt. The city apprentices roſe in a body, and inſiſted on a free parliament. Though they were ſuppreſſed by colonel Hewſon, a man who had once been a cobler, but was now poſſeſſed of a high rank in the army, the city ſtill retained its ill-humour, and

diſcovered

diſcovered marks of the higheſt diſſatisfaction. It even erected a kind of ſeparate government, and exerciſed a ſupreme authority within itſelf. Admiral Lawſon with his ſquadron entered the river, and declared for the parliament. Haſelrig and Morley, informed of theſe events, quitted Portſmouth, and haſtened towards London. The regiments in the neighbourhood of that city, were perſuaded by their old officers, who had been diſmiſſed by the committee of ſafety, once more to eſpouſe the cauſe of the parliament. Deſborough's regiment, which was ſent to Lambert to aſſiſt his friends, no ſooner reached St. Alban's, than it declared for the ſame aſſembly.

Lenthall, the ſpeaker, at the deſire of the officers, reſumed his former authority, and, on the twenty-ſixth of December, aſſembled the parliament, which had already been twice expelled with ſo much contempt and ignominy.

Their firſt ſtep was to annul the act againſt the payment of exciſe and cuſtoms: they next choſe commiſſioners for aſſigning quarters to the ſoldiers: and, without taking the leaſt notice of Lambert, they enjoined the forces under his command to repair directly to thoſe garriſons which were allotted them.

Lambert's ſituation was now totally deſperate; by theſe orders of the parliament his army was rendered entirely uſeleſs to him; and, which was ſtill worſe, the few troops that remained with him, thinking to make their court to thoſe in power, or perhaps to gratify ſome pique of their own, put their general under an arreſt, and he was brought up to London, and committed priſoner to the Tower.

Monk having received a ſupply of thirty thouſand pounds from the Scots, and taken proper precautions for maintaining the peace of that kingdom, entered England on the ſecond of January, 1660. On his way he heard of the diſbanding of the army, as alſo that the lord Fairfax, with ſome of the chief gentlemen in Yorkſhire, were in arms, demanding a free parliament. This was going a ſtep farther than Monk had yet propoſed to do; however, he was received with open arms by the lord Fairfax and all his friends, who had taken poſſeſſion of that city for a free parliament. The rump now grew to be more the public deteſtation than the army had been before, and every ſtep which Monk advanced forwards, occaſioned ſome freſh declaration or aſſociation of the counties for a free parliament. The rump then began to think that they had made the breach between themſelves and the Wallingford officers too irreconcileable; they ſuſpected that Monk had ſomething farther in view than reſtoring them, and would have been better pleaſed had he remained in Scotland: however, to put a good face upon the matter, and if poſſible to ſtop his farther progreſs, the houſe ſent him a letter, wherein they informed him of their having re-aſſembled, and attributed the reſtitution of their authority wholly to his fidelity, care, and courage. This meſſage was far from being pleaſing to the general; on the contrary, he looked upon the event it announced as one of the croſſeſt accidents that could have befallen him. He was under a thouſand perplexities how to act; for by the parliament's over-haſty reſumption of their power, backed with a great army newly returned to their obedience, he deſpaired of being able to compaſs his deſigns, and thought no longer of continuing in arms than till the firſt opportunity ſhould be offered him to lay them down, and retire; for he expected they would not have thought their ſitting ſafe till his arrival in London with his army, and then he would have reſtored all the other members with them, without undertaking to judge the difference between them. Nevertheleſs he found pretences to continue his march, ſtill profeſſing it was purely for the ſervice of the parliament. At Lancaſter he was met by a deputation from London, with an addreſs praying the reſtoration of the members who had been excluded in 1648, when the army put a force upon the parliament, in order to accompliſh their deſigns upon the late king.

In this, and the other numerous addreſſes ſent to him upon the road, the preſbyterians ſeemed to have had a great ſhare; as thoſe ſecluded members were moſtly of the preſbyterian ſtamp, they were deſirous now to reſcue themſelves out of the power of the independents at any rate. Oliver had, indeed, ſuffered their church-government to continue, but with a full liberty to the other ſects, which was their great grievance. The parliament finding that Monk was in no humour to ſtop his march, and well knowing themſelves incapable to give him law, thought it moſt prudent to temporize. Accordingly, on the twelfth of January, an act was voted to juſtify Monk's marching into England; and on the ſixteenth they voted a thouſand pounds a year to be ſettled on him, and that Scot and Robinſon, two of their members, ſhould be ſent to compliment him on the road. Scot and Robinſon were deſigned as no better than ſpies upon Monk, and their obſervation of thoſe who ſeemed to be chiefly in his favour, and reſorted moſtly to him, with the univerſal diſpoſition of the country of England for a free parliament, being communicated to the heads of the faction, gave them great uneaſineſs. His army was not quite ſix thouſand ſtrong: had the members of parliament been united among themſelves, or had they dared to truſt the experienced officers under them, they might have effectually ruined his ſcheme: inſtead of that, upon his approach to St. Alban's, the parliament tamely complied with a letter ſent from him to the houſe, deſiring that the regiments quartered in and about London might be ordered to retire to a greater diſtance, to make room for his troops. Lambert was now in the Tower, and Fleetwood and the reſt loſt their courage, as doubting whether they ſhould be able to preſerve the command over their inferior officers, and therefore tamely acquieſced in the orders of the parliament for leaving London; but the common men were leſs ſubmiſſive, for about four thouſand of them mutinied, and were with difficulty prevented either from joining with the royaliſts in the city, or from marching out againſt Monk. The parliament conſidering this mutiny as a freſh inſult upon their authority, in great terror preſſed Monk to haſten his march, and he entered London the fourth of February. The next day he was introduced to the houſe with great ſolemnity, and received, by the mouth of Lenthall, the public thanks for the great ſervices which he had done his country.

During the late diſtractions, the payment of taxes had been interrupted; and though the parliament, upon their reſtoration, had renewed their orders for all collections and impoſitions, yet ſo little

little authority did they poſſeſs in the nation, that the people obeyed their commands with great backwardneſs and reluctance. The common council of London abſolutely refuſed to ſubmit to an aſſeſſment demanded of them; and openly declared, that, till a free and legal parliament was aſſembled, they would never conſent to make any payment. This refuſal would immediately have deſtroyed the authority of the parliament; they were, therefore, reſolved, upon this occaſion, to make at once a full trial of their own ſtrength and of the general's fidelity.

On the ninth of February orders were given that part of the northern army ſhould be quartered in London; that its poſts and chains ſhould be taken away, and its portcullices deſtroyed: Monk was ordered to execute theſe reſolutions againſt the city, and to ſeize the perſons of ſome of the moſt obnoxious amongſt the citizens, that is to ſay, ſuch as had been loudeſt in demanding a free parliament. Monk knew ſo well how to diſſemble, that he marched into the city, and in part obeyed the orders; but thinking that he ought to make himſelf ſure of one party before he entirely broke with another, he therefore, after ſome ſecret conſultations with the diſaffected citizens, ſent a letter to the parliament, informing them of what he had done, and begging they would mitigate the ſeverity of their order; but the parliament, on receipt of this letter, repeated their orders, that the gates and portcullices of the city ſhould be forthwith deſtroyed by Monk, and they diſſolved the common-council by a vote. On the eleventhof February they voted that no perſon, engaged in any conſpiracy or deſign in behalf of the royal family, ſhould either elect or be elected into parliament. In the afternoon of the ſame day they received a petition from Praiſe God Barebones, ſigned by a great number of perſons, deſiring that every individual of the kingdom ſhould be compelled to take the oath of abjuration*; and returned the fanatic thanks for his affection towards the commonwealth. At the ſame time the commiſſion for the army being expired, a freſh commiſſion was given to Monk, Haſelrig, Morley, and Allured; but it was voted, that there ſhould be a quorum of the commiſſion, who might act without Monk.

That general now began to think he had carried his diſſimulation to the fartheſt ſtretch, having punctually complied with the laſt order of the houſe, to diſmantle the city; and therefore, after making many apologies for what he had done, declaring it to have been purely in compliance with the orders of the odious rump, whom now he ſaid he found to be a ſet of mercileſs unrelenting tyrants, he and his officers joined in a letter to the parliament, peremptorily requiring them to iſſue out writs for filling up the vacancies in their own body, and to declare a period to their own ſitting, ſo that they might make room for a free parliament. After this he threw off the maſk with the parliament, and declared his reſolution to the city, begging that they would join with him in his attempts for the ſettlement of the nation. This declaration turned the late mourning of the city into a rapture of joy, which was demonſtrated by the ringing of bells, illuminations, and bonfires†.

The parliament foreſeeing the approaching danger, reſolved to make another effort for the preſervation of their power; they diſpatched a committee to the general, and endeavoured, if poſſible, to gain him to their ſide; they even went ſo far as to offer him the ſupreme authority. But Monk would not truſt them, and retired to his own friends in the city, where he formed and modelled a new militia, but tho' without doing any farther than declaring for a commonwealth, under a free parliament, and for re-admitting the excluded members. Ludlow, and thoſe members at Weſtminſter who had any ſpirit left, were for adjourning to the Tower; but their motion was diſregarded. In ſhort, on the twelfth of February, the ſecluded members attended the general in a body to Whitehall; from whence, after receiving their promiſe to call a free parliament, and then diſſolve themſelves, he gave them a guard to the parliament-houſe, where they took their ſeats. The leaders of the independent and republican party, ſurprized at the ſudden appearance of the excluded members amongſt them, withdrew from the houſe.

The parliament, thus altered, repealed the act for abjuring Charles Stuart, as alſo the engagement to be faithful to the commonwealth without a king or houſe of peers; paſſed ſeveral other votes tending to the reſtoration of monarchy; and then, having iſſued out writs for calling a new parliament, and appointed a new council of ſtate, compoſed of men of prudence and moderation, they diſſolved themſelves on the ſixteenth of March.

Scot, Haſelrig, and ſome others of the zealous republicans, were greatly alarmed at theſe proceedings of the parliament, which they took to be an inevitable prognoſtic of introducing the king; and though they ſo much affected power as to endure no rival in it, yet they choſe rather to have the general take the dominion of the three kingdoms upon himſelf, than to have the king reſtored, from whoſe juſt reſentment they thought they had every thing to fear. They conſulted privately with ſome officers of the army, whom they moſt truſted; and thoſe approved ſo well of the expedient, that they waited on the general at Whitehall, to treat with him about it; but Monk would by no means encourage any temptations of that kind, and ſent them away with a ſevere reprimand. Probably the experience of Cromwell's fate gave him reaſon to avoid the rock on which that family had ſplit.

Before the new parliament met, Lambert, having eſcaped out of the Tower, put himſelf at the head of ſome diſcontented troops, in Northamptonſhire. But Ingoldſby, being immediately ſent againſt him by Monk, came unawares upon

* The oath was in the following words: "I do hereby ſwear, that I do renounce the pretended title of Charles Stuart, and of the whole line of the late king James, and of every other perſon, as a ſingle perſon, pretending, or which ſhall pretend, to the crown or government of theſe nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, or any of them, and the dominions and territories belonging to them: and that I will, by the grace of Almighty God, be true, faithful, and conſtant to the parliament and commonwealth; and will oppoſe the bringing in, or ſetting up, any ſingle perſon, or houſe of lords, and every of them, in this commonwealth."

† The moſt comical expedients were employed to ridicule that odious aſſembly. At every bonfire rumps were roaſted; and when theſe could no longer be found, pieces of fleſh were cut into that form; and the funeral of the parliament, the populace ſaid, was ſolemnized by theſe marks of hatred and deriſion.

them, diſperſed them, and took Lambert priſoner, who was again ſent to the Tower.

Soon after the diſſolution of the parliament, Monk, by the intervention of one Morrice, a gentleman of Devonſhire, nearly allied to Monk, and one in whom he had always repoſed the moſt unlimited confidence, opened himſelf to ſir John Grenville, whom he engaged to be an agent between himſelf and Charles; and, to diſtinguiſh himſelf above all others of his profeſſion or religion who preſſed for the reſtoration, he ſecretly agreed that Charles ſhould be brought in without any limitation; and imparted to him an important piece of intelligence, which he had caſually learned by the Portugueſe ambaſſador, from which he had underſtood that Charles was not ſafe in the territories of Spain, and that he ought to remove to Breda, becauſe the court of Spain intended to detain him until either Jamaica or Dunkirk, or both, were reſtored to that crown. The reader may eaſily conceive the joy of the king upon this meſſage. Notwithſtanding the high ſpirits in which his followers were, he, and the wiſeſt about him were extremely damped at being in a manner forſaken by all the powers of Europe, with nothing but the proſpect of want before their eyes; he knew that the kindneſs of the Spaniards would ſoon be at an end, when he could no longer be uſeful to their intereſts. He heard of the re-ſettlement of the rump, of their triumphs over the army, of Monk's warm declaration for a commonwealth: and he had been ſo often deceived by the ſanguine hopes of his friends, that they added to his dejections.

The council of ſtate was all this while ſitting, and though Monk daily ſent to, and received meſſages from the king, and now acted under his commiſſion; nay, though Montagu, who was at the head of the fleet, offered himſelf, and all under his command, without any reſerve, to the king; yet ſuch was Monk's caution, that all the officers of the militia, before they were put in commiſſion, were obliged to ſwear ſolemnly to acknowlege the lawfulneſs of the parliament's war againſt the late king. This gave Charles little or no diſturbance: he had by this time removed to Breda, where he received applications from all parts of England, and the court was as ſplendid as if he had been already on the throne. It was with no ſmall ſatisfaction he heard of Lambert's defeat, and his impriſonment, with that of Cobbel, Creed, and others of his fanatical officers; of the quaſhing the meetings of the army; and diſplacing all the ſuſpected officers in the fleet; and, above all, of the favourable proſpect of the elections into parliament. His only difficulty now was, how to comply with Monk's advice, which, in his ſituation, was little leſs than a command, that all might remain in poſſeſſion of what they had; that liberty of conſcience ſhould be granted for all religions; and that an act of grace ſhould be paſſed, ſo extenſive as to comprehend even the murderers of his father. Charles ſhewed both great virtue and great wiſdom, by neither denying nor granting thoſe matters, but referring all to the conſideration of the enſuing parliament. This was very agreeable to Monk; and Grenville received the following letters from Charles, to be by him delivered, viz. one to the general and the army, one to the houſe of commons, one to the houſe of lords (no notice of whom had been taken in the ſummons to parliament), one to the fleet, one to the lord-mayor and aldermen of the city of London, and a declaration for the ſatisfaction of all his ſubjects. The letters themſelves are to be found in all our common hiſtorians, but the ſubſtance is contained in the Declaration for the ſatisfaction of all ſubjects who ſhould return to their allegiance, excluſive of thoſe who ſhould be hereafter excepted by parliament. As to matters of religion, he declared free liberty of conſcience, and that no man ſhould be diſquieted, or called in queſtion, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not diſturb the peace of the kingdom. As to matters of property, liable to actions at law on account of their titles, he leaves to the ſame authority from which they were derived, that of a parliament; and, to quiet the army under general Monk, he promiſed them all their arrears, and to continue the ſoldiers in his ſervice on the ſame pay and condition they then had.

The elections for the approaching parliament, which all this time was carried on in favour of the king's party, being completed, and every thing appearing ripe for the reſtoration, the new parliament aſſembled on the twenty-fifth of April, in two houſes, that of lords and commons. The houſe of lords conſiſted at firſt of no more than ten peers, and all, or moſt of them preſbyterians, viz. the earls of Mancheſter, Northumberland, Lincoln, Suffolk, and Denbigh, the viſcount Say and Seale, and the lords Wharton, Hunſdon, Grey of Wark, and Maynard. The writs that had iſſued being in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England, had made no mention of the houſe of lords; but the latter thought nothing that had happened could diſquiet them, and the preſent temper of the times gave them no reaſon to apprehend any objection.

The houſe of commons choſe ſir Harbottle Grimſtone for their ſpeaker. This gentleman, with other preſbyterians, had gone as far as he could in contributing to the ruin of the late king; but ſtopped when his perſonal death was under conſideration. On the firſt day of their meeting, the commons received a meſſage from the lords; and on the ſecond day Grimſtone, by order of the houſe, gave thanks to Monk for conquering all their and the kingdom's enemies without the effuſion of blood. On the twenty-ſeventh of April they ordered, that the great buſineſs of the ſettlement of the nation ſhould be taken into conſideration on the firſt day of May, to which time they adjourned. It was, in the mean while, generally underſtood that the reſtoration of the royal family was to take place; but how, or in what manner, none had ventured to pronounce: every mouth, however, was now filled with invectives againſt the memory of Cromwell, and in expreſſing a deteſtation and abhorrence of the inhuman murder of their ſovereign.

On the firſt of May, when the houſe re-aſſembled after its adjournment, Mr. Anneſley was the firſt who mentioned ſir John Grenville's having delivered a letter from the king to the council of ſtate; and the houſe being informed that ſir John was at the door, he was immediately called in, and at the bar of the houſe preſented all the letters and the Declaration, which he had from the king. Theſe being ſeverally read in each houſe, both lords and commons concurred in paſſing a vote, "That by the

the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the government ought to be by the king, lords, and commons." It is incredible with what ardour both houſes ſtrove to expreſs their affection and loyalty to the king on this occaſion; but as the moſt ſubſtantial proof of their attachment, they voted a preſent of fifty thouſand pounds to the king, ten thouſand to the duke of York, and five thouſand to the duke of Gloceſter. A committee of lords and commons was appointed to draw up a dutiful and thankful anſwer to the king's letters and Declaration, and to invite his majeſty to return and take poſſeſſion of his dominions.

In a word, every ſtep relating to this important event was taken with ſuch zeal and unanimity, that, according to the expreſſion of the noble hiſtorian of thoſe times†, "one could not but wonder where thoſe people dwelt, who had done all the miſchief, and kept the king ſo long from enjoying the comfort and ſupport of ſuch excellent ſubjects. The king himſelf ſaid, that it muſt ſurely have been his own fault, that he had not ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the throne, ſince every body was ſo zealous for reſtoring him to it."

On the eighth of May the king was proclaimed in Palace-yard, Whitehall, and at Temple-bar, the two houſes attending at the ſolemnity, and the people rending the air with acclamations of joy. The intermediate time between the eighth and the twenty-ninth, which was the day of the king's entering London, was ſpent in preparing every thing for his reception. All imaginable methods were taken for ſtopping the farther waſte of the lands of the king or the royaliſts; and great aſſiduity was ſhewn in ſecuring the perſons of the regicides, and the moſt criminal of thoſe concerned in the late troubles.

The reſpect of foreign powers ſoon ſucceeded the ſubmiſſion of the king's ſubjects: Spain importuned him to return to the Low Countries, and take ſhipping in any of her maritime ports; Mazarine, the lately inſulting and inſolent miniſter of France, preſſed him with the greateſt earneſtneſs to accept of Calais for the ſame purpoſe: Charles civilly declined them both, and after making a tour to the Hague, where he was magnificently received, he embarked on board the Engliſh fleet, which lay to receive him, under the command of admiral Montague; and made his public entry into London on the twenty-ninth of May (his birth-day), where he was received with the moſt extravagant demonſtrations of joy.

Thus was this great revolution effected without any effuſion of blood: but what is ſtill more the object of wonder, is, that whereas ſo much blood had been ſpilt to compel Charles I. to come into terms with his people, to which it is certain he at laſt made large conceſſions, his ſon Charles II. ſhould be received without any conditions at all. Upon this biſhop Burnet, in his Hiſtory of his own Times, tells us that Hale, afterwards lord chief-juſtice, did move, that a committee might be appointed to look into the propoſitions that had been made, and the conceſſions that had been offered by the late king, and that ſomething ſimilar thereto might be demanded of Charles, previous to his reſtoration. This motion was ſeconded, but by whom the biſhop had forgot. Monk, it ſeems, was apprized of ſuch a motion, and prepared for an anſwer to it: he obſerved, that if they ſtood debating and lingering longer before they declared themſelves, he could neither anſwer for the peace of the nation, nor the diſpoſition of the army; that the preſence of the king muſt be immediate; and that being without an army or money, it was as much in the parliament to bind him down to conditions after he was reſtored, as before; and that thoſe conditions, if obtained after the reſtoration, would be more binding, becauſe agreed to by the king upon his throne, and not in a manner under the reſtraint of exile. That the two houſes were afterwards too remiſs in not pointing out the proper limitation of the king's authority, is not to be diſputed; and to that remiſſneſs, ſays the biſhop, may well be imputed all the errors of the ſucceeding reign *.

† Clarendon.

* This æra had the honour of producing the celebrated Milton, whoſe poems do honour to the nation that gave him birth, and indeed to human nature. He was Cromwell's ſecretary for the Latin tongue; though his genius ſeems to have been very little known to his employers, for he is mentioned by Whitlock as an obſcure blind man, very unfit for his office. About the ſame time flouriſhed ſir William Davenant, ſir John Denham, Waller, and Cowley, who, though but indifferent poets, acquired a good ſhare of reputation. The republican principles of the age gave riſe to the Oceana of Harrington, containing the idea of a perfect commonwealth: and the controverſies and abſurdities that deformed religion, encouraged Hobbes to write and publiſh his Leviathan. Among the eminent perſons who died under Oliver's protectorſhip were the famous Mr. John Selden, the great antiquarian; the venerable Uſher, archbiſhop of Armagh, who came over to England a little before the breaking out of the Iriſh maſſacre; and Dr. Harvey, the diſcoverer of the circulation of the blood. Clarendon. Whitlock. Ludlow. Hume.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM

The Reſtoration of King CHARLES II. to the REVOLUTION, which, with the foregoing Part, contains the Tranſactions of Eighty-ſeven Years.

PART XI.

CHARLES II. The third King of ENGLAND of the Houſe of STUART. A. D. 1660.

KING Charles I. being deprived of life by the hands of his rebellious ſubjects, on the thirtieth of January, 1649, in the manner already related, his eldeſt ſon prince Charles, then in the eighteenth year of his age, by unqueſtionable right ſucceeded to the crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, immediately on that fatal event. Proclamation and coronation, the uſual ceremonies attending royal ſucceſſion, could not then have their due courſe, nor are they in this kingdom neceſſary circumſtances of monarchy; for by our law, which admits of no interregnum, the ſucceſſor to the crown has all the rights thereof from the firſt moment of the death of his predeceſſor. We are to conſider Charles II. therefore, at the time of his reſtoration, in the twelfth year of his reign.

With monarchy the ancient order and diſcipline was reſtored both in church and ſtate, and a round of magnificence and pleaſures ſucceeded the gloomy ferocity which had ſo long taken poſſeſſion of all minds. Charles introduced an exceſs of gallantry and diverſions into the palace, yet ſtained with the blood of his father. The independents were ſhortly heard of no more; the puritans hid themſelves; the ſpirit of the Engliſh nation underwent ſo total a change, that the late civil war became a ſubject of ridicule: the auſtere and gloomy ſectariſts, who had filled the kingdom with their enthuſiaſtic notions, were now the butts of raillery to the gay and licentious courtiers. Cautious deiſm, which the king himſelf ſeemed openly to profeſs, became the reigning religion among the many others then in the kingdom.

If we would know the ſource of the principal events of this reign, it will be neceſſary to conſider not only the character of Charles II. but that of the duke of York his brother, who bore the chief ſway in the royal councils.

King Charles was endowed with many engaging qualities and excellent talents, which might have rendered his reign glorious, if he had made a better uſe of them. He was affable and good-natured, had a ſurpriſing ready wit, a ſolid judgment, and a deep penetration. But his other qualities were by no means correſpondent: he was careleſs, indolent, and ſo immoderately addicted to pleaſure, that he would ſacrifice any thing to it, even the good of his kingdom. His court was filled with his miſtreſſes, and his whole time and treaſure were in a manner devoted to them: add to this, that, though he had embraced the popiſh religion abroad, in hopes of having the aid of the catholic princes towards the recovering the throne of his anceſtors; yet he was ſo totally indifferent to all religion, that he mattered not whether popery or proteſtantiſm was the religion of England, ſo that he could be left to purſue his pleaſure unmoleſted.

James, duke of York, the king's eldeſt brother, was of an active, violent, and vindictive temper, and ſuch a confirmed bigot to popery, that he would

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would ſtick at nothing to promote its eſtabliſhment; and with this view laboured to extend the prerogative, and to eſtabliſh an arbitrary government. This then, joined with the indolence of the king, of which the duke of York made his advantage to favour the ſchemes he had formed, was the chief occaſion of the diſtractions and animoſities in the latter part of this reign; for it was ſome time after the Reſtoration, and as it were by inſenſible degrees, that theſe deſigns diſcovered themſelves. After theſe remarks, it will be no longer neceſſary to detain the reader with any occaſional comments on the principal tranſactions and events we are now about to relate.

Charles had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the throne, than he began to turn his attention towards the affairs of the public. The firſt object that ingroſſed his care was the choice of his council, into which were admitted the moſt ancient men of the nation, without diſtinction of parties. The preſbyterians, as well as the royaliſts, ſhared this honour; Anneſley was made earl of Angleſey; ſir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, lord Aſhley; Denzil Holles, lord Holles; the earl of Southampton, lord-treaſurer; Edward Montagu, who had been one of Cromwell's admirals in conjunction with Blake, was made commander in chief of the fleet, and ſhortly after earl of Sandwich; George Monk, who had been made a knight of the garter at the king's landing, was continued general of all the forces, and created duke of Albemarle *. Sir Edward Hyde, a ſworn enemy to the preſbyterian party, and who had conſtantly attended the king in his exile, was created earl of Clarendon, and made high-chancellor and prime miniſter; the marquis, created duke of Ormond, ſteward of the houſhold; the earl of Mancheſter, lord high chamberlain; ſir Edward Nicholls and Sir William Morrice, ſecretaries of ſtate; and in order to gratify the preſbyterians, Calamy and Baxter, two of their favourite prelates, were appointed the king's chaplains.

As the parliament had been ſummoned without the king's conſent, they received on his arrival only the title of Convention; but two days after, viz. May 31, the king went to the houſe, and gave his aſſent to an act for changing the convention into a parliament.

In the next place, ſpecial care was taken for the committing all military as well as civil affairs of great truſt, into the hands of ſuch perſons as were judged moſt faithful to the king's ſervice; ſo that the governments of all the moſt important fortreſſes in the kingdom, and the firſt commands of the ſeveral regiments of the army, were by the lord-general conferred upon ſuch lords and other perſons of honour as the king was pleaſed to recommend unto the lord-general for that purpoſe, until the army could conveniently be diſbanded. Likewiſe, for the further ſettling of the militia of the nation, noblemen of the firſt rank and abilities were conſtituted lord-lieutenants of the ſeveral counties, each having under him, as deputy-lieutenant, ſuch gentlemen of the ſame counties as had been moſt eminent for their loyalty and affection to his majeſty and his royal houſe.

The king, in his declaration from Breda, had promiſed an indemnity to all criminals, but ſuch as ſhould be excepted by parliament. He now iſſued a proclamation, importing, that ſuch of the late king's judges as did not ſurrender themſelves within fourteen days, ſhould have no pardon. Nineteen complied with this proclamation; ſome were taken in attempting to eſcape; others fled to the continent.

The act of obliviion or indemnity hung for ſome time in the houſe, owing to the oppoſition of the lords, who, enraged by the cruel treatment they had received from the republican party, were determined, beſides the late king's judges, to condemn every one who had ſat in any high court of juſtice; and this rigor made them begin to ſuſpect that there was ſome court intrigue to invalidate the king's merciful declaration; but his majeſty ſoon removed their ſcruples. He came to the houſe of peers, and in the moſt pathetic terms preſſed them to paſs the general indemnity. He alſo ſent repeated meſſages to both houſes to the ſame purport. At length the act paſſed, and received the royal aſſent on the 29th of Auguſt. Thoſe who had an immediate ſhare in the late king's death were then executed: even Cromwell, Ireton, Pride, and Bradſhaw, and twenty others already dead, were attainted, and their eſtates confiſcated. Philips and Haſelrig underwent the ſame fate. Hutchenſon and Laſcelles were condemned in a fine, and declared incapable of exerciſing any employment. Vane and Lambert, two more of the king's judges, were likewiſe excepted. St. John and ſeventeen perſons more were deprived of all benefits from this act, if they accepted or executed any office, either eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military. All who had ſat in any illegal high court of juſtice, were diſabled from bearing office. In a few days the regicides were tried and condemned. The indignation entertained againſt the atrocious crime which thoſe men had committed, made the people rejoice and triumph in their puniſhment; while they, on the other hand, juſtified what they had done to the laſt, and looked upon themſelves as martyrs in a glorious cauſe. Lambert, who was tried and condemned at the ſame time, was reprieved from death, but impriſoned for life in the iſland of Guernſey. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradſhaw, and Pride, were taken up and hanged for a whole day at Tyburn, and then buried under the gallows. This may be true as to the three laſt, but whether the body taken up for Cromwell's was really his, may be doubted, from the uncertainty of the place of his burial, as before mentioned.

At the ſame time that the king paſſed the act of indemnity, he gave his aſſent to an act for a perpetual anniverſary thankſgiving on the twenty-ninth of May, the day of his arrival in England. Mean while the parliament were employed in ſettling the

* As alſo earl of Torrington, baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchampe, and Teyes, and ſummoned by writ to the houſe of peers. The titles of Albemarle and Beauchampe were conferred on him, becauſe he was deſcended from Margaret, one of the daughters and coheirs of Richard Beauchampe, earl of Albemarle and Warwick, who was married to the famous warrior John Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, well known in France in the reign of Henry V. whoſe ſon, John, had one daughter, married to Edward Grey, viſcount Liſle; whoſe daughter and heir, Elizabeth Grey, was married to Arthur Plantagenet, a natural ſon of king Edward IV. who was in her right viſcount Liſle; and Frances, one of the daughters and coheirs of the ſaid viſcount Liſle, was married to ſir Thomas Monk, great-grandfather to the preſent duke of Albemarle. Dugdal. Baron.

king's revenue. In this work they ſhewed an equal regard for maintaining the liberties of the nation and ſupporting the dignity of the crown.

The tenures of wards and liveries had long been conſidered as a public grievance. During the reign of James ſeveral attempts had been made to purchaſe this prerogative from the crown. In the time of the commonwealth, wardſhips and liveries had been utterly aboliſhed: and even in the preſent parliament, before the king's reſtoration, a bill had been introduced, offering him an equivalent for theſe revenues. An hundred thouſand pounds a year was the ſum which the parliament propoſed; and the king, ſenſible that theſe imports did not yield ſo much profit, readily accepted the offer. Half of the exciſe was granted in perpetuity to the crown as the fund for producing that revenue. Tonnage and poundage, and the other half of exciſe, were ſettled upon the king during life. The parliament went ſo far as to vote that the yearly revenue of the crown, for all charges, ſhould amount to twelve hundred thouſand pounds; a ſum greater than any Engliſh monarch had ever before enjoyed. This revenue, however, was only voted: no funds were appointed, which would furniſh above two thirds of that ſum: the fulfilment of theſe engagements was left to the future conſideration of parliament.

To diſband the forces, ſo formidable by their numbers and valour, and ſo much accuſtomed to violence and outrage, was abſolutely neceſſary for the public tranquility; and, in order to enable his majeſty to effect that purpoſe, an aſſeſſment was impoſed of ſeventy thouſand pounds a month. Having taken theſe ſteps towards compleating the ſettlement of the nation, the parliament thought proper to adjourn on the thirteenth of September, to the ſixth of November following*.

In the midſt of the joy for the Reſtoration, the king and the kingdom met with a ſenſible loſs in the death of Henry, duke of Gloceſter, his majeſty's younger brother, which happened on the thirteenth of September, in the twenty-firſt year of his age. The king was never ſo deeply afflicted by any incident of his life: Gloceſter was a young prince of many amiable qualities, had a clear judgment and a quick perception, and was warmly attached to the religion and conſtitution of his country; a quality in which his two brothers, the king and the duke of York, were unhappily very deficient.

The hierarchy, which had ſuffered the ſame fate with the monarchy, was now to be reſtored with it. His majeſty judging the form of church-government which had been eſtabliſhed in England, from the time of the Reformation until the late troubles, to be the moſt ancient and decent way of worſhip and diſcipline, and tending to uniformity in religion, made it one of his firſt buſineſſes to reſtore the late extruded epiſcopacy to the dignity and authority they formerly exerciſed in the church of England; to which end he ſpeedily proceeded to the nomination of ſuch perſons as were moſt eminent for their piety and learning, for ſupplying thoſe ſees which were become vacant ſince the firſt time of the abrogation of their power. Reynolds, Calamy, Baxter, Moreton, Bates, and Bowles, all eminent preſbyterian miniſters, were offered biſhoprics and deaneries, though none accepted but Reynolds, who was made biſhop of Norwich.

In October the princeſs dowager of Orange came over to England, to congratulate the king her brother on his reſtoration; and the queen-mother arrived in the following month, bringing with her the princeſs Henrietta, her youngeſt daughter, who, by the king her brother's conſent, was married to the duke of Orleans. The princeſs of Orange had been but about two months in England, when ſhe was taken ill of the ſmall-pox, and died on the twenty-fourth of December, leaving only one ſon, William, prince of Orange, about ten years old, who was afterwards king of England by the name of William III.

The king now thought it high time to ſettle the peace of Scotland as well as that of his other dominions; and in order thereunto he ſummoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh on December 12, and, by his proclamation in that kingdom, ſignified to all, that he relied ſo much on the loyalty, prudence, and care of his parliament, as abſolutely to commit to them the trying and judging the conduct of his ſubjects during the late troubles, concerning which he declared himſelf ready to receive addreſſes and informations from his parliament or committee of ſtate in Scotland, and no others; at the ſame time he aſſured them in the ſtrongeſt terms, that he deſired nothing ſo much as that his people ſhould be ſettled in happineſs, peace, and plenty, under his government; and that his own honour and the ancient prerogatives of the crown being vindicated, he purpoſed to grant a full and free pardon, by an act of indemnity.

For the government of Ireland, he made ſir Maurice Euſtace Kerl lord-chancellor, Roger, earl of Orrery, lord-preſident of Munſter, and Charles Coote, earl of Montrath, lord preſident of Connaught, lords high-juſtices of that kingdom, who governed affairs there with great credit and moderation.

* Upon this occaſion his majeſty gave the royal aſſent to fourteen private and eight public acts; among the latter was the famous Act of Navigation, entitled, "An act for encouraging ſhipping and navigation, wherein it is enacted, that, from the firſt of September, 1660, no commodities ſhall be imported or exported out of any lands, iſlands, plantations, or territories, belonging unto, or which may belong to his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, in Aſia, Africa, or America, in any other veſſel but ſuch as ſhall belong unto the people of England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick, or are of them built, or do belong to them as the right owners, and whereof the maſter and three fourths of the mariners are Engliſh; and under penalty of all the goods imported or exported in other veſſels, with all their guns, furniture, tackle, ammunition, and apparel, one third to his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors; one third to the governor of ſuch lands, iſlands, plantations, or territories, in caſe the ſhip or goods be there ſeized; and the other third part to him that ſhall ſeize, inform, or ſue for the ſame, in any court of record, by bill, information, plaint, or action, wherein no eſſoign, protection, or wager of law ſhall be allowed. And all captains or commanders at ſea, by commiſſion from the king, or his ſucceſſors, are required to bring in all ſhips or veſſels ſo offending, and deliver them into the court of admiralty, there to be proceeded againſt; and in caſe of condemnation, one moiety is to be divided to the uſe of the admiral and commander, and their companies, according to the rules in caſe of a prize; and the other to the king and his ſucceſſors. With many other clauſes and proviſoes, tending much to the advancement of the Engliſh manufacture.

After

After an interval of near two months, the parliament re-aſſembled, and reſumed the conſideration of public affairs. They eſtabliſhed the poſt-office, wine-licences, and other branches of the revenue; they continued the aſſeſſment of ſeventy thouſand pounds per month, for paying the arrears of the army. Buſineſs being conducted with great unanimity, as ſoon as finiſhed, and after a ſeſſion of near ten months, the king, in a ſpeech full of the moſt gracious expreſſions, thought proper to diſſolve them on the twenty-ninth of December.

The confidence the people had in the king, from the extraordinary good opinion they had been prepoſſeſſed with in his favour, and their tranſports of joy at being delivered from the late confuſions and diſtractions by means of his reſtoration, will account for the exceſſive complaiſance that was ſhewn to the court, at the beginning of this great event, ſo that the parliament could ſcarce deny the king any thing: we wiſh that a regard to truth would permit us to conceal, that the ill uſe made of this confidence was the great cauſe of the oppoſition that was afterwards made to the court.

Sir Edward Hyde, whom the king had lately created earl of Clarendon, was generally conſidered as his majeſty's chief counſellor; and ſo long as the advice of that able ſtateſman was followed, the conduct of Charles, in moſt reſpects, may be ſaid to be unexceptionable. He now applied himſelf to the paying and diſbanding the army. When he reviewed theſe veteran troops, he was charmed with their beauty, order, diſcipline, and martial appearance; and thinking, as was too natural, that regular forces were a neceſſary implement of royalty, he expreſſed a deſire of ſtill retaining them in his ſervice. But the chancellor ſet before him the dangerous conſequences of ſuch a meaſure. All the forces, therefore, were immediately diſbanded, except a few guards and garriſons, amounting to a thouſand foot. This was the firſt appearance, under the monarchy, of a regular ſtanding army in England. The fortifications of Glouceſter, Taunton, and ſome other towns, which had oppoſed the king during the civil wars, were likewiſe diminiſhed.

Clarendon was now cloſely connected with the royal family. His daughter Anne Hyde, a woman of great beauty and ſpirit, had hearkened, while abroad, to the addreſſes of the duke of York, and, under promiſe of marriage, had indulged him in the privileges of a huſband. Her pregnancy appeared ſoon after the Reſtoration; and though the duke ſeemed unwilling to contract ſo unequal an alliance, the king, in pity to his friend and miniſter, who had been totally unacquainted with theſe engagements, compelled his brother to eſpouſe her. Clarendon expreſſed great uneaſineſs at the honour which had been beſtowed upon him; and frequently ſaid, that, by being raiſed ſo much above his rank, he thence apprehended a more terrible downfall*.

Of all the manifold ſects and ſeparations that ſprung up from the licentiouſneſs and anarchy that prevailed during the late civil war, there were ſcarce any that dreaded not the name of monarchy, as apprehending the conſequence thereof to tend to uniformity in church and ſtate. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that they who had ſet themſelves up as profeſſed enemies to the king and his right of government, ſhould, after his coming in, be agitated with a reſtleſs ſpirit of impatience and diſaffection, which was ever and anon breaking forth in ſuch attempts as, had not a timely ſtop been put to them, by the prudent and vigilant care of his majeſty and his council, might have embroiled the nation in a new civil war. The firſt alarm was given by the fifth-monarchy-men, a ſet of people, however ſo called, the moſt inveterate enemies to the ancient ſettled monarchy of the nation, of all the whole Hydra. Of theſe, about fifty or ſixty wretches broke forth into open hoſtility, under the conduct of one Thomas Venner, a cooper, a frantic enthuſiaſt, who had often attempted the life of Cromwell. That which firſt gave him and his followers a pretence for their treaſon, was the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy, which they loudly exclaimed againſt, as alſo againſt all oaths in general. The madneſs of theſe men went ſo far as to expect the perſonal reign of Chriſt upon earth; they believed that they and the reſt of their ſect were called by God to reform the world, and make all the earthly powers (which they termed Babylon) ſubſervient to the kingdom of king Jeſus; and in order thereunto they were never to ſheathe the ſword till the carnal powers of the world became a hiſſing and a curſe; and in the frenzy of their zeal they taught and believed, that one of them was alone ſufficient to ſubdue ten thouſand of their adverſaries; and had very gravely planned, after having led captivity captive in England, to march into France, Spain, Germany, and other parts of the world, there to proſecute their holy deſign.

On Sunday the ſixth of January, 1661, they ſallied forth, in number about ſixty perſons, completely armed, from their meeting in Coleman-ſtreet, and firſt marched to St. Thomas Apoſtle's, to call ſome of their party, and from thence to Biſhopſgate, and afterwards to White-croſs-ſtreet.

Sir Richard Brown, the lord-mayor, having notice of their being abroad, got together ſome files of the trained-bands, but not ſufficient, as was ſuppoſed, to make any impreſſion upon them, they being imagined more numerous than they were; by which means they eſcaped to St. John's Wood, and from thence to Cane Wood, between Highgate and Hampſtead.

By this time the alarm being come to Whitehall, and the general's regiment drawn up, the duke of York and he, with the earl of Oxford and ſome others, and a detachment of the guards, marched into London, where they were informed the rebels were diſperſed, except a party that was ſeen to go towards Cane Wood, whither ſir Thomas Sandys was ſent, with a party of the guards and a company of foot; but, by the darkneſs of the night, they got away: and on the Wedneſday morning came again into the city, and divided themſelves into two parties, one whereof, about five or ſix in the morning, appeared about Leadenhall, and from thence marched to Little Eaſtcheap, where they fought obſtinately enough, but were diſperſed by the trained bands. Venner and another party came to my lord mayor's houſe, thinking to have taken him priſoner; but miſſing him, they marched into Woodſtreet, where they were met by colonel Cor-

* Hume. Burnet.

bet,

bet, and about twenty horſe. Corbet and nine of his party charged through the rebels and broke them, whereby the trained band foot had little more to do than to purſue them. They fought with courage to admiration; and if they had not been hindered by the care of the lord-mayor from increaſing their numbers, a thouſand men ſo reſolved might have cauſed ſuch a diſturbance in the city, as might have had an influence much further. Venner himſelf was very much wounded before he was taken, and about five or ſix killed that refuſed quarter; of which ſome of them were ſo obſcure, that their names were not known: and about eight or ten days after, Venner, with about ſixteen or ſeventeen of the moſt notorious, were arraigned at Juſtice-hall in the Old Bailey, found guilty, and executed in ſeveral parts of London. This inſurrection ſerved as an handle to the court to ſuppreſs the preſbyterians, and all other ſects, who were begun to be confounded under the general name of Diſſenters and Nonconformiſts.

Meaſures had been taken laſt year to ſuppreſs the kirk party in Scotland, and this year epiſcopacy was reſtored in that kingdom, and the parliament there, wholly devoted to the court, abrogated the ſolemn league and covenant, the idol of the majority of the Scottiſh nation, and made ſeveral acts in favour of the king's prerogative, and againſt the preſbyterians. Sharpe, who was deputed by that body to manage their affairs in England, was perſuaded to abandon their party; and as a reward for his compliance, was created archbiſhop of St. Andrews. The conduct of eccleſiaſtical affairs was committed to him; and as he was eſteemed a traitor and apoſtate by his old friends, he became on that account, as well as from the violence of his meaſures, extremely odious to the nation. As Charles, in his declaration from Breda, had not come under any engagements to the Scots, he reſolved, very ungenerouſly, to take advantage of that circumſtance, and to wreak his vengeance on ſome of thoſe whom he ſuppoſed to be the principal authors of the late commotions. The marquis of Argyle, and one Guthrie, a miniſter, were the unhappy victims.

The preſbyterians, finding themſelves confounded with other ſectaries whom they mortally hated, deſired a conference with ſome of the epiſcopal perſuaſion, in order, if poſſible, to effect a thorough accommodation. A conference was accordingly opened on March 25, 1661, in the Savoy, between twelve biſhops, and as many leaders among the preſbyterians; and great hopes were entertained, that ſome ſcheme might be deviſed which would finally give contentment to both parties; but this conference had the fate uſual with moſt conferences of the like nature: it came to nothing, both parties being too rigidly tenacious of their own way and opinions not to ſay that the party, which ſoever it be, that is uppermoſt, has ſeldom a ſincere deſire of a coalition.

On the 23d of April, being St. George's day, the ceremony of his majeſty's coronation was performed with great ſolemnity in Weſtminſter-abbey; on which occaſion he created ſixty eight knights of the Bath, ſix earls, and as many barons.

Writs had been iſſued for a new parliament to meet on the 8th of May, and the court had influenced the elections ſo ſucceſsfully, that the majority of the members returned were ſtrongly attached to the hierarchy and the royal prerogative. The king, in his firſt ſpeech to both houſes, recommended two bills for confirming the act of indemnity, and made them acquainted with his intention to eſpouſe Donna Catharina, Infanta of Portugal, a match already concluded with the advice of his council.

The commons having choſen Sir Edward Turner, ſolicitor to the duke of York, ſpeaker, immediately proceeded to buſineſs. They paſſed an act for ſecurity of the king's perſon and government: 1. Making it treaſon during the life of his preſent majeſty, to intend or deviſe the king's impriſonment, bodily harm, or dethronement, or to make war againſt him. 2. To call him a papiſt or heretic, or to endeavour by ſpeech or writing to deprive him of the affection of his ſubjects, was declared to incapacitate the perſon ſo offending, from enjoying any employment in church or ſtate. 3. To maintain the indiſſoluble authority of the long parliament, or to affirm that either or both houſes, without the king, are poſſeſſed of a legiſlative power, or that the covenant is obligatory, ſubjected the offender to the penalty of a premunire. The covenant itſelf, together with the act for erecting the high court of juſtice that ſat on the late king and his friends; as alſo that for ſigning the engagement, and that for converting England into a commonwealth, were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the hangman. The cuſtom of petitioning having been ſo much abuſed in the courſe of the former reign, it was now decreed that no more than twenty hands ſhould be ſubſcribed to any petition, without the authority of three juſtices, or the majority of the grand jury; and that no petition ſhould be preſented to the king, or either houſe, by above twenty perſons. The violation of this law ſubjected the delinquent to a fine of an hundred pounds, and three months impriſonment.

On July 30, the king gave his aſſent to the above bills, as alſo to an act for reſtoring the biſhops to their ſeats in the houſe of peers; and to another, declaring the ſole right of the militia to be veſted in the king; and then his majeſty permitted the two houſes to adjourn to the 20th of November, after they had thus reſtored monarchy and epiſcopacy to their full ſplendor, which were now exalted to as great an height as they had ever before aſpired. This parliament was afterwards called the "penſionary parliament," becauſe it was known that many of the members had penſions from the king. How agreeable the proceedings of the parliament were to the court, appears by its long continuance, which was almoſt eighteen years.

The two houſes meeting according to their adjournment, on the 20th of November, petitioned the king to iſſue a proclamation, commanding all reduced officers and ſoldiers to retire to the diſtance of twenty miles from London; then the commons voted 1,200,000 l. for his majeſty's preſent occaſions.

Charles, though perfectly indifferent to all forms of religion, had been ſo rudely treated by the Scottiſh eccleſiaſtics, that he ever after entertained a violent prejudice againſt thoſe of their character and opinions. He was often heard to ſay, that preſbyterianiſm was not a religion fit for a gentleman. Not only the king, but the members of both

both houſes, and eſpecially the earl of Clarendon, hated the preſbyterians, and wanted an opportunity to humble them, under the general term of nonconformiſts. With this view the earl of Clarendon, in a conference between the two houſes, poſitively affirmed that a conſpiracy had been formed ſince the month of March, to interrupt the peace of the nation. He named ſeveral perſons concerned in the plot, the particular circumſtances of which he explained; and ſaid, that although it had been defeated at London by the precaution taken with regard to the diſbanded officers and ſoldiers, it would nevertheleſs be proſecuted in different counties of England. The two houſes immediately appointed a committee to enquire into the affair, that meaſures might be taken to ſecure the peace of the kingdom. This pretended diſcovery was the foundation of the corporation act, which was now paſſed in parliament, ordaining all mayors, aldermen, counſellors, or officers of all corporations, to take an oath, importing, that they did not think it as lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take arms againſt the king; and that they abhorred the deteſtable maxim of arming againſt the king's perſon, under ſhadow of his authority, or even by oppoſing ſuch as acted by virtue of his commiſſion. This was a moſt ſcandalous conceſſion, by which the liberties of England were left at the mercy of regal power. The committee of both houſes proceeded on their enquiry into the nature of the conſpiracy, and the earl of Clarendon made an alarming report of a deſign to ſurprize Shrewſbury, Coventry, and Briſtol. But this plot ſeems to have been no other than a fiction of the miniſtry to pave the way for the act of uniformity; for that was no ſooner paſſed than the inquiry was laid aſide.

Elizabeth, electreſs-palatine, and queen of Bohemia, the king's aunt, and daughter of king James I. who reſided in England, died at London on the 13th of February, 1661-2. She had eight ſons and five daughters, of whom the youngeſt ſurviving, the princeſs Sophia, mother of king George I. was declared heir to the crown of Great Britain in 1701.

On the ſeventeenth of May, 1662, the king gave his aſſent to the act for eſtabliſhing uniformity in the public worſhip, and in the adminiſtration of ſacraments. By this ſtatute, which began to be in force on St. Bartholomew's day, every miniſter was obliged to conform to the worſhip of the Engliſh church, according to the book of Common-prayer, lately reviſed, and to ſign a declaration approving of that ritual, to take the oath of canonical obedience, abjure the ſolemn league and covenant, and acknowlege his deteſtation of the principle of taking up arms againſt the king, or thoſe acting under his commiſſion, on any pretence whatſoever. He was likewiſe reſtrained from adminiſtering the ſacraments, unleſs he had been previouſly ordained by the biſhop. By an act regulating the militia, all lords-lieutenants of counties, and their deputies, together with officers and ſoldiers, were obliged to declare upon oath, that they held it unlawful to take arms againſt the king, and thoſe acting by his commiſſion. As another inſtance of the parliament's devotion to the king, the commons voted an annual tax of two ſhillings upon every hearth to his majeſty and his ſucceſſors. This impoſition, joined to the tonnage and poundage, the exciſe, and duty upon merchandize, augmented his revenue to a much greater ſum than had ever been paid to any of his predeceſſors.

In conſequence of the act of uniformity, about two thouſand miniſters, moſtly preſbyterians, but ſome of other parties, for refuſing to conform to the ſaid act, were obliged to quit their livings in the church. Theſe and ſome other acts being paſſed, the parliament was prorogued to February 13, 1662-3.

Before the end of the ſeſſion, the court was employed in making preparations for the reception of the new queen, Catherine of Portugal, to whom the king was affianced, and who landed in the beginning of May at Portſmouth, where the king met her, and the marriage was ſolemnized. The queen-mother, who left England the year before, now came over to aſſiſt at the nuptial ceremonies, and after a ſtay of three years in England, returned again to France.

Charles's prodigality always kept him in want, notwithſtanding the ſupplies granted him far exceeded any thing that had been given by parliament to queen Elizabeth. His neceſſities put him upon a meaſure which has expoſed him to much cenſure, and is regarded as one of the greateſt blemiſhes of his reign, I mean the ſale of Dunkirk to the French. Clarendon and Southampton, tho' virtuous miniſters, were both concerned in this tranſaction; but in all probability the expedient was propoſed by Charles himſelf. The chancellor invited d'Eſtrades, the French miniſter at the Hague, to come over to London, which he did ſoon after the king's marriage, and negotiated his affairs; and the French king purchaſed Dunkirk, with all the artillery and ammunition in the place, for the conſideration of five millions of livres, or four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

We have already obſerved that Charles, during his exile, eſpecially while at the court of France, had been prevailed on to adopt the religion of the church of Rome, at leaſt in ſuch a degree as a man of his latitudinarian principles can be ſaid to adopt any religion: his brother the duke of York, of whom he was extremely fond, and who indeed directed almoſt all his actions, was an abſolute bigot in popery, and as ſuch could not fail to be alarmed at the late act of uniformity, which, though deſigned by the court to perſecute the preſbyterians, was found to bear equally hard upon every diſſenter from the church of England. James and his party therefore exerted all their endeavours to weaken the force of this act. It was now pretended that great danger was to be apprehended to the ſtate, from ſo numerous a body as the diſſenters connected together; and that there was a neceſſity of granting toleration to all nonconformiſts, in which the papiſts were conſequently to be included. The king readily adopted his brother's views, and in the month of January 1662-3, publiſhed a declaration under pretence of favouring the preſbyterians, by diſpenſing with their compliance with ſome articles in the act of Uniformity: but though in this declaration the king alledged in excuſe his ſolemn promiſes (in his declaration from Breda) of granting toleration to his ſubjects, and advanced ſeveral other ſpecious topics, the parliament, who ſtrongly ſuſpected that he had another, and a deeper deſign in view, determined to defeat the meaſure.

The avowed design of gratifying the dissenters, and the secret resolution of supporting the catholics, were equally disagreeable to them; and in these sentiments they were confirmed by the lord-chancellor Clarendon, without whose privity and concurrence this declaration had been issued, and who, as he hated the presbyterians, was no friend to the papists, and therefore from this time began to sink in his credit at court.

The parliament assembling on February 18, drew up a remonstrance against the late declaration of indulgence, which they presented to his majesty, and both houses joined in desiring him to issue out a proclamation against all popish priests and jesuits. To this request the king returned a very obliging answer; but in the proclamation afterwards issued, the terms were so artfully couched, as to render it of little or no effect *. This seeming compliance of the king, however deceitful, passed so well with the parliament, that upon his application they voted him a supply of four subsidies, and this was the last time that taxes were raised in this manner.

The opposition the lord-chancellor had made to the plan of toleration, had exposed him to all the hatred of the duke of York and the popish party, and all means were devised to get rid of him. Digby, earl of Bristol, who had, during his residence abroad, embraced the catholic religion; and as most converts are, was a great bigot to his new faith, undertook to attack this enemy of the holy mother-church. Clarendon and he had, during the exclusion of the royal party, been upon terms of intimate friendship; but the chancellor having refused his assent to certain grants which Bristol had sollicited for a court lady; this affront, as it was deemed by the latter nobleman, added to the motives of religion above-mentioned, determined him to attack the minister in the most violent manner; and on the tenth of July, 1663, he openly impeached him of high-treason before the house of peers; but the apparent malice of the charge, from the almost total deficiency of proofs to support it, occasioned the lords to throw it out with indignation; and Bristol himself was so ashamed of what he had done, that he went abroad, where he remained for some time. On the twenty-seventh of July, the parliament, after having settled the revenues of the post-office and wine-licence on the duke of York, was prorogued to the following spring †.

Gratitude was not one of Charles's shining virtues. The royalists, who had ventured so much, and suffered so deeply in his service, were after his restoration wholly neglected by him. When applications were made to him on this head, he used to answer, that those who were truly his friends would still remain so; and that if he was to bestow favour, it should be on his enemies, in order to win them over to his service. His parliament had more generosity. They took some notice of the poor cavaliers, and at one time distributed among them about sixty thousand pounds. Mrs. Lane likewise and the Pendrells had handsome presents and pensions assigned them for the great service they had been of, in preserving the king's person after the battle of Worcester.

Ever since the Restoration, the government had at different times been alarmed with the rumour of plots carrying on by the republicans; and this year one was discovered, which was said to be for a general insurrection; it was an idle scheme of some inconsiderable fanatics and disbanded soldiers, thirty of whom were taken and executed. It served Charles, however, as a pretext to demand of the parliament, when it next met again on the sixteenth of March, 1664, a repeal of the act for triennial parliaments, affirming that the kingdom was exposed to continual troubles, from the suggestions of a set of men, who gave out that this parliament was dissolved by virtue of that act. The parliament, who still continued to adhere to the principles of exalting monarchy, even beyond the bounds of reason and moderation, readily complied with the royal request. The act was repealed, and thus all the securities which the subject had against the illegal extension of court influence, were dissipated by a breath; and Charles failed not to make his own advantage of these concessions to shorten difficulties, and baffle opposition.

This parliament was not more servile in its compliance with the king, than it was rigorous and uncharitable with regard to its fellow-subjects; the true spirit of persecution seemed to actuate all its deliberations in religious matters; it seemed to forget that the like rigid maxims of intolerance adopted by Laud, had been one cause of the dreadful calamities from which the nation had been so lately delivered; for now, as if the penalties denounced in the act of Uniformity against dissenters of all denominations, were not sufficient, in May 1664, the famous Conventicle Act was passed, whereby it was enacted, that if any one should repair to conventicles (as the meetings of the nonconformists to religious worship were called) the first offence was to be punished with a fine of five pounds, or three months imprisonment, and ten pounds for a peer; the second offence ten pounds and six months imprisonment, and twenty pounds for a peer: but for the third offence, after a trial by a jury of the peers, according to the quality of the offender, the party convicted was to be transported to some foreign plantation, unless he commuted by the payment of one hundred pounds.

There was about this time a dispute between our court and the states of the United Provinces, in relation to commerce; and the royal African company in particular had been opposed by the Dutch, in establishing their settlements on the coast of Guinea. In the preceding year, sir Robert Holmes had been sent from England with a fleet of twenty-two ships to the coast of Africa, to protect our merchants and traders there, and expel the Dutch from some places they had seized

* The parliament had agreed, that all foreign priests belonging to the two queens should be excepted, and allowed without molestation to continue in England. In the proclamation, the word "foreign" was purposely left out; and the queens were, by that means, intitled to grant protection to as many English priests as they pleased. Burnet. Hume.

† In the course of this session, several laws were enacted relating to trade. Some rules were likewise established for putting the militia into better order; and it was decreed, that the king should not have the power of keeping them under arms above fourteen days in the year. See stat. 15 & 16 Car. II.

againſt the faith of treaties. Holmes executed his commiſſion with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs, after taking from the Dutch Cape Verd and the iſland of Goree, together with ſeveral of their trading ſhips on that coaſt; and ſailing to America, he made himſelf maſter of Nova Belgia, ſince known by the name of New-York, which had never been occupied by any but the Hollanders. The Dutch warmly remonſtrated againſt theſe hoſtilities, but receiving no real ſatisfaction, they reſolved to employ force againſt force, and diſpatched de Ruyter, one of their admirals, to the coaſt of Guinea, who in a ſhort time re-eſtabliſhed the Dutch in poſſeſſion of thoſe ſettlements of which they had been deprived, except Cape Corſe. He afterwards attacked Barbadoes, but without ſucceſs. Theſe acts, which were ſo many preludes to a rupture between the two nations, were by no means diſpleaſing to Charles, whoſe growing neceſſities, the natural conſequences of a blind prodigality, made him glad of any pretext to draw money from his parliament. The diſpoſition of this latter, indeed, was as favourable to this deſign as the king could wiſh; for the commons having taken the ſtate of the national trade into conſideration, they voted, "That the wrongs, diſhonours, and indignities offered to the Engliſh by the ſubjects of the United Provinces, had greatly interrupted the commerce of theſe kingdoms: that his majeſty ſhould be humbly requeſted to demand and obtain reparation for thoſe damages; and that in the proſecution of this affair, the houſe would aſſiſt him with their lives and fortunes againſt all oppoſitions whatſoever." This vote was deemed a ſufficient ſanction for thoſe vigorous meaſures which the court had now propoſed to adopt, and the parliament was prorogued till the month of November.

In the mean time, the naval preparations were carried on with uncommon diligence: the whole nation ſeemed to be inſpired with jealouſy and animoſity againſt the Dutch. The parliament having as yet granted no ſupplies, the city of London lent the king one hundred thouſand pounds, that no ſtop might be made to the armament. Charles himſelf viſited the arſenals and magazines in perſon, and in a ſhort time the Engliſh navy was put in a very formidable condition. Admiral Lawſon was ſent out in September, with orders to ſeize all Dutch ſhips he met with on his cruize; in which he had ſo much ſucceſs, that in a ſhort time one hundred and thirty-five of their merchant ſhips fell into the hands of the Engliſh: and the parliament meeting again on the twenty-fourth of November, granted two millions five hundred thouſand pounds for carrying on the intended war, the largeſt ſupply by far that had been granted to any Engliſh monarch *.

The king having had his hands thus ſtrengthened by his parliament, declared war againſt the States in the month of March, 1665, after having prorogued the parliament to Auguſt, and afterwards to October. In this ſeſſion the clergy gave up their right of taxing themſelves in convocation, and have ever ſince been taxed by the parliament in common with other ſubjects: from this time, indeed, the clergy had votes at elections for members of parliament, but, by parting with their importance as a diſtinct body of the ſtate, they have been held in very little public conſideration ſince.

The Dutch, alarmed at the great preparations making in England againſt them, had, towards the cloſe of the laſt year, ſent over an embaſſy, to endeavour if poſſible to compromiſe the quarrel in an amicable manner; but ſeeing all their application ſlighted, they ſet about all the neceſſary preparations for a vigorous defence: in the mean time they earneſtly importuned Lewis XIV. of France, who being then of age, and having taken the reins of government into his own hands, began to be conſidered as a warlike and politic prince, to declare againſt England, in conſequence of the laſt treaty concluded between the crown of France and the States General. Lewis was at the ſame time as warmly preſſed by Charles to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. In this conjuncture the French monarch was greatly divided in his ſentiments: he wiſhed to keep fair with Charles, leſt the latter ſhould throw himſelf into the arms of Spain; and on the other hand, it was his intereſt to ſupport the de Wit and Louveſtein party in Holland, againſt the prince of Orange, who naturally claimed the aſſiſtance of his uncle the king of England: in order to gain time, he ſent the duke de Verneuil at the head of a ſplendid embaſſy to London, with offers of mediating a peace between England and Holland; but, after a ſtay of ſeveral months, that nobleman's endeavours proved fruitleſs.

The man who at this time directed all the meaſures of the Dutch republic, and infuſed ſpirit into that phlegmatic community, was the famous John de Wit, a miniſter equally diſtinguiſhed for greatneſs of mind, for extent of capacity, and for integrity of manners: though modeſt in his private behaviour, he well knew how to ſupport in his public conduct that magnanimity which becomes the miniſter of a great ſtate. It was always his opinion, that no independent government ſhould ever make any mean or unreaſonable conceſſions to another; and that all ſuch compliances, inſtead of preventing war, ſerved only to invite farther inſults and indignities. By his management a ſpirit of harmony was preſerved in all the provinces; great ſums were raiſed, and a navy was prepared, conſiſting of larger ſhips than any which the Dutch had ever built before, and able to contend with the fleet of England *.

The Engliſh navy was already on ſo reſpectable a footing, that, by the eighteenth of May this year, the duke of York ſet ſail with a fleet of one hundred and fourteen ſail, excluſive of fire-ſhips and bomb-ketches, having under him prince Rupert and the gallant earl of Sandwich: this noble armament carried on board about twenty-two thouſand men. On the other hand, the provinces of Zealand and Holland having joined their ſquadrons, they compoſed a fleet of one hundred and twenty ſhips of war, beſides fire-ſhips, of which the command was given to Opdam, an experienced ſea-officer, and of an undaunted courage, who had orders to ſeize the firſt opportunity of giving battle to the enemy.

It was not long before the two fleets met, and on the third of June a remarkable engagement was fought between them, when the Dutch were beaten,

* It was to be raiſed at quarterly payments in three years.

† Hume's Hiſt. of Great Brit. Charles II.

having

having loſt a great many of their ſhips, though the number is variouſly related; according to the loweſt account they were about twenty: Opdam himſelf was blown up, together with his ſhip and all the men on board. The Engliſh loſt but four ſhips; but ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were killed. A day of thankſgiving was appointed in England for this victory, and ſeveral medals were ſtruck in honour of the duke of York: it is indeed confeſſed on all hands, that the duke diſplayed great courage and conduct during the whole engagement, being all the time engaged in the hotteſt of the fight, and expoſing himſelf like a common man.

Terror and diſmay ſeized on the Dutch, when they received the news of this defeat; and it required all the abilities and conſtancy of de Wit to revive the ſpirits of his drooping countrymen: he repaired in perſon on board their fleet, and quickly rectified all the diſorders occaſioned by the late misfortune. In the mean time the Dutch fleet of merchant ſhips from Turkey and the Eaſt Indies, having ſailed north-about in order to avoid the Engliſh cruiſers, anchored in the port of Bergen, in Norway, where they lay till de Ruyter ſhould come and convoy them to Holland. Sir Gilbert Talbot, the Engliſh envoy at Copenhagen, propoſed to the king of Denmark, that he ſhould ſeize all thoſe ſhips, which were richly laden, by way of revenge upon the Dutch, who, he ſaid, had involved his Daniſh majeſty in a troubleſome war with Sweden. The king was tempted by the richneſs of the prize, but obſerved he was not in a condition to execute ſuch a deſign: Talbot promiſed to procure the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh fleet, provided he would recompenſe the captors with one half of what they ſhould take; the bargain was ſtruck between the two monarchs, and Charles ordered the earl of Sandwich to ſail immediately to Bergen. The earl detached ſir Thomas Tiddeman with part of the fleet on that ſervice, and he attacked the Dutch with great impetuoſity; but the governor of Bergen, who had not yet received orders to remain paſſive, joined the Hollanders in giving him ſuch a warm reception, that he was obliged to quit the enterprize, after having received conſiderable damage. Charles was not a little chagrined at this diſappointment; and ſo diſpleaſed with the earl of Sandwich for having omitted to ſail thither in perſon, that he was deprived of his command, and ſent on an embaſſy to Madrid.

While theſe affairs were tranſacting abroad, the city of London was groaning beneath the moſt dreadful ſcourge of the plague, which broke out in the beginning of May this year, and in the ſpace of eleven months that it continued to rage, ſwept away in that ſingle city upwards of one hundred thouſand ſouls: the king, on its firſt appearance, withdrew to Hampton-court, but afterwards, to be at a greater diſtance, removed to Saliſbury.

The parliament, agreeable to its prorogation, aſſembled on the ninth of October, but held its ſeſſions at Oxford, on account of the plague, which, though it ſtill continued to depopulate the capital, did not ſo much affect the other part of the kingdom. The king having repreſented to them in his ſpeech, that the ſupply of two millions and an half, granted him towards the maintenance of the war, was nearly expended in fitting out the fleet, and paying ſome foreign powers, eſpecially the warlike biſhop of Munſter (Bernard Van Galen) for making a diverſion upon the frontiers of the ſtates; the commons, who appear to have been very zealous for the vigorous continuation of the war, quickly voted a ſecond ſupply of one million two hundred thouſand pounds for that purpoſe, and at the ſame time made a preſent to the duke of York of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, as a reward for his eminent ſervices in the late ſea engagement with the Dutch. The independants, anabaptiſts, and republicans, had this year formed a deſign for an inſurrection, having been encouraged thereto by emiſſaries from the Dutch; but all their projects had proved abortive. However, this furniſhed the king and court, who naturally hated the preſbyterians, with a handle to bring them in under the general denomination of nonconformiſts, from whom the church and nation was repreſented to be in the utmoſt danger; tho' we cannot find any authority to charge the former with having been any way concerned in the practices or deſigns of the other fanatic ſects. Be that as it may, a bill was brought into the houſe this ſeſſions, and was paſſed without any difficulty; by which it was enacted, "That no nonconformiſt teacher, under what denomination ſoever, ſhall dwell or come, unleſs upon the road, within five miles of any corporation, or any other place where they had been miniſters, or had preached after the act of oblivion, unleſs they firſt took the following oath: "I do ſwear that it is not lawful, on any pretence whatſoever, to take arms againſt the king, and that I do abhor the traitorous poſition of taking arms againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him in purſuance of ſuch commiſſions: and that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government, either in church or ſtate."

This act has ſince been famous, under the name of The Five Mile Act; and the penalty denounced againſt every offender was forty pounds and ſix months impriſonment. It would not be doing juſtice to the character of the earl of Clarendon and his great friend the earl of Southampton, both of them the warmeſt adverſaries of the preſbyterians, if we did not obſerve, that the rigor of this act ſeemed ſo unjuſtifiable to them, that when it came into the houſe of lords, they oppoſed it with all their might. Nevertheleſs, it got through that houſe, and the king gave it the royal aſſent on the thirty-firſt of October, as he did at the ſame time to the money-bill, and ſome others; after which he prorogued the parliament to the twentieth of February, 1665-6.

This ſame year the council of Scotland diſcovered no leſs heat and animoſity againſt the preſbyterians, on pretence of ſome inſolence committed by a private miniſter, named Alexander Smith. A proclamation was publiſhed the twenty-fourth of December, ordering that all the ſilenced preſbyterian miniſters ſhould, within forty days, remove themſelves and their families from the places where they had been miniſters, and that they ſhould not reſide within twenty miles of the ſame, or within ſix miles of Edinburgh, or any cathedral church, or within three miles of any royal borough, nor ſhould be more than two together in the ſame pariſh, on pain of incurring the penalties of the law againſt movers of ſedition.. Every man of a charitable diſpoſition muſt confeſs, that this was a moſt cruel and unjuſtifiable rigor, eſpecially

when

when we reflect that the preſbyterians compoſed the bulk of the Scottiſh nation. The times were however now ſo thoroughly changed, that the very people who thought the ſhadow of royalty too great a conceſſion to grant their prince in the laſt reign, now thought no ſacrifice too great to be made to his will. The ill effects of ſuch a proceeding manifeſted themſelves ſhortly after, in an inſurrection of the ſufferers; but their numbers being inconſiderable (not exceeding fifteen hundred) they were ſoon defeated, three hundred being killed on the ſpot, and about one hundred taken priſoners, who were moſt of them executed.

By this time France had openly eſpouſed the cauſe of the Dutch, and reſolved to aſſiſt them with the utmoſt vigour. Lewis had ordered the duke of Beaufort, his admiral, to ſet ſail from Toulon with the French ſquadron, of above forty ſail, under his command. The ambaſſadors of France were recalled out of England; and on the nineteenth of January, 1665-6, Lewis publiſhed a declaration of war againſt us. The States likewiſe found means to gain over the king of Denmark, by an engagement to pay him yearly, during the continuance of the war, one million five hundred thouſand florins; for which he on his part engaged to keep a fleet of thirty ſail of ſhips of war for their ſervice. They likewiſe raiſed ſo many enemies againſt the biſhop of Munſter, that he quickly found himſelf under a neceſſity to diſband his forces, and make peace on the beſt terms he could obtain. The Dutch were wholly indebted for theſe favourable events to their penſionary de Wit, who diſcharged his truſt with equal care and ability. The utmoſt aſſiduity was employed in repairing their late loſs by ſea; and early in the ſpring the States had a well-manned fleet of ſeventy ſail ready for ſea. De Ruyter, their great admiral, returned from his expedition to Guinea, took the command of this fleet, and had under him, as ſecond in command, the famous Van Tromp.

The plague having ceaſed its ravages, Charles returned to London in the month of February, and immediately declared war againſt France. The command of the Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of ſeventy-four ſail, was given to Monk, duke of Albemarle, and prince Rupert, who put to ſea towards the end of May, 1666. Albemarle, who from the repeated defeats of the Dutch under the protectorſhip, had raſhly entertained too deſpicable an opinion of their courage, reſolved to detach prince Rupert, in order to intercept the French fleet, under the duke of Beaufort, who, it was ſaid, was now in the Channel, waiting to join the Dutch upon their putting to ſea, which they did: for after our fleet ſailed, thoſe who were acquainted with the courage and conduct of de Ruyter, remonſtrated againſt this diviſion of our force; but the duke of Albemarle continued obſtinate in his reſolution. The event ſhewed how unreaſonably he had given his orders.

The fleet of the States, commanded by de Ruyter, was come to an anchor between Newport and Dunkirk. Thither Albemarle, with thoſe ſhips he had retained with him, immediately ſailed, to compel the enemy to an action; who, on their ſide, upon his coming in ſight, cut their cables, to be in the greater readineſs to receive him. The battle which followed is one of the moſt remarkable that occurs in hiſtory, whether we conſider the length of its duration, or the obſtinacy with which it was fought. It would be equally tedious and unintereſting to relate every particular of this action, which began on the firſt of June, in the forenoon, and laſted, with very little intermiſſion, for four days, with aſtoniſhing valour on both ſides. In the courſe of the action, the Dutch were reinforced by ſixteen freſh ſhips. The Engliſh had ſuffered ſo ſeverely, that their fighting ſhips were reduced to twenty-eight, and they found it neceſſary to retire towards their own coaſts; which the Dutch perceiving, exerted all their efforts to cut off their retreat, and would probably have ſucceeded, had it not been for the fortunate junction of prince Rupert, who, after cruizing the Channel in vain in ſearch of the French ſquadron, who indeed had not yet entered it, now appeared in ſight to the ſouthward, advancing in full ſail towards the ſcene of action, and about the evening (of the third day) fell into his ſtation, aſtern the Dutch diviſion. The next morning Albemarle returned to the fight, which now became more furious than ever. Ship grappled ſhip, and the men fought hand to hand, as if on firm ground. A thick miſt at length put an end to the conflict; under the favour of which Albemarle with his fleet ſailed for the mouth of the Thames, leaving the watery field to de Ruyter and the Dutch.

In theſe four days of battle, the Engliſh loſt twenty-three capital ſhips, beſides ſeveral others of leſs note; ſix thouſand men killed, and two thouſand ſix hundred made priſoners. Amongſt the ſlain were ſir William Berkley, vice-admiral of the white ſquadron, and ſir Chriſtopher Mimins: ſir George Ayſcue, in a ſhip of an hundred guns, the largeſt in the fleet, ran aground; and his countrymen not being able to afford him any aſſiſtance, he was compelled to yield to the enemy. The loſs of the Dutch amounted to ſix ſhips, two thouſand eight hundred and eighty men, beſides the admirals Evertzen Van der Holſt, and Strekhoven, with ſome other officers. Though the Engliſh retired firſt to their harbours, and tho' it was generally believed by our officers and men who ſurvived, that their whole fleet might have been taken, ſunk, or burnt, if it had not been for prince Rupert's coming up as he did, yet we claimed the victory. The great penſionary de Wit was on board the Dutch fleet, and is ſaid to have invented chain-ſhot * on this occaſion, which did incredible damage to the rigging of our ſhips, and contributed not a little to the advantage the Dutch gained over us.

The two fleets were not long before they put to ſea again; for Beaufort, the French admiral, being now ready to enter the Channel, and join his allies, de Ruyter, after having refitted his ſhips, ſailed from the Texel, and poſted himſelf at the mouth of the river Thames, with a view to block up our fleet in the harbour. Such an inſult was not to be brooked by Engliſhmen; and therefore Albemarle and prince Rupert haſted out to attack him. The Engliſh fleet, now reinforced, conſiſted

* Cannon bullets linked together with a chain or bar of iron.

of an hundred ſail: that of the Hollanders amounted to eighty-eight ſhips of the line, beſides nineteen fire-ſhips. They met on the twenty-fourth of July, and the fight ſoon began with incredible fury, and was as obſtinately diſputed. At length the Dutch were beaten with conſiderable loſs; and it was chiefly by the bravery and conduct of de Ruyter that the Dutch were brought into their ports. De Ruyter, on his return to Holland, made great complaints of Van Tromp's conduct, who was thereupon put under arreſt, and diſmiſſed from his poſt. It ſeems he had attacked ſir Jeremy Smith, who commanded the blue ſquadron of the Engliſh fleet, and put that diviſion to rout; but purſuing the flying enemy too far, had never been able to rejoin his own fleet, and was very near being taken with all his ſhips.

Albemarle finding himſelf maſter of the ſea by the retreat of the Dutch fleet, detached admiral Holmes with twenty ſhips of war, to inſpect the coaſt of Holland; and that commander entering the road of Vlie, deſtroyed an hundred and forty merchant veſſels, and two ſhips of war; after which he burnt Briariſdon, a large and rich village on the coaſt. The French admiral, who was by this time in full ſail to join the Dutch upon the coaſt of England, received the news of its defeat, and that the ſhips were returned into port; whereupon he himſelf retired to Breſt with all expedition, having had the good fortune to eſcape the vigilance of the Engliſh, who waited for him off the Iſle of Wight. One French ſhip alone, the Ruby, was taken by our fleet.

On the ſecond of September this year, about one in the morning, a dreadful fire broke out in the city of London; it began in a baker's houſe near the bridge, and diffuſed itſelf on all ſides with ſuch rapidity, that nothing could reſiſt the progreſs of the flames. This dreadful conflagration laſted for three whole days; nor did it ſtop till it had laid the greateſt part of the capital in aſhes, conſuming eighty churches, ſeveral of the city gates, and four hundred ſtreets, containing thirteen thouſand two hundred dwelling-houſes. The ruins overſpread a ſpace of four hundred and twenty-ſix acres, from the Tower by Thames ſide to the Temple church, and from the north eaſt gate along the city-wall to Holborn-bridge; but though the fire was thus mercileſs to the eſtates and fortunes of the citizens, it was very favourable to their lives, few periſhing on this occaſion, in proportion to the extent of the calamity.

Various were the conjectures on the cauſe and authors of this fire, no one being inclined to think it caſual. Numbers would have it to be brought about by the malice of the Republicans; but moſt aſcribed it to the papiſts, according to the inſcription upon the famous Monument, erected in memory of this dreadful conflagration. Each of theſe ſuſpicions, however, ſeem to have had their riſe in the violent animoſities that poſſeſſed the minds of the different parties that ſwarmed at this period. Their poſterity, who behold this and other events of their time through the cooler medium of reaſon, ſee no cauſe to aſcribe this accident to treachery or malice. The ſtreets of London were then extremely narrow; the houſes were almoſt all built of timber, or of lath and plaiſter; the ſeaſon was remarkably dry; and a violent eaſt wind happened at that time to blow. To theſe cauſes, and to theſe only, the ſurprizing progreſs of the fire ought naturally to be aſcribed *.

But not all the miſeries his ſubjects had experienced from this dreadful accident and the preceding one of the plague, could make any impreſſion on the mind of Charles, or divert him from the proſecution of the ruinous war he had engaged in. Accordingly the parliament having reaſſembled, after ſome prorogations, on the firſt of September, the king, in a ſpeech to both houſes, magnified the happy ſucceſs of his arms, as if he had been always victorious; and concluded with aſſuring the commons, that the money granted for carrying on the war had proved deficient, and ſollicited a further ſupply. The commons ſtill retaining their liberal diſpoſition, freely voted him a ſupply of one million eight hundred thouſand pounds; which, together with what they had already given him, amounted to four millions four hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds. Nevertheleſs, the commons miſtruſting that the king was not ſo warmly attached to the proteſtant religion as they could wiſh, or he made profeſſions to be, preſented an addreſs, praying that the laws againſt jeſuits and popiſh prieſts might be put into execution, Charles, willing to ſhew them ſome complaiſance in return for having filled his coffers, cauſed a proclamation to be iſſued for baniſhing all popiſh prieſts and jeſuits out of the kingdom: but this proclamation, like thoſe of his father and grandfather on the ſame ſubject, was ſhamefully eluded by the connivance of the king and court. This conduct more than ever convinced the people that the king had ſome ſecret attachment to popery, which he was either aſhamed or afraid to own. Whether theſe ſuſpicions had leſſened the king's popularity, is uncertain; but it appears that the commons took very little notice about the diſpatch of the money-bill, which was not finiſhed till the cloſe of the year, notwithſtanding the king ſent ſeveral meſſages to the houſe to quicken the buſineſs.

At laſt, on the eighteenth of January, 1667, a bill paſſed both houſes for raiſing the above-mentioned ſum of one million eight hundred thouſand pounds, partly by a poll-tax, and partly by aſſeſſments; and about the middle of February, the king gave his aſſent to this and ſeveral other acts, promiſing at the ſame time that the money granted him ſhould be wholly applied to the uſe it was intended for; then he prorogued the parliament to the tenth of October. Among the acts paſſed in this ſeſſion, was one for rebuilding that part of the city demoliſhed by fire, which was

* Though ſeveral ſuſpected perſons were taken up on this account, it was never poſſible to diſcover or prove that the baker's houſe, where this dreadful calamity firſt broke out, was fired on purpoſe. Nevertheleſs, a French Huguenot, a native of Roan, and a lunatic, having owned himſelf guilty of this horrible action, was condemned and executed: but it appeared afterwards, by the teſtimony of the maſter of the ſhip who brought him out of France, that though he was landed at the time of the fire, yet he did not arrive in London till two days after it began. It is pretended likewiſe that a Dutch boy, ten years old, had confeſſed that his father and himſelf had thrown fire-balls into the baker's houſe, through a window that ſtood open. But beſides the objection that may be made to this teſtimony from the boy's age, there muſt have been ſome circumſtance in this narrative not agreeable to the fact, ſince it was never thought proper to make further enquiry. Rapin.

finiſhed with more expedition than could be expected. The king, by a ſtretch of prerogative, regulated the plans of the new ſtreets, ſo as to render them more ſpacious and convenient than thoſe which had been burned; and he prohibited the uſe of lath and timber, as the materials for the conſtruction of houſes. In conſequence of this improvement, London became more healthy after the fire. The plague, which was wont to break out with great violence twice or thrice every century, and indeed was always lurking in ſome corner of the city, has entirely diſappeared ſince that calamity.

Charles, notwithſtanding the poſitive promiſes he had given on his part, no ſooner found himſelf ſure of a plentiful ſupply of money, than he became tired of the war, and bent his thoughts towards bringing about a peace. The Dutch had furniſhed him with a good pretence for this, by a letter which they had wrote him juſt before the breaking up of the parliament; to which he had returned no anſwer, as the money-bill was then depending; but that being now paſſed, Charles appeared more tractable. In fine, after ſeveral conſultations, a conference was appointed to be opened at Breda, on the tenth of May 1667, and the ſeveral powers concerned ſent thither their plenipotentiaries. Thoſe from England were the lord Holles, and Mr. Henry Coventry. From France, the count d'Eſtrades, and Mr. Courtin. From Denmark, Mr. Klengenberg and Caniſens; and from the States-General, Meſſieurs Beverrench, Hubert, and Yonſtall. From the king of Sweden came as mediators, meſſieurs Fleming and Coyet; but the laſt dying at Breda ſoon after his arrival, the count de Dohna, the Swediſh ambaſſador to the States, took his place. The conferences were however prolonged, by ſome punctilios which Charles inſiſted on, to ſave appearances with his people; becauſe, how trifling ſoever, they were almoſt the only things particularly alledged as the cauſe of the war. Holles and Coventry propoſed that a ceſſation of hoſtilities ſhould be immediately concluded, till the ſeveral points in diſpute could be happily concluded: but this propoſal was rejected by de Wit: that ſagacious and enterprizing miniſter had formed a reſolution of ſtriking a blow which he thought would have a greater effect in favour of his countrymen, than all the arguments that could be uſed in the congreſs.

Being well informed that Charles, depending upon the ſucceſs of the conference, and thinking that he had nothing to fear from the Dutch, had unmanned his fleet, and laid up all the large ſhips, in hopes of keeping to himſelf the greateſt part of the money granted him by his parliament; he ordered de Ruyter to ſail with a fleet of fifty ſhips, and ſurprize the Engliſh, lulled in their dangerous ſecurity. De Ruyter executed his commiſſion with equal conduct and ſucceſs. On the eighth of June he entered the mouth of the Thames, and filled the capital with terror and conſternation. He then diſpatched his vice-admiral, Van Ghent, with ſome ſhips into the river Medway, who, by the favour of a freſh eaſterly wind, broke the chain which defended the entrance of that harbour, and burnt three large ſhips, called the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles the Fifth, all of them taken from the States this war. He alſo ſeized the hull of the Royal Charles, and then proceeding as far as Upnor caſtle, burned the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James, all capital ſhips. After which falling down the Medway again, he joined Ruyter, who lay ſtill at the Nore. Nothing leſs was now expected in London than that the enemy, improving their ſucceſs, would ſail up the river Thames, and deſtroy all the merchant ſhips lying there, if not inſult the city itſelf: wherefore thirteen ſhips were immediately ſunk at Woolwich, and four at Blackwall; platforms of cannon were raiſed on the banks of the river, and every precaution taken to reſiſt the threatened aſſault. But de Ruyter not chuſing to run too great hazards, weighed anchor from the Nore; and ſailing ſouthward, made an attempt to deſtroy the ſhipping at Portſmouth and Plymouth; from both which places he was repulſed with ſome loſs: then taking advantage of the wind, which ſeemed to veer about juſt as he wanted it, he came up the Channel again, and entered the Thames, advancing as far as Tilbury-fort: but he ſoon found the enemy too well prepared for his reception to hope for any ſucceſs. He made the beſt of his way to ſea again; but he kept the coaſt of England in continual alarms for near two months, that is, till he received the news of the concluſion of a peace, which was finally ratified about the latter end of July.

By this ratification Acadia was yielded to the French king, who agreed to reſtore St. Chriſtophers, and ſome other iſlands which he had taken in the Weſt Indies; and the two principal contracting parties retained the acquiſitions they had made. The colony of New-York was the only advantage which the Engliſh derived from the war, that had coſt the nation ſuch an immenſe ſum, and in which the folly, negligence, and avarice of their ſovereign had been in a ſingular manner diſplayed to all Europe.

The late glaring inſult, and the preſent inadequate peace, filled every Engliſh breaſt with grief and indignation, every mouth with complaints and reproaches. But Charles, as if born only for himſelf, being now freed from the troubles of the war, gave into every kind of licentiouſneſs, regardleſs of the ſufferings or cries of his people. His courtiers, following his example, ſeemed to vie with each other in libertiniſm and debauchery: irreligious wit and obſcene raillery triumphed in broad day, while decency, virtue, and morality, were obliged to hide their head. There was but one perſon about the court, who by his noble and virtuous qualities, and his great authority, ſeemed to be a check upon the growing evil, and him they took care to remove out of the way. This was the great earl of Clarendon; the moſt diſcerning and upright magiſtrate; the moſt capable and faithful miniſter England had for a long time ſeen. The wide difference between his principles and practice, and thoſe of the ſovereign and his followers, quickly brought him into diſgrace: but they did not dare openly to attack him, till they had firſt poiſoned the minds of the people with baſe inſinuations againſt him. The ſale of Dunkirk, the bad payment of the ſeamen, nay, the diſgrace at Chatham, and the ſhameful concluſion of the war, were by their emiſſaries imputed to the chancellor. The people, ever giddy and unthinking, and open to every prepoſſeſſion, ſwallowed the bait provided for them. The earl of Clarendon

Clarendon was now become the moſt obnoxious of miniſters in their eyes; and the parliament meeting on the tenth of October, the commons ſent up an impeachment againſt him to the houſe of lords, in which almoſt the only article that could admit of any proof, was that of the ſale of Dunkirk; but even this, the moſt exceptionable of all his counſels, was rather owing to a miſtake in judgment, than to any malignity of intention. The peers, when the charge was preſented to them, demurred for ſome time on the truth of the allegations preferred againſt the earl, and refuſed to order him into cuſtody. This highly affronted the commons, and begot ſeveral conferences between the two houſes. Clarendon in the mean time, ſeeing how he was purſued by the malice of his enemies, and knowing himſelf entirely given up by his ſovereign, whom he had ſo long and ſo faithfully ſerved, withdrew to Rouen in Normandy, where he lived under the protection of Lewis XIV. The French, more judicious and more humane than his own countrymen, knew the worth of the man, and received him with open arms and every mark of reſpect. This illuſtrious exile, who ſpent the reſt of his days in an eaſy retirement, employed his leiſure hours in compoſing that excellent hiſtory of the rebellion in England, which bears his name. He died at Rouen in 1674, leaving behind him the character of a nobleman of unblemiſhed virtue, an incorruptible judge, and an able miniſter, equally valuable for his attachment and integrity.

Upon Clarendon's withdrawing out of the kingdom, the ſeals were given to ſir Orlando Bridgeman, by the title of lord-keeper; and a bill paſſed both houſes for baniſhing him, to which the king gave his aſſent on the eighteenth of December. A little before the diſgrace of lord Clarendon, the king loſt another, and his only other, faithful counſellor, an intimate friend of the chancellor's, namely, the earl of Southampton, lord-treaſurer. After which the treaſury was put into the hands of commiſſioners, one of whom was ſir Richard Clifford, a declared papiſt; and ſir Henry Bennet, created earl of Arlington, a diſguiſed one, was made ſecretary of ſtate. Southampton dead, and Clarendon removed out of the way, the court abandoned itſelf to debauchery, without reſtraint.

The duke of Buckingham, a nobleman of ſpirit and humour, but of a moſt vicious and abandoned life, and Wilmot earl of Rocheſter, a ſhining wit, the moſt lewd and licentious poet of his age, were the king's chief favourites, and the miniſters of his pleaſures. With theſe and his miſtreſſes he ſpent almoſt his whole time. In ſhort, none but papiſts and men of no religion had any credit at the court of Charles II. *

While our Engliſh monarch was thus giving a looſe to pleaſures that diſgraced the exalted ſtation he bore, Lewis XIV. was diligently purſuing the extenſive deſigns he had formed. Philip IV. of Spain was lately dead. Lewis had, upon his marriage with the infanta of Spain, daughter to the deceaſed Philip, renounced all title of ſucceſſion to any part of the Spaniſh monarchy; but no ſooner was his father-in-law dead, than he retracted his renunciation, and now prepared to recover, by force of arms, what he called his natural rights to the Spaniſh Netherlands and the Franche Comte †. The States of the United Provinces, alarmed at the rapid progreſs of the French, and fearing it was only a prelude to an attack upon themſelves, who lay ſo near to the danger; ſet themſelves to concert with the courts of England and Sweden. That confederacy, which was afterwards ſo famous under the name of the Triple Alliance, in order to check the ambitious projects of the king of France. Charles, in liſtening to theſe overtures, and afterwards adopting the propoſed union, took a ſtep which is certainly worthy of praiſe, and is perhaps the only one during his whole reign that was any way conducive to the intereſt of England and of Europe; but he did not long continue in theſe prudent meaſures: and indeed we have but too many unqueſtionable authorities from the public and private hiſtory of his reign, to conclude, that his only deſign in adopting them, was only to amuſe the public, and that there was a ſecret underſtanding between him and Lewis at the ſame time.

No ſooner however was the peace concluded, than he ordered ſir William Temple (one of the moſt able negotiators of his time) his miniſter at Bruſſels, to repair ſecretly to the Hague, and conclude the propoſed league. This miniſter found means to perſuade de Wit, the penſionary, to detach himſelf from the intereſts of France, and thereby put a ſtop to the encroachments ſhe was daily making on the liberties of Europe. De Wit, who was equal in candour, generoſity, and ability, to the Engliſh miniſter. readily gave his aſſent. I ſhall not enter into the particulars of the negotiation, which is to be met with in the writings of ſir William Temple. I ſhall only obſerve, that by the addreſs and the dexterity of this envoy, the treaty of alliance between the king of England and the States was concluded in five days, and that de Wit had the ſpirit, for the ſake of public utility, to depart from the laws of the republic, and by his authority to perſuade the States-General to ſign and confirm the league in the beginning of the year 1668, without any communication of it to the particular provinces, which had never been practiſed before. Moreover, count

* In October this year, 1667, the king laid the firſt ſtone of the Royal Exchange, which was built in the room of the old one erected by ſir Thomas Greſham. Abraham Cowley the poet, and Dr. Jeremy Taylor, biſhop of Down and Connor in Ireland, died this year.

† This province, which borders upon Burgundy, is forty leagues long, and about twenty broad. It was called the Franche-Comté (or the free country) and was actually ſo; for the kings of Spain were rather its protectors than its maſters: and though this country was in the government of Flanders, yet it was very little dependent on it. The adminiſtration was divided and diſputed between the parliament and the governor of Franche-Comté. The people enjoyed many conſiderable privileges, which the court of Madrid were cautious of infringing, being deſirous to keep fair with a province that was ſo jealous of its rights, and ſo near a neighbour to France. Never did people live under a milder government, or were more attached to their ſovereign. They had preſerved an affection to the houſe of Auſtria for near two generations: this affection proceeded from their love of liberty. In a word, Franche-Comté was happy, though poor; but as it was a kind of republic, there were neceſſarily ſome factions among its inhabitants, of which Lewis took his advantage; for notwithſtanding what Peliſſon ſays, the French king did not confine himſelf merely to force on this occaſion. Volt. Age of Lewis XIV.

Dohna, the Swediſh ambaſſador, engaged for his maſter that he ſhould enter into the treaty; and ſoon after the king of Sweden ſent his ratification in form. Shortly after, the ſame ſir William Temple concluded a treaty of commerce with the States-General, and about the ſame time a treaty of peace between Spain and Portugal was happily effected under the guarantee of the king of England.

Charles, however, made the war againſt France the leaſt part of his ſtudy; he ſought only for means to draw an ample ſupply from his ſubjects. The new alliance, with which the whole kingdom was delighted, furniſhed him with the moſt plauſible pretext. For this purpoſe, in his ſpeech to the parliament, which met on the tenth of February, he boaſted of the league he had concluded, as a maſter-ſtroke of politics, and an inconteſtible proof of his firm attachment to his allies. The commons took all he ſaid for granted; and, overjoyed with the proſpect of humbling the French monarch, they voted the king three hundred and ten thouſand pounds, by an impoſition on wine and other liquors.

Philip IV. of Spain had been ſucceeded by his ſon Charles the Second, then a minor, under the regency of the queen his mother. The court of Spain by no means approved of the Triple Alliance, as by ſome of the articles it had been determined to compel that power to make certain conceſſions to France, which were very diſagreeable to the haughty ſpirit of the Spaniard, who declared himſelf ready to relinquiſh entirely the Low Countries, rather than agree to the terms impoſed by the contracting powers; but Temple and de Wit were not to be deceived by this bravado: they ſtill inſiſted on the terms of the Triple Alliance, and threatened Spain with war, in caſe of a refuſal. Spain at laſt finding it in vain to reſiſt, made choice of the alternative propoſed; and as by the triple league the remaining provinces were guarantied to her, and that ſhe had lately concluded a peace on equal terms with Portugal, ſhe thought herſelf in a condition to reſiſt the future attempts of her proud and ambitious rival.

Though the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, which was ſigned on the ſecond of May, 1668; and by which Spain and France were brought to make peace with each other, had conſiderably augmented the power of France, by giving it poſſeſſion of the places it had conquered during the war; the States-General believed, nevertheleſs, that they had done a great thing in ſtopping the career of the French arms, and preventing their further progreſs. They aſcribed to themſelves the whole glory and merit of this ſucceſs, though indeed the Triple Alliance had never come into their head, had it not been propoſed by the king of England. To immortalize their glory, they ſtruck a medal, on one ſide of which was ſeen Holland leaning againſt a trophy; and upon the reverſe, words to this effect; "That they had reſtored and ſecured the laws; amended and reformed religion; aſſiſted, defended, and reconciled kings; reſtored freedom to the ocean; procured by their arms a glorious peace; and eſtabliſhed the tranquility of all Europe." On the other hand, Joſhua Van Beuninghen, who had been employed in negotiating this peace, ſtruck a medal, and compared himſelf to Joſhua ſtopping the courſe of the ſun. As the king of France had taken the ſun for his device, the meaning of this medal could not be miſtaken. The French monarch was not a little incenſed, that a pitiful ſtate, like that of Holland, ſhould have preſumed to think of ſetting bounds to his conqueſts, and being the arbiter between crowned heads; and ſtill more ſo, that it was in a condition to do it. He was ſenſibly affected with the indignities put upon his greatneſs by the Dutch, which he was obliged to ſwallow for the preſent, but for which he from that inſtant meditated revenge.

In the month of March this year, Coſmo de Medicis, prince of Tuſcany, arrived in England in the courſe of his travels, and was received with all the honours due to his rank and prrticular merit. After his departure, the king was viſited by prince George of Denmark, who made but a very ſhort ſtay in England.

In July the Univerſity of Oxford opened the magnificent theatre built at the expence of Dr. Sheldon, archbiſhop of Canterbury, their chancellor, though he afterwards reſigned this dignity to the duke of Ormond.

This * ſummer the king diverted himſelf with making ſeveral progreſſes into the country, to view the ports and navy. He ſent a ſquadron into the Mediterranean, commanded by ſir Thomas Allen, who forced the Algerines to a peace, very advantageous to England. Nothing memorable beſides what has been taken notice of, happened during the reſt of the year, except ſome embaſſies, which the ſequel requires ſhould be mentioned. Sir William Godolphin was ſent to the court of Spain; Mr. Ralph Montague was firſt envoy, and ſoon after ambaſſador to France; the earl of Carliſle went ambaſſador to Stockholm, and ſir William Temple ambaſſador extraordinary to the States-General. On the other hand, monſieur Colbert was ſent from France to reſide at the Engliſh court.

Some changes were likewiſe made at court in the public employs. Sir Thomas Clifford was made treaſurer of the houſhold; the duke of Monmouth, the king's natural ſon, was made captain of his life-guard of horſe; ſir John Trevor, lately returned from France, where he had been envoy, was ſworn one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, on the reſignation of ſir William Morrice, to whom he had given ten thouſand pounds ſterling.

The year 1669 produced very few remarkable events in England, if we except a ſcheme which the king fell upon with regard to religion, which he ſeems to have adopted with a double view; firſt, to gain the preſbyterians, who were very numerous in the kingdom, over to his intereſt. Secondly, to attach the papiſts more ſtrongly to him, by procuring a remiſſion of the ſevere reſtrictions they lay under. To effect this, he propoſed to incorporate the preſbyterians with the church of England, and obtain a toleration for all the

* This year died Algernon Percy, earl of Northumberland, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, who died within two years; and with him was extinct the antient and famous family of the Percys.

other ſects of nonconformiſts. The lord-keeper, ſir Orlando Bridgeman, was directed to procure a conference between ſome of the moſt eminent of the epiſcopal and the preſbyterian miniſters; and to make them propoſals for a comprehenſion of ſuch diſſenters as could be brought into communion with the church of England; and for procuring a toleration for the independants and other ſects. The epiſcopal divines, whether out of a ſpirit of chriſtian charity, or to make their court to the ſovereign, ſhewed themſelves very compliable on this occaſion, and even made large conceſſions; and nothing remained to put the final hand to an accommodation, but the point of re-ordination of the preſbyterian miniſters, which was at laſt ſettled by the conſent of both parties *. Matters being thus adjuſted, the lord chief-juſtice Hales undertook to draw up a bill of comprehenſion, and the lord-keeper engaged to ſupport it in parliament with his whole intereſt.

In the mean time, whether the ſecret of what paſſed in the conferences was not well kept, or the non-conformiſts, by encouragement from the court, aſſumed too much liberty, the archbiſhop of Canterbury reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to break their meaſures. For this purpoſe he writ to all the ſuffragan biſhops a circular letter, enjoining them to make exact enquiry into the conventicles held in their dioceſes. After he was provided with the neceſſary informations, he went to the king, and obtained from him a proclamation to put the laws againſt conventicles into execution, and particularly the act for reſtraining non-conformiſts from inhabiting in corporations. This proclamation was executed much in the ſame manner with others againſt papiſts: for about two months after, the king ordered the non-conformiſt miniſters to be told from him, that he was deſirous to make them eaſy; and if they thought fit to petition him, they would be favourably heard. A petition was accordingly drawn up, and preſented to the king at the earl of Arlington's lodgings, who received it graciouſly, and returned a favourable anſwer, importing, "That he would do his utmoſt to get them comprehended with the public eſtabliſhment."

This project, however neceſſary to the king's deſigns, was nevertheleſs directly contrary to the principles of the parliament, who were averſe to all condeſcenſion, ſo that it ended only in ſmoke: nay, further, when they met in October this year, purſuant to their prorogation, they addreſſed the king to thank him for his proclamation againſt conventicles; and, not contented with this ſtep, they appointed a committee to make exact enquiries concerning the conduct of the non-conformiſts. Theſe having received a great number of informations, reported, "That divers conventicles and ſeditious aſſemblies were held in the very neighbourhood of the parliament, ſo as to inſult the government, and endanger the peace of the kingdom." Hereupon the houſe immediately declared, "That they would adhere to his majeſty for the ſupport of the government in church and ſtate, againſt all ſorts of adverſaries." The meaning of the vote was eaſy to be underſtood.

During the latter part of the laſt ſeſſion, a great diſpute had fallen out between the commons and the lords, in relation to the caſe of one Skinner, and ſome tranſactions of the Eaſt India company, which was renewed with great acrimony; and their mutual animoſity daily increaſing, and the king knowing that he had nothing to expect in the way of ſupply, or other matters, from the commons till this affair was compromiſed, prorogued the parliament from the eleventh of December to the fourteenth of February following.

This year died in France queen Henrietta Maria, the king's mother; and in England, the famous George Monk, duke of Albemarle, the reſtorer of the royal family; as alſo Mr. Prynne, who was ſo ſeverely handled for writing againſt the court in the laſt reign. This man was an indefatigable writer, having been the author of no fewer than two hundred treatiſes, moſt of them indeed of little eſteem; but let it be remembered of him, that he was a conſiderable inſtrument in the Reſtoration, and upon that account was received into favour upon the change of government, and had the records of the Tower committed to his care, which he put into good order. He died a member of the preſent parliament.

The parliament of Scotland met about the ſame time with that of England, being convened by lord Lauderdale, as his majeſty's high commiſſioner. As this nobleman made ſo great a figure both in England and Scotland in the reign whoſe hiſtory I am now writing, I believe it will not be foreign to the purpoſe to take ſome notice of him.

Charles Maitland, earl (ſoon afterwards created duke) of Lauderdale, was a rigid preſbyterian, during the troubles in Scotland a zealous covenanter, and a diſtinguiſhed enemy to the royal authority. He nevertheleſs threw himſelf into the king's party in 1647, when duke Hamilton invaded England in ſupport of Charles the Firſt. From this time his country looked on him as a declared enemy; but after the arrival of Charles II. in Scotland, and the compoſure of the differences in that kingdom, he followed the king into England, was taken priſoner at the battle of Worceſter; and by removals from one priſon to another, continued in confinement till the king's reſtoration. During his impriſonment, he had great impreſſions of religion on his mind; but after the king had received him into his favour and council, he ſo entirely wore them out, that hardly any trace of them was left. Whether from a knowlege of the ſecret ſentiments of the king and duke of York, with regard to religion, or only from a ſuſpicion of theirs, he was of opinion, that the beſt way to preſerve himſelf in their favour, was to enter into all the king's ſuppoſed views, and to labour to render him abſolute in both kingdoms. Upon the king's reſtoration, it was debated in council, whether epiſcopacy ſhould be reſtored in Scotland; the duke of Lauderdale oppoſed the motion with all his power, and gave this extraordinary reaſon for it; namely,

* It was ſettled, that all preſbyterian miniſters who had been already ordained, ſhould be admitted into the miniſtry of the church of England, with this form: —"Take thou *legal* authority to preach the word of God, and adminiſter the holy ſacraments, in any congregation of England, where thou ſhalt be *lawfully* appointed thereto." Rapin. Echard. Burnet.

That the Scots, if they were governed according to the grain of their own inclinations, would be always at the king's devotion on any occaſion of diſpute he might afterwards have with the parliament of England. This advice, though it was not complied with, was acceptable to the king, and riveted the duke in his favour. The reſolution to reſtore epiſcopacy having been executed, no perſon appeared more ardent againſt the preſbyterians, nor had they a more violent perſecutor. I ſhall have occaſion to ſay more of him afterwards, but this may ſuffice to give the reader ſome idea of his character.

It was by the intrigues and authority of this nobleman that the parliament, held this year in Scotland, paſſed an act which raiſed the king's ſupremacy in eccleſiaſtical matters higher than ever it had been carried before: as alſo another act concerning the militia, by which it was at the immediate ſervice of the king, ſhould he ever have occaſion to overawe his ſubjects in England; but at the ſame time, it might be ordered to march without his appearing to countenance its motions, ſo that he was enabled to diſown them with a better grace, ſhould an expedition of that ſort miſcarry.

The parliament meeting on the fourteenth of February, 1670, the king, in a ſpeech to both houſes, demanded a ſupply in the moſt preſſing terms, and concluded with earneſtly recommending to them, to conſider of a plan for uniting the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The commons readily acceded to the firſt part of his requeſt, and voted funds for the produce of one million ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, a ſum which however fell very ſhort of the king's neceſſities. The diſpute between the two houſes about the affair of Skinner and the Eaſt India company was ſtill undecided. The king, apprehenſive of a freſh rupture between them, perſuaded the peers to agree to a general razure of all the proceedings relating to that controverſy; the commons gave their aſſent to this procedure; and thus the matter dropt: but the poor nonconformiſts were pitched upon as the peace-offering on this occaſion: for no ſooner was the accommodation effected, than the two houſes, on the tenth of April, 1670, joined in paſſing an act, importing, "That if any perſon above the age of ſixteen ſhould be preſent at any meeting for religious exerciſes, in any other manner than according to the Liturgy of the church of England, where there were five perſons or more, beſides thoſe of the family, he ſhould pay five ſhillings for the firſt offence, and ten for the ſecond; the preachers in ſuch meetings to forfeit twenty pounds for the firſt, and forty pounds for the ſecond offence; and thoſe who ſuffered ſuch conventicles in their houſes, barns, yards, &c. to forfeit twenty pounds." The informers being very buſy on theſe occaſions, the diſſenters were exceedingly harraſſed. But the king put a ſtop to theſe ſeverities: and having paſſed the money-bill, with this and ſome other acts, adjourned the houſes to the twenty-fourth of October.

The money which this parliament had granted to Charles, had the ſame fate of moſt of the other ſupplies he had received from them. It was laviſhed upon his miſtreſſes and his favourites; and ſo far was he from thinking of making good his engagements with the States of Holland, that he was buſy in concerting meaſures for entering into a more ſtrict union than ever with France. Full of the idea of rendering himſelf abſolute, he ſaw no ſurer method to effect that deſign, than to ſecure the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of Lewis XIV. To this chimerical project, he ſacrificed every ſentiment of honour, juſtice, and humanity. Charles, in his choice of counſellors, had ſelected ſuch perſons as he knew were moſt ſubſervient to his will, either through intereſt or a parity of principles. No wonder therefore if they encouraged him in all his favourite meaſures, how contrary ſoever to the intereſt of England, and the general good of all Europe; and willingly partook with him in the guilt of violating the moſt ſacred engagements, and abandoning thoſe who placed the moſt unlimited faith in his royal word. This council conſiſted of the five following perſons; Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Aſhley Cooper, and Lauderdale. It was nicknamed the CABAL, from the initial letters of their names. Their ſervile flattery, and the licentiouſneſs of their manners, were what chiefly recommended them to the favour and the confidence of their ſovereign, while by their pernicious counſels they had well nigh proved the ruin of both prince and people. In a word, it was by their advice that Charles now ſought an opportunity to break the treaty he had ſo lately concluded with the States, and to enter into another of a direct oppoſite tendency with the king of France.

The war with the States was to be renewed upon the ſlighteſt pretences; but it ſeems to be truly a part of the ſcheme that the king, or his brother the duke of York for him, had formed for overturning the proteſtant religion. The States were to be deſtroyed, to make way for the more eaſy introduction of arbitrary power and popery in England: but this French alliance was to be kept ſecret till the king had got what he could of his parliament, by plauſible pretences of the neceſſity of arming, for the ſecurity of the nation, againſt any foreign attempts, as France and Holland were both making great preparations.

The king, however, though extremely fond of the French alliance, ſeems never to have been fully determined, till the viſit which he received from his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Orleans, who came to England in May this year. Lewis XIV. well acquainted with the art and addreſs of that amiable princeſs, and the great aſcendant ſhe had acquired over her brother, had prevailed on her to exert all her intereſt, in order to draw off England from the triple league, which he was ſenſible had raiſed an invincible barrier to his ambition. This young princeſs then, who was only twenty-five years of

* If to the above five members of the Cabal are joined, as in reaſon they ought, the king and the duke of York, it will be found that all the ſeven were for an abſolute and arbitrary government; and that with regard to religion, four of the ſeven were papiſts, namely, the king, the duke, Arlington, and Clifford; and three without any religion, or at leaſt they conſidered it only as an engine of ſtate; theſe were, Buckingham, Aſhley, and Lauderdale. Rapin. Burnet.

age,

age, was the plenipotentiary pitched upon to put the finiſhing ſtroke to this buſineſs. A viſit which the king of France was to make to his new acquired poſſeſſions of Dunkirk and Liſle, ſerved as a pretence for the ducheſs's journey over to England to ſee her brother, who being prepared for the occaſion, went as far as Dover to meet her, where they ſpent ten days together in great joy and feſtivity. In their conferences together, ſhe artfully inſinuated to him, that nothing was wanting to make him the moſt glorious monarch in the world, and to recompenſe him for all the misfortunes he had ſuffered in the firſt years of his reign, but to render himſelf as abſolute in England as other crowned heads were in their dominions. This glorious end, ſhe obſerved, he could never hope to compaſs, ſo long as his ſubjects had any proſpect of aſſiſtance from their brethren in republican principles, the Dutch; and therefore it behoved him to humble theſe latter, when he would find no difficulty in keeping his own people within the bounds of obedience; adding, that he might reſt aſſured the king of France would aſſiſt him with what aſſiſtance of men or money he ſhould think proper to require, in caſe of any commotions in England. Charles, blinded by the love he bore his ſiſter, and intoxicated with the proſpect of governing with unlimited authority, ſigned every thing that Lewis deſired, and laid a foundation for the ruin of his allies, in the midſt of feaſtings and diverſions.

Lewis, however, knowing the diſpoſition of Charles, and the natural inconſtancy of his temper, reſolved to bind him down to his engagements by the bands of pleaſure. For this purpoſe he ſent over with the princeſs Henrietta, mademoiſelle de Querouaille, a young lady of extraordinary beauty and accompliſhments, which inſtantly captivated the heart of Charles. She accompanied him to London, was created ducheſs of Portſmouth, and maintained her empire over him during the whole courſe of his life. She kept him to the connections with France, and continued to be the reigning favourite, while his former miſtreſs, lady Cleveland, was raiſed to the dignity of ducheſs, as a recompence for the influence ſhe had loſt.

The joy which Charles derived from his new alliance, was greatly damped by the loſs of his ſiſter *, who died in a ſudden and ſhocking manner, immediately after her return to France. This event made no alteration in what had been reſolved upon between the two kings. Charles diſpatched the duke of Buckingham to Paris (though on another pretence) to conclude and ſign the treaty; by which the ſpoils of the Dutch, devoted to deſtruction, were ſhared between the two powers, in the ſame manner as Flanders had been ſhared between the Dutch and the French in 1635.

Matters however could not be carried on ſo ſecretly, but that the rumour of this alliance, and the end it was deſigned for, began to ſpread abroad; but Europe liſtened to it without being ſtirred. The emperor taken up with ſeditions in Hungary, the Swede lulled aſleep with negotiations, and the Spaniſh monarchy ſtill weak, and ever irreſolute and ſlow in its determinations, left Lewis to follow the career of his ambition uninterrupted.

In September this year, he made an irruption into Lorraine by his general marſhal de Crequi. The duke, who was taken unawares, was obliged to fly, and leave his duchy a prey to the marſhal, who took poſſeſſion of it in the name of his maſter. The duke vainly hoped for the interpoſition of Charles to the king of France, in return for ſo much money lent and given him in his exile, and for the offer of his forces for his reſtoration. His envoy was anſwered, "That the king was ſorry for what had happened, and that the preſent violence, like the miſchiefs of a ſudden inundation, muſt be endured at this time."

The Dutch now began to apprehend ſome deſign againſt their ſafety; but to compleat their misfortunes, their country was at that time divided into two factions; the one compoſed of rigid republicans, to whom the leaſt ſhadow of abſolute authority ſeemed a monſter contrary to the laws of human ſociety; the other of republicans of a more moderate diſpoſition, who were deſirous of inveſting the young prince of Orange, afterwards the famous William III. with the poſts and dignities of his anceſtors. The grand penſionary John de Wit, and his brother Cornelius, were at the head of the rigid ſticklers for liberty; but the young prince's party began to gain ground. The republic was more attentive to its domeſtic diſſenſions, than to the danger which threatened it from without, and this contributed to its own ruin.

Lewis not only purchaſed the king of England, but he likewiſe brought over the elector of Cologne, and the famous Van Galen, biſhop of Munſter, who was greedy of war and plunder, and was naturally an enemy to the Dutch. Lewis had formerly aſſiſted them againſt this biſhop; he now joined with him for their deſtruction. The Swedes, who in 1668, had united with the republic to check the projects of a conqueror, who had then no deſigns againſt them, abandoned her as ſoon as they ſaw her threatened with ruin, and renewed their old connections with France, on condition of receiving the former ſubſidies.

It is ſomewhat ſingular and worthy of remark, that of all the enemies who were about to fall upon this petty ſtate, there was not one that could allege a lawful pretext for entering into the war. This was much ſuch an undertaking as the league between Lewis XII. and the emperor Maximilian, as king of Spain, who entered into a covenant to deſtroy the republic of Venice, only for being rich and haughty †. I have ſomewhat preadvanced the order of theſe events, and therefore muſt return back.

The parliament of England meeting on October 24, the king addreſſed them in a ſhort ſpeech, and then the lord-keeper by his orders repreſented the preſſing exigencies of the ſtate, and the abſolute neceſſity of an immediate ſupply: he told them, "That France and the States-general were powerfully arming by ſea and land, were building new

* The ducheſs of Orleans was, in conſequence of drinking a glaſs of ſuccory-water, ſuddenly ſeized with racking pains in her bowels, of which ſhe died within a few hours, on the nineteenth of June. She was ſuppoſed to have fallen a ſacrifice to the jealouſy of her huſband, who ſeemed to take umbrage at the intimacy of friendſhip that ſubſiſted between her and his maſter Lewis XIV.

† Volt. Age of Lewis XIV.

ſhips, and filling their magazines with all ſorts of warlike ſtores and proviſions: that ſince the beginning of the laſt war with Holland, France had increaſed her maritime force above three times what it was before; and Holland alſo, ſince the concluſion of the peace, had been diligent in augmenting her fleets: that in ſuch a juncture, common prudence required that his majeſty ſhould make ſome ſuitable preparations: that he had therefore given orders for the fitting out fifty ſail of the greateſt ſhips againſt the ſpring, beſides thoſe which were to be for the ſecurity of trade, as foreſeeing if he ſhould neglect to put his navy on a reſpectable footing, ſuch neglect might be a temptation to thoſe who ſeem not now to intend it, to offer an affront, if not do an injury, to this nation." He then expatiated upon the ſeveral advantageous leagues his majeſty had entered into for the defence of his kingdom, and the benefit of commerce, particularly inſtancing the Triple Alliance with the Dutch and Swede, and the treaties concluded with Portugal and Denmark. Finally, he aſſured them that the king would prorogue the parliament at Chriſtmas, and deſired they would regulate their meaſures accordingly.

The commons were the dupes of this ſhameful prevarication of the king, and ignorant of, or at leaſt not crediting, the report of his engagements with France, voted him two millions and an half ſterling. Never had a larger ſupply been granted by the parliament, and never ſurely was it leſs deſerved by the meaſures of the king and his council, ſuch of them, I mean, as were concerned in the management of the late ſhameful negotiation with France. The ordinary council conſiſted of twenty-one perſons, but theſe were thought by no means proper to be entruſted with the conduct of this affair; indeed it was thought impoſſible to engage ſo many perſons of the firſt rank in ſuch a plot upon their country. To effect therefore this undertaking with the greater caution and ſafety, the king had eſtabliſhed a cabinet council of the five perſons we have already named, under the title of the CABAL, which was denominated the committee of council for foreign affairs; and prince Rupert, the duke of Ormond, ſecretary Trevor, and even the lord-keeper Bridgman, men of incorruptible integrity, were never admitted to any of their deliberations.

The king having brought the commons to his lure, thought proper to adjourn the parliament till about the end of January. In the mean time, ſir William Temple, the Engliſh reſident at Holland, was recalled from thence, but on pretence that the king only wanted to confer with him about ſome private affairs, after which he ſhould be allowed to return. That miniſter had acquired ſo great a reputation for honour and integrity, that the Cabal were perſuaded no orders could prevail on him to promote or countenance meaſures which were deſtructive to the intereſt of his country. De Wit, who was an admirer of the great and good qualities of the Engliſh reſident, could not part with him without great regret. The flimſy artifice made uſe of to remove him from the Hague was clearly ſeen through, and the Dutch now began to be fully convinced of the inſincerity of Charles. Accordingly, they ordered their ambaſſador here to acquaint the king, that they ſhould regard the recall of ſir William Temple as an undoubted proof of a change of meaſures in the Engliſh court. *.

The parliament reſuming its ſeſſion the latter end of January, the king in February ſent a meſſage to haſten the money bills: but the commons, in conjunction with the lords, preſented to him a ſolemn addreſs upon the great growth of popery, repreſenting the cauſes and the remedies: one of which was, that no papiſt, or reputed papiſt, ſhould be capable of holding any office, civil or military. The king, according to cuſtom, ſet forth a proclamation againſt them, which was only matter of form, and without any manner of effect, as was all along the caſe, from the beginning of the reign of James I. to the end of Charles II.

When the firſt of the money-bills went up to the houſe of lords, the lord Lucas made a moſt ſevere ſpeech againſt the enormous grants made to the crown, and the ſhameful manner in which thoſe ſupplies had been ſquandered away. He concluded his ſpeech with theſe words: "While we are continually giving, and the king as continually craving, it is neceſſary to make ſome eſtimate for ourſelves. Would his majeſty be pleaſed to have a quarter of our eſtates, for my part, he ſhould have it. Would he be pleaſed to have the half; for my part, upon good occaſions, he ſhall have it: but then let us have ſome aſſurances of the quiet enjoyment of that reſidue, and know what we have to truſt to." The king had for ſome time made a practice of going to the houſe of peers without formality, on pretence of hearing the debates for his amuſement, though his real deſign was to influence their deliberations. This bold ſpeech of lord Lucas's gave his majeſty, who was then preſent, great umbrage; but he was incenſed beyond meaſure when he ſaw it ſoon afterwards printed and publiſhed, and iſſued an order to have it burned by the hands of the common executioner.

It had however made ſo great an impreſſion on the auguſt aſſembly in which it was delivered, that the lords began to make ſome alterations in the money-bill which had been tranſmitted by the commons. Theſe latter highly reſented this attempt, which they conſidered as an infringement on their undoubted right of regulating all money-bills. Conferences were held between the two houſes, in order to compromiſe the quarrel: but inſtead of coming to an amicable agreement, they carried the diſpute to ſuch an height, that the king was obliged to prorogue the parliament; and it was near two years before it ſat again. By this means, however, he loſt the money that had been voted him †.

Before

* This year died Henry Jenkins, a poor fiſherman of Yorkſhire, remarkable for his extreme age. He was born in the year 1501, and was at the time of his deceaſe one hundred and ſixty-nine years and ſome months old. He lived in the reigns of eight kings and queens of England.

† In the beginning of this ſeſſion was paſſed the famous Coventry Act, againſt maiming or diſfiguring, making it death. It was occaſioned by ſir John Coventry's being attacked by four ruffians

Before we proceed, we muſt not forget to mention the death of Anne ducheſs of York, daughter to Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon. She deceaſed on the thirty-firſt of March, 1671. In the time of her indiſpoſition, which was very long, ſhe abjured the proteſtant religion. She left two daughters, Mary and Anne, both afterwards queens of England. That the duke of York himſelf was a papiſt before the king's reſtoration, is very certain, though we know not the preciſe time of his changing his religion. The thing was a ſecret for ſome time, but of late years it was become the public talk of the court and kingdom. At laſt, ſoon after the death of his ducheſs, he made a formal abjuration of the proteſtant faith, and from that time openly declared himſelf a member of the church of Rome.

A very extraordinary accident happened about this time: one Blood, a diſcarded officer of the late protector's, with two or three accomplices, found means to ſteal the crown and globe out of the Tower. Blood was a moſt daring villain: he had ſome time before made an attempt to aſſaſſinate the duke of Ormond, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and had failed in his purpoſe, but eſcaped without diſcovery. He was detected in this ſecond villainy; but by a ſtrange lenity, or rather weakneſs in Charles, he not only pardoned him, but ſettled a penſion of five hundred pounds a year on him, in land in Ireland. It is ſaid the audacious ruffian had intimidated the king into compliance, by ſolemnly ſwearing that he belonged to a choſen band, who would not fail to revenge his death on Charles himſelf, and all his family, having taken ſuch meaſures for that purpoſe, as no human cunning or precaution could prevent.

No wonder that a conduct in the king, ſo big with error and abſurdity, ſhould fill the minds of the people with diſcontent and ill humour; and this ſpirit of diſſatisfaction was ſtill farther increaſed by another action of his, which evidently tended to the deſtruction of public credit. His profuſion was ſo great, that notwithſtanding the large ſums he had received from parliament, and ſeven hundred thouſand pounds he had touched from the French, viz. on entering into the late treaty with them againſt Holland, he was ſtill in want of money. Upon this the Cabal adviſed him to ſhut up the exchequer, which he actually did; and it continued ſhut for a year and ſome months, to the great diſtreſs and ruin of many families, who had lent their fortunes on government ſecurity. No king of England before Charles had ever dared to riſk the commiſſion of ſuch a flagrant act of injuſtice; and in any other times he himſelf might have fallen the victim of his own oppreſſion and folly. The whole kingdom reſounded with complaints. The moſt ſevere libels againſt the king and his court flew all over the nation; but Charles, regardleſs of thoſe unavailing marks of diſcontent, perſiſted in his own way, and forgot, in the arms of love and pleaſure, the reproaches he incurred by his avarice and injuſtice.

The next meaſure of the court was no leſs diſpleaſing to the nation in general, and was indeed an open violation of what the king promiſed to both houſes of parliament when they preſented the addreſs againſt papiſts. Charles (in virtue of his ſupreme power in eccleſiaſtical matters) iſſued a proclamation, ſuſpending the penal laws which had been made againſt all nonconformiſts and recuſants whatſoever, and granting to the proteſtant diſſenters, the public exerciſe of their religion, and to the catholics the exerciſe of it in their private houſes. At firſt ſight this act carries a plauſible, and even praiſe-worthy appearance; but the diſpoſitions of the king and court convinced every thinking man of thoſe times, that this was no other than a ſcheme for introducing by degrees the full and uninterrupted uſe of their religion to the catholics; or, in other words, to exalt popery above the eſtabliſhed faith of the kingdom. The event proves the truth of this conjecture. It is obſervable, that the lord-keeper Bridgman refuſed to put the ſeals to this edict for ſuſpending the penal laws, and was for that reaſon, though under different pretexts, deprived of his office. Sir Anthony-Aſhley Cooper was appointed chancellor in his place, and created earl of Shafteſbury. Soon after ſir Thomas Clifford was made lord Clifford and lord high-treaſurer, the lord Arlington an earl, and the earl of Lauderdale a duke. Thus did all the members of the infamous Cabal receive the wages of their iniquity. Theſe proceedings took up the greateſt part of the year 1671, and the beginning of 1672*: but a blow was now going to be ſtruck which the nation little expected, and which filled every honeſt mind with amazement, ſhame, and indignation.

In the preceding year the court of England had taken occaſion to pick a quarrel with the Dutch, on account of their fleet under the admiral Van Ghent having neglected to pay the honours due to the Engliſh flag, though at that time flying aboard a yacht only that had been ſent to bring the lady Temple over from Holland, and that the Dutch fleet was then riding in their own harbour. The Dutch offered to make any conceſſion agreeable with reaſon and juſtice; but the Cabal, bent upon the infamous war they had projected againſt the States, perſiſted in complaining of this as an unpardonable inſult, and declined to enter upon any compromiſe.

In the ſpring of this year it became generally known that the great naval preparations making by the court were deſtined againſt the States-General: but, previous to publiſhing the cauſe of this war, a perfidious attempt was made upon the Dutch Smyrna fleet, amounting to ſeventy ſail, and valued at a million and an half. The deſign however failed, after an engagement of three days, by the bravery of the Dutch admiral: and Charles, no longer able to keep on the maſk, declared war in form againſt the States-General on the ſeventeenth of March, 1672. Never ſurely were reaſons more abſurd and ridiculous, employed to

ruffians in the ſtreet, and having his noſe ſlit. He was a member of parliament, and a great oppoſer of the money-bills; and when they were paſſed propoſed laying a tax upon the playhouſes, at the ſame time throwing out ſome indecent reflections againſt the king and his favourites. It is ſaid he was aſſaſſinated by perſons ſet on by the court for that purpoſe. In this ſeſſion the act of Navigation was repealed.

† In the courſe of this year, 1671, died two famous generals, diſtinguiſhed by their bravery and experience in the civil wars. The firſt was the lord Fairfax, the generaliſſimo; and the other Edward Montagu, earl of Mancheſter. I ſhall ſay no more of them, than what I have done in the reign of Charles I. excepting that both of them were very ſerviceable to the bringing about the reſtoration of his ſon.

cover a flagrant violation of treaty. Complaints were made of injuries offered to the East India company, which yet that company disowned. The detention of some English subjects in Surinam was alleged, tho' it was known that they had remained voluntarily in that island: the refusal of a Dutch fleet on their own coasts to pay the honours of the flag to an English yacht is represented as an unpardonable insult: and, to compleat the farce, mention was made of some abusive pictures, reflecting on the English nation *.

To clear up the meaning of this last article, it will be necessary to inform the reader, that after the destroying the English ships in the harbour of Chatham, Cornelius de Wit, brother to the great pensionary, who was then aboard the Dutch fleet, and performed considerable service, had caused his own portrait to be painted; on the back ground of which were represented some ships on fire in an harbour. The truth is, that de Wit had indulged himself in this trifling monument of his fame; but the picture itself was in a manner unknown. The English ministers, who had transmitted their master's pretended grievances in writing to the States-General, made mention of "certain abusive pictures." Now the Dutch, who always translate the memorials of foreign states into French, had rendered the term Abusive, by the French words *fautifs*, *trompeurs*, "False or Lying Pictures." Upon which they returned for answer, that they did not know what was meant by Lying Pictures. In short, they never once conceived that it related to this portrait of their fellow-citizen; nor could they imagine this to be a pretext for the war.

This declaration of war by the English was quickly followed by another on the part of the king of France, who had little else to allege for the reasons of this rupture but the affair of Van Beuninghen's medal, already spoken of.

All that the efforts of ambition and human foresight could devise for the destruction of a nation, was put in practice by Lewis XIV. for exterminating the wretched States of Holland. According to monsieur de Voltaire, no less than fifty millions of livres, worth ninety-seven millions of their present currency †, were expended in the most pompous preparations. Thirty men of war, of fifty guns each, joined the English fleet, which consisted of an hundred sail. The French monarch, accompanied by his brother the duke of Orleans, marched at the head of one hundred and twelve thousand men towards Maistrecht and Charleron, on the frontiers of Spanish Flanders and Holland. The bishop of Munster and the elector of Cologne had about twenty thousand men. The prince of Condé and marshal Turenne were the head generals of the French king's army, and the duke of Luxemburg commanded under them. The famous engineer Vauban was appointed to manage the sieges. Against such a formidable force, so many renowned generals, and immense treasures in money to bribe the fidelity of those who commanded garrisons; what had the republic of Holland to oppose? A young prince of a weak constitution, who had never seen a battle nor a siege, and about twenty-five thousand ill-trained soldiers, which were all the military force of the country. In a word, the destruction of the republic appeared inevitable.

The States-General, in the utmost consternation, wrote to the king of France, beseeching him in the humblest manner to let them know if the great preparations he was making were really destined against them, how they had offended him, or what satisfaction he required? To these submissions he returned for answer, "That he should employ his troops in such manner as became his dignity, for which he should be accountable to no one."

In May Lewis took the field, and soon made himself master of all Guelderland, and the towns upon the Yssel. The inhabitants of Utrecht sent the keys of their city to the conqueror, and the whole province of that name capitulated. Lewis made his entry into Utrecht on the twentieth of June in triumph. Only the provinces of Holland and Zealand remained free; and Amsterdam itself seemed but to wait the hour of its slavery or destruction. A little more diligence on the part of the king of France would have put this important fortress into his hands. This capital once taken, not only the republic itself must have fallen, but there would no longer have been such a state as Holland. Some of the richest families, and those who were zealous lovers of liberty, were preparing to fly their devoted country, and embark for Batavia. Nor were the Dutch thus distressed by land only; the combined fleets of England and France threatened the destruction of their maritime powers, and the annihilation of their navy. The States, however, had not been negligent in putting their fleet on a respectable footing; and de Ruyter, with a fleet of 90 ships, was sent in quest of the English and French fleets, which were commanded by the duke of York and the marshal d'Estrées, and were riding in Solebay harbour ‡ in a careless manner, as little expecting a vessel from an enemy that seemed to have so much work cut out for them at home. Cornelius de Wit was on board as deputy from the States. The English were very near being surprized; but recovering themselves, they slipt their cables, as did also the French, and stood out to meet the enemy, when there followed a most desperate engagement, in which the commanders and seamen on each side displayed the greatest conduct and courage imaginable. In short, after a most bloody dispute, in which the loss on both sides was very great, they separated with equal success. The ship on board of which the earl of Sandwich hoisted his flag as admiral of the blue squadron, was blown up, with himself and the whole crew, amounting to one thousand men; and on the side of the Dutch, rear-admiral Van Ghent was killed. The historians of the two parties equally pretend to the honour of the chasing of the enemy's fleet; but both the one and the other speak in a manner which discovers no great assurance: for it is not with engagements at sea as with those at land, where commonly he that remains upon the field of battle has a right to assume the honour of the victory: whereas in naval engagements, a fog, a calm, a wind either contrary or tempestuous, may force the fleet which has had the advantage to retreat the first. However,

* Volt. Age of Lewis XIV.

† About two millions of our English money.

‡ A sea-port on the coast of Suffolk.

this

this be, bonfires were equally made at London and the Hague for the joy of this victory, though with very little reaſon on either ſide. The Engliſh complained that the French were wanting in their duty, and only fought at a diſtance, after they had ſeparated from the fleet. This conduct was aſcribed to ſecret orders given to count d'Eſtrées, not to expoſe too much his majeſty's ſhips, but to leave the Engliſh and Dutch fleets to effect their own deſtruction.

The Dutch were now in a moſt melancholy ſituation; and to add to their diſtreſſes, the ſtate was diſtracted by the diviſions which commonly ariſe among an unfortunate people, who impute to each other the public calamities. The grand penſionary John de Wit thought there was no other way left to ſave what remained of his wretched country, but by ſuing to the victors for peace. Full of a republican ſpirit, and jealous of his perſonal authority, he dreaded the aggrandiſement of the houſe of Orange ſtill more than the conqueſts of the French king. The prince of Orange, on his ſide, who had more ambition than de Wit, and was as much attached to his country, tried all means to obtain the ſtadtholderſhip, and oppoſed a peace with as much vehemence as de Wit promoted it. The States, however, came to a reſolution to ſue for peace; and deputies were ſent to the French camp to implore mercy in the name of a republic, who ſix months before looked upon itſelf as the arbiter of kings. Lewis received the deputies with an arrogance that was an inſult upon humanity; and when, after paſſing to and fro, he at length deigned to dictate the terms on which he would permit them to exiſt as a ſtate; his demands were little better than articles of ſlavery; and a peace on thoſe conditions appeared inſupportable. The haughtineſs of the conqueror inſpired the vanquiſhed with a deſperate courage, and it was unanimouſly reſolved to die fighting.

The province of Holland, to ſtop the progreſs of the invader, opened her ſluices, and laid the country under water. In this exigency the hearts and hopes of every one were turned to the prince of Orange. The populace grew furious againſt the grand penſionary, who had ſued for peace, and whom they called the betrayer of his country. The prince, by his politics and his party, increaſed the ferment. Cornelius de Wit, the penſionary's brother, was accuſed of a deſign to murder the prince. At length the two brothers were, on the twentieth of Auguſt, maſſacred at the Hague by the mad multitude, after one of them had governed the republic for upwards of nineteen years with the moſt unſpotted integrity; and the other had hazarded his life in fighting its battles. The moſt ſhocking cruelties which could enter the imagination of a furious populace, were exerciſed upon the dead bodies of the noble victims.

The murder of the de Wits extinguiſhed for the time the party diſſenſions; and all men, from fear or prudence, were unanimous in ſubmitting to the prince of Orange; the States alſo came to a reſolution to recall the edict which the penſionary had cauſed to be made in the year 1667, and by which they obliged themſelves never to admit the dignity of a ſtadtholder, and the prince of Orange was accordingly admitted to that office.

The combined princes perceiving they were likely to meet with a vigorous oppoſition, tried all means to corrupt the prince of Orange, then only twenty-two years old: but all in vain. They offered him the ſovereignty of Holland, with the united forces of France and England to ſupport him therein; but he rejected the propoſal with ſcorn: and when the deſperate condition of his country was urged as a reaſon for his compliance, he anſwered with a ſpirit that would have done honour to the moſt diſtinguiſhed heroes of liberty and patriotiſm that we read of in hiſtory: "I have yet one way left, replied he, not to be ſpectator of the final ruin of my country, and that is, to die in the laſt dyke." In fine, the actions of this young prince every way correſponded with the ſentiments he profeſſed. Being now inveſted with the full authority, he bent all his efforts againſt the common enemy. He overflowed all the paſſes by which the French could penetrate into the reſt of the country. By his prompt and ſecret negotiations, he rouſed the emperor, the empire, the Spaniſh council, and the government of Flanders, from their lethargy; he even diſpoſed the Engliſh court to liſten to peace. In a word, Lewis had entered Holland in May, and before September all Europe was in confederacy againſt him. Monterey, governor of Flanders, ſent a few regiments privately to the aſſiſtance of the United Provinces: the emperor Leopold likewiſe diſpatched Montecuculli at the head of twenty thouſand men; and the elector of Brandenburg took the field with twenty-five thouſand troops, whom he kept in his own pay.

The French king now quitted his army, as there were no more conqueſts to be made in a country that was overflowed. It was even dangerous to keep the provinces which had been conquered. Lewis, deſirous to ſecure the glory he had acquired, contented himſelf with having taken ſuch a number of towns in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time; and leaving Turenne and Luxembourg to finiſh the war, he returned to St. Germains, about the end of ſummer, to enjoy his triumphs. But while his ſubjects were every where erecting monuments of his conqueſt, the powers of Europe were at work to ſnatch them out of his hands, conſidering the reduction of Holland as the prelude to their own ſlavery; and having no hopes of being able to defend themſelves, ſhould the power of France, already exorbitant, be ſtill farther encreaſed by ſuch a mighty acceſſion.

It is now time to direct the reader's attention to the ſtate of affairs in England, of which I ſhall proceed to give a ſhort detail, confining myſelf only to the principal tranſactions.

Whilſt the nation was generally uneaſy at the late proceedings of the court, the king's exceſſive prodigality having rendered all the ſums he had received inſufficient for carrying on the war, the Cabal found it neceſſary at laſt to have recourſe to a parliament, which broke all their meaſures. Indeed they were hardly ſat down,

* See Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV. to which I acknowlege myſelf indebted for great part of the narrative of this war.

which they did on the fourth of February, 1673, when it appeared that the Country Party, or rather that of the people, was become more powerful in the houſe of commons than the court party; and it was not till after a ſubmiſſion the moſt humiliating that a ſovereign could make, that Charles could obtain of them the ſupplies he demanded.

I have already taken notice that the court, agreeable to the plan it had formed of reducing the nation to a ſtate of abſolute dependance on the crown, had iſſued a declaration for liberty of conſcience. The earl of Shafteſbury, lord chancellor, had been the principal promoter of this meaſure; and there is reaſon to believe that if the king had ſeconded what he had begun, with any degree of firmneſs and reſolution, as he had faithfully promiſed the Cabal he would do, he might have ſucceeded in this deſign, which, happily for the nation, was rendered for ever unattainable by his weakneſs and caprice. To make this more clear to the reader, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that the Roman catholics being, in virtue of this declaration, rendered capable of enjoying poſts and offices in the ſtate, and having a ſeat in parliament, would ſoon have made a conſiderable number in the houſe, through the intrigues of the court at elections; and have carried any point they pleaſed againſt the proteſtant members. Hence a parliament, compoſed of a majority of papiſts, would in fact have been little better than a body blindly devoted to the court, if only from motives of gratitude to their patrons and benefactors. The earl of Shafteſbury, before he communicated this plan to the king, had reſolved with himſelf, in caſe Charles ſhould want reſolution in the proſecution of it, to quit the court party, and join the oppoſition; by that means, to ſecure himſelf from the perſecution which he foreſaw would befal him, as the adviſer, or at leaſt promoter, of ſo pernicious a ſtep, which threatened the ſubverſion of the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of government both in church and ſtate. The example of the earl of Clarendon was as yet too recent to be forgotten, and he made not the leaſt doubt that his ſovereign would as readily ſacrifice him to the indignation of the parliament and the people, as he had done that faithful ſervant.

The event proved the truth of his ſuſpicions. Charles failed in his reſolution at the very time it behoved him to have maintained it with the greateſt firmneſs. He was diſtreſſed for money: he found he could not hope for a ſupply, unleſs he revoked his declaration of liberty of conſcience, againſt which the parliament, and the moſt reſpectable bodies of the kingdom, had preſented to him formal addreſſes. He tried indeed to break, or at leaſt weaken the oppoſition, by proroguing the parliament: but they reſumed their remonſtrances with their ſeſſion. The duke of York, and moſt of the Cabal, adviſed the king to ſupport his declaration. Charles, after wavering ſome time, preferred his intereſt to the engagements he had entered into with his party; and from a greedineſs of money only, not from any conviction of the badneſs of his former meaſures, he at laſt recalled his declaration. The Cabal and the popiſh party were exceedingly incenſed at this want of reſolution in the king; and the earl of Shafteſbury immediately quitting the court, came over to the Country Party, and was now the foremoſt in the houſe of lords againſt popery, the Dutch war, and the alliance with France.

The commons, not contented with this triumph over the court, ſoon after paſſed another bill, with the concurrence of the lords, entitled, "An act to prevent the dangers which may happen from popiſh recuſants," commonly called The Teſt Act, whereby "all perſons enjoying any office, or place of truſt or profit, were required to take the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy, and alſo to receive the communion (after the rites of the church of England) in ſome pariſh church, &c." They next preſented two petitions concerning grievances; and the king having promiſed to redreſs them, they paſſed the money-bill without mentioning any thing of the war, leſt they ſhould ſeem to approve of it: and moreover a proviſo was tacked to it, importing, "That no papiſt ſhould be capable of holding any public employment."

This bill and the Teſt Act was paſſed by the king on the twenty-ninth of March, 1673, and the parliament was then adjourned to October. The conſequence of the Teſt Act was, that the popiſh officers reſigned their places; and among the reſt the duke of York his poſt of lord high-admiral, and the lord Clifford his treaſurer's ſtaff, who died ſoon after. Sir Thomas Oſborne, created earl of Danby, ſucceeded him in the office of treaſurer; and Shafteſbury, whoſe revolt from the Cabal was now univerſally known, was deprived of the office of chancellor, and ſir Heneage Finch made keeper of the great ſeal.

The late mortification which the king met with from his parliament was not the only one by which he may be ſaid to have purchaſed the ſubſidy it granted him. His brother the duke of York, then a widower, had determined to contract a new engagement, and had fixed his eyes on Mary, ſiſter to the duke of Modena, a princeſs educated in the Romiſh faith. This alliance was warmly oppoſed by the parliament, who on the occaſion preſented an addreſs to the king, conceived in the ſtrongeſt terms, and expreſſive of their apprehenſions from ſuch a match. They were, however, very little regarded; and the duke of York, reſolved not to be contradicted in a point he thought ſo eſſential to the happineſs of his life, publicly eſpouſed that princeſs (who had arrived in England for that purpoſe) on the twenty-firſt of November this year, in ſpite of the oppoſition of the commons.

Charles in the mean time continued to proſecute the war againſt the Dutch by ſea with unremitting ardour. He beſtowed the chief command of the fleet on his couſin prince Rupert, in room of the duke of York. The prince having joined the French admiral, went in queſt of the Dutch, to force them to an engagement; and as theſe latter were far from declining the offer, they ſoon came to blows. The firſt engagement was fought on the eighth of June, and proved very obſtinate and bloody; but as neither ſide could claim the victory, the combat was renewed on the fourteenth, when, after a warm conteſt, the fortune of the day remained as doubtful as before. A third, which was fought on the eleventh day of Auguſt at the Texel, proved more deciſive. The combined fleets fell in with the Dutch, commanded by de Ruyter and Van Tromp, a ſon worthy the gallant father from whom he ſprung. When the action

began, de Ruyter ſingled out prince Rupert; Tromp oppoſed himſelf to ſir Edward Spragg, the vice-admiral; and Brankert, the Dutch rear-admiral, bore up to the marſhal d'Eſtrees. The battle was fought with ſurpriſing emulation by the Engliſh and Dutch officers; but the French kept aloof, and left the Engliſh to ſuſtain all the fury of the fight. In vain did prince Rupert make a ſignal for d'Eſtrees to bear down to his aſſiſtance: the other regarded it not; and the majority of the Engliſh ſhips had been ſo roughly handled, that the prince could not purſue an advantage he had gained by means of his fire-ſhips; and which, if properly aſſiſted, would in all probability have obtained him a complete conqueſt. He therefore collected his ſtraggled ſhips, and hauled off to the Engliſh ſhore, leaving the victory undecided, or rather in favour of the Dutch, who gained all they could wiſh. A rich fleet which they expected from the Eaſt-Indies, arrived unmoleſted in their ports: they rendered abortive a deſcent that had been meditated on the coaſt of Zealand; and, which was ſtill a greater advantage to them, they brought the Engliſh nation to wiſh ardently the concluſion of a war that had exhauſted it of men and money, without the leaſt proſpect of honour or profit.

The Engliſh parliament met towards the end of October, and had a warm ſeſſion of only nine days, when they were again prorogued. They had found time, however, to paſs the following votes: That the evil counſellors about the king were a grievance, and that the duke of Lauderdale was a grievance, and not fit to be employed in any office. When they met again on the ſeventh day of January, 1674, agreeable to their prorogation, they went ſtill more earneſtly to work; and being by this time fully aware of the dangerous deſigns of Charles, they reſolved to prevent the execution of thoſe plans of arbitrary power which he had projected, and ſeriouſly debated on the grievances of the nation. They ſeem in the beginning of their ſeſſion to have copied the example of the parliament of 1640. Both houſes addreſſed for a general faſt, to implore the bleſſing of God's aſſiſtance againſt the dangerous efforts of popery; and the commons came to a reſolution to grant no more ſupplies till the grievances they enumerated were redreſſed, and the proteſtant religion, and their liberties and properties, fully ſecured. Both houſes voted by a great majority to addreſs the king for the removal of the duke of Lauderdale from all his employments, and from his majeſty's preſence and councils for ever. They examined the duke of Buckingham upon ſeveral queries which they prepared, in relation to ſome arbitrary ſteps of the government *; but not ſatisfied with his anſwers, they paſſed the ſame vote againſt him as they had done againſt Lauderdale. Arlington's turn came next; but he found means to clear up his conduct ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the houſe, that although an impeachment was prepared againſt him, they thought proper to drop the proſecution.

Charles was extremely ſhocked at theſe vigorous proceedings of the commons; and hearing that they had prepared a bill for a general faſt, to diſtinguiſh papiſts from proteſtants, and that they were entering more warmly than ever into the examination of grievances: finding alſo that it would be impoſſible to maintain the war, which was ſo diſagreeable to the parliament and nation in general, without money, which the former would not grant him; he began to liſten to the terms propoſed by the States-General for a ſeparate peace. In vain did the marquis de Rouvigny, ambaſſador from Lewis XIV. make him the moſt tempting offers to keep him firm to his engagements; in vain did he threaten him with the ſtoppage of the yearly ſtipend of one hundred thouſand pounds, which Lewis had been politic enough to give, and Charles mean enough to receive, for aſſiſting that ambitious prince in his projects of univerſal power. Promiſes and threats were now equally unavailing. Charles choſe rather to reconcile himſelf to his parliament and his people, by agreeing to a peace they ſo much deſired, than to truſt to the ſupport of France. Six commiſſioners, of whom the earl of Arlington was one, were appointed to confer with the like number ſent from the States of Holland, and in fifteen days the treaty was concluded. It was a renewal of the peace of Breda, with theſe additions: That the Dutch ſhould pay the compliment to the Engliſh of ſtriking to their flag, whether in large fleets or in a ſingle veſſel; and pay about three hundred thouſand pounds to Charles, towards defraying the expence of his armaments.

This peace with Holland, which was proclaimed on the twenty-eighth of February, 1674, was very near bringing on an alliance offenſive and defenſive between that republic and our court againſt the king of France. It was warmly ſollicited by almoſt all the European powers, who repreſented it as the only infallible means to put a ſtop to the alarming progreſs of the French monarch, and reſtore a laſting peace to the many countries that had been deſolated by the late cruel and inhuman war. The two houſes of parliament ſupported theſe remonſtrances with all their power. Their hatred to the French was ſo great, that they would gladly have relinquiſhed the enjoyments of the new peace for a time, to ſee their king armed againſt the common diſturber of the tranquility of Europe; and would have thought no ſupplies too great to enable him to proſecute a war that tended to the public good. Charles, however, paid no regard to their remonſtrances. Prompted equally by his hatred to the Dutch, and the hopes of ſtill receiving a powerful aſſiſtance from France, he refuſed to ſacrifice his ally to the reſentment of his enemies. In a word, he ſtill remained the

* He was required to give a diſtinct anſwer to the following queſtions which were propoſed to him: Whether any perſon had given him any ill advice againſt the liberties and privileges of the houſe of commons, or tending to alter the conſtitution? who were the perſons, and what was their advice? by whoſe advice was the army raiſed, and the command beſtowed upon count Schomberg? by whoſe advice was the army brought up to awe the debates and reſolutions of the houſe of commons? who made the triple alliance? who made the firſt treaty with France, by which that alliance was broken? by whoſe advice was the exchequer ſhut, and a ſtop put to the uſual payments? who adviſed the declaration of indulgence? who adviſed the attacking the Smyrna-fleet before the declaration of the war? by whoſe advice was the war begun during a prorogation of parliament, and that prorogation ſo long continued? by whoſe counſel was the parliament prorogued in November laſt? Burnet. Rapin. Hume.

friend of Lewis, while his ſubjects more and more eſpouſed the intereſts of Holland, or rather of its ſtadtholder; an attachment which ſeems to have paved the way for that prince's afterwards aſcending the Engliſh throne. Though the parliament thanked the king for the peace which he had concluded with the Dutch, they ſtill continued to examine grievances; and in the courſe of their enquiries they attacked the court ſo briſkly, that Charles, apprehenſive of their going dangerous lengths, rendered their meaſures ineffectual, by an immediate prorogation; and having thus freed himſelf from all foreign and domeſtic diſputes, he reſumed his wonted life of indolence and debauchery *.

It was natural to think that Lewis would be highly incenſed at the mean manner in which his ally the king of England had abandoned him: on the contrary, he ſhewed no ſigns of reſentment, but readily accepted the mediation of Charles, which that monarch offered him towards bringing about a peace. The truth is, that the ſucceſs of the campaign had fallen ſhort of Lewis's hopes. The French were obliged to evacuate the three Dutch provinces with as much precipitation as they had conquered them, but not till they had made them pay dearly for their deliverance. The intendant Robert had raiſed in the ſingle province of Utrecht only, in one year, no leſs than ſixteen hundred and ſixty-eight florins. So great was their hurry to evacuate the country, which they had over-run with ſuch rapidity, that twenty-eight thouſand Dutch priſoners were reſtored at a crown a man. The triumphal arch of St. Lewis's gate, and the other monuments of Lewis's conqueſts, were hardly finiſhed when thoſe conqueſts were already abandoned. During the courſe of this invaſion, the Dutch had the honour of diſputing the empire of the ſea, and the dexterity to remove the theatre of the war out of their own country. Lewis was conſidered throughout Europe as one who had enjoyed the glory of a tranſient triumph with too much precipitation and pride. The fruits of the expedition were, that he had a bloody war to ſupport againſt the united forces of the empire, Spain, and Holland; ſaw himſelf abandoned by England, at length by the biſhop of Munſter, and even the elector of Cologne; and left the countries he had invaded, and was compelled to quit, more hated than admired †.

The allies were not equally ſucceſsful in other places. Lewis in a few weeks reconquered Franche-comté. In Alſace Turenne was able, with a much inferior force, to baffle all the attempts of the allied army. By a ſudden and unexpected march he attacked and defeated at Sintzheim the duke of Lorrain and Caprara, general of the Imperialiſts. Seventy thouſand Germans invaded Alſace, and took up their quarters in that province. Turenne, who had withdrawn into Lorraine, returned ſuddenly upon them. He attacked and routed a body of the enemy at Mulhauſen. He drove from Colmar the elector of Brandenbourg, who headed the German troops. He obtained a new victory at Turkheim: and having cleared the province entirely of the allies, he compelled them to repaſs the Rhine with great loſs and diſhonour.

Soon after the concluſion of the peace, ſir William Temple was again ſent ambaſſador to Holland, to aſſure the States-General of his Britannic majeſty's friendſhip, and to offer his mediation for putting an end to the war between the Dutch and the French: but the young prince of Orange had the command of the army; and propoſing to himſelf great advantages in the enſuing campaign, he found means to prevail with the States to wave their acceptance of the proffered mediation, on pretence that until a greater impreſſion could be made upon France, they had nothing to expect from negotiation.

During theſe tranſactions, the court of England underwent ſome alterations. Sir Joſeph Williamſon, who had been plenipotentiary at the court of Cologne, was appointed ſecretary of ſtate in the room of the earl of Arlington, who became lord high-chamberlain, though he aſpired at the office of treaſurer, which the king had beſtowed upon the new earl of Danby. This conteſt produced the moſt rancorous animoſity between thoſe two miniſters, who mutually exerted their utmoſt abilities for the ruin of each other. The duke of Buckingham was diſgraced, and loſt the dignity of chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, in which he was ſucceeded by the duke of Monmouth, who had ſignalized his courage in France, and began to be the minion of the people. Lauderdale ſtill kept his ground, by the moſt aſſiduous application to the king's paſſions, and the moſt devoted ſubſerviency to all his extravagant deſigns. Nevertheleſs, he was ſo much intimidated by the vote which had paſſed againſt him in the houſe of commons, that he affected openly to renounce the meaſures of the Cabal. He profeſſed uncommon zeal for the proteſtant religion, appeared conſtantly at church, was punctual in receiving the communion, and adviſed the king to put the laws vigorouſly in execution againſt the catholics.

All theſe arts, however, were incapable of appeaſing the reſentment of the commons; for at their meeting again, the thirteenth of April, 1675, after a receſs of fourteen months, the firſt thing they entered upon was a bill to prevent the growth of popery; wherein they declared, That the ſaying maſs ſhould be a ſufficient evidence of a perſon's being a popiſh prieſt; and inflicted penalties upon ſuch as heard maſs. After which they drew up an addreſs againſt the earl of Lauderdale, whoſe private converſation had been betrayed to them by Dr. Burnet, once a creature of the earl. In this addreſs they charged the duke with adviſing his majeſty to deprive his ſubjects of their rights and liberties; and particularly with ſaying in council, That his majeſty's edicts were equal to laws; and with procuring acts of parliament in Scotland to eſtabliſh a militia in that kingdom of twenty-two thouſand men, who were obliged to march into this kingdom for any ſervice his majeſty ſhould command, and to obey ſuch orders as they ſhould

* This year was remarkable for the death of two great men, namely, Milton, one of the greateſt geniuſes for epic poetry the world ever ſaw; and the earl of Clarendon, who died in the eighth year of his exile, at Rouen in Normandy, and in the ſixty-ſeventh of his age.

† Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV.

receive

receive from the privy council there; by which general words they conceived this realm was liable to be invaded on any pretence whatſoever; and therefore deſire that his majeſty would remove the ſaid duke from his employments, and from his majeſty's preſence, as a perſon dangerous to the government. The king, however, did not think proper to grant this requeſt, and gave ſome reaſons for his refuſal, which were not ſatisfactory to the commons, who thereupon reſolved to prepare a ſecond attack againſt the duke *. In the mean while, they ſet on foot an enquiry into the conduct of the lord-treaſurer, Thomas Oſborne earl of Danby; but finding themſelves deficient in proofs againſt this miniſter, they thought proper to let the proſecution drop; however, that the king might not want a ſufficient inſtance of the little confidence they repoſed in his royal word, they drew up an addreſs, beſeeching his majeſty to recal the Engliſh forces in the French ſervice, and forbid his majeſty's ſubjects engaging in that ſervice for the future. To which his majeſty anſwered, that he would ſuffer no more of his ſubjects to engage for the future, but that he could not recal thoſe already engaged, without prejudice to his honour, and the peace of the kingdom. The commons appeared very little ſatisfied with this anſwer. A bill was framed, declaring it treaſon to levy money without authority of parliament; another vacating the ſeats of members who accepted of offices; and another ſecuring the liberty of the ſubjects, and to prevent the tranſporting them as priſoners to diſtant iſlands.

During theſe attacks of the Country Party, who were now headed and inſtigated to theſe warm proceedings by that political apoſtate Shafteſbury, the courtiers determined not to be idle. A bill for a new teſt was introduced into the houſe of peers by the earl of Lindſey (Bertie) for impoſing upon all perſons in eccleſiaſtical, civil, and military employments, as well as upon privy-counſellors and members of parliament, an oath renouncing the lawfulneſs of reſiſting the king, or thoſe acting under his commiſſion, on any pretence whatſoever, and declaring before God that they would never attempt to alter the government in church and ſtate. This oath had been firſt introduced in the Corporation Act, then in the Militia Act, and afterwards more fully in the Five Mile Act; but the times were now changed, and the meaſures of the court appeared ſuch, that it threatened no leſs than the total extinction of the liberty of the people to inveſt the miniſtry with ſuch an extenſive power of wreaking its revenge on any who ſhould oppoſe them. On the other hand, the ſpirited, or indeed over-zealous oppoſition of the commons to every ſtep of the king, and ſome of their late votes in particular, made the court party apprehenſive of a revival of the republican principles, which was therefore to be checked in time. This diverſity of opinions and views begat a very warm conteſt. Seventeen days were the debates continued with great zeal and animoſity; and all the rhetoric and reaſon of both parties were diſplayed on this remarkable occaſion. Shafteſbury ſignalized himſelf in a particular manner againſt the bill. He objected, that if arms might not be taken up againſt the king in any caſe, there was no diſtinction between an abſolute and a limited monarchy: "Neither our anceſtors, nor any other free people, had ever ſuffered their prince to have a mercenary ſtanding army, but wiſely provided that the ſovereign's ſafety ſhould be in them, as theirs was in him."

After all, this queſtion appears to be little better than a diſpute about words, and ſuch as it was abſolutely impoſſible preciſely to determine, ſince the merit or demerit, legality or unlawfulneſs of reſiſtance, muſt entirely depend upon the degrees of danger or oppoſition wherewith the people are threatened. The bill, notwithſtanding the great influence of the court, was only carried by two voices in the houſe of peers. All the popiſh lords, headed by the earl of Briſtol, voted againſt it. It was ſent down to the houſe of commons, where it was likely to meet with a ſtronger oppoſition; but a diſpute which happened between the two houſes prevented the paſſing of this, and of every other bill formed during the preſent ſeſſion.

One Dr. Shirley being caſt in a law-ſuit in chancery by ſir John Fagg, a member of the houſe of commons, preferred an appeal to the houſe of peers. The commons ordered Dr. Shirley to be taken into cuſtody of their ſerjeant at arms: but their warrant for taking the doctor into cuſtody was forcibly taken from the ſerjeant's deputy by lord Mohun. The commons having notice of it, ſent to demand juſtice of the houſe of peers againſt the lord Mohun; and being anſwered, that that lord had done nothing but his duty; they reſolved, That whoever ſhould appear at the bar of the houſe of lords, to proſecute a ſuit againſt any member of theirs, ſhould be deemed an infringer of the privileges of parliament. On the other hand, the houſe of peers reſolved, That it was the undoubted right of the lords in judicature to determine in time of parliament appeals from inferior courts, where the members of either houſe were concerned, that there might not be a failure of juſtice. The commons on the contrary voted, That it was an undoubted right of their houſe, that none of their members be ſummoned to attend the lords; and afterwards came to the extravagant reſolve, That there lay no appeal to the juriſdiction of the lords in parliament from courts of equity. They took into cuſtody ſerjeant Pemberton, and the reſt of the lawyers who were council in the caſe; and ſir John Fagg, their own member, was ſent to the Tower for ſubmitting to the lords.

Conferences paſſed upon this between the two houſes, but with ſo much rancour and animoſity, that the king, alarmed for the conſequences, came to the houſe of peers the ninth of June; and after reproaching the two houſes for carrying their differences to ſuch an indecent height, told them that he found no poſſible means of putting an end to them, and preſerving the peace of the kingdom, but by a prorogation. He accordingly prorogued them to the thirteenth of October.

In the mean time, the belligerant powers on the continent ſeeming inclinable to terminate their diſputes in an amicable way, Nimeguen † was pitched upon as the place for treating of a general peace. The miniſters of the ſeveral intereſted pow-

* Created laſt year earl of Guildford in England.

† A city of Guelderland in the United Provinces.

ers reſorted thither, but little progreſs was made in theſe negotiations the preſent year.

The French, as uſual, made themſelves maſters of ſeveral places before the confederates marched out of their winter quarters, particularly the towns of Dinart and Huy, which the Dutch ſay was occaſioned by the prince of Orange's falling ill of the ſmall-pox; but after that prince was recovered, and had aſſembled his army, we find he was obliged to be a witneſs of the taking of Limburgh alſo. The Imperialiſts had better ſucceſs upon the Rhine; for the French having loſt their celebrated general the marſhal Turenne, by a random ſhot, were obliged to repaſs that river; and the duke of Lorraine, who commanded upon the Moſelle, defeated the marſhal Crequi, and took the town of Triers. The Engliſh troops in the French ſervice at this time compoſed part of that army upon the Rhine; and Churchill, afterwards the great duke of Marlborough, learnt the firſt rudiments of war there, under the marſhal Turenne. The Engliſh alſo had ſome forces in the ſervice of the Dutch; but this was not eſteemed any breach of the neutrality they profeſſed.

The thirteenth of October the king opened the fifteenth ſeſſion of this parliament with a very ſhort ſpeech, in which, after having recommended union to the two houſes, and the intereſts of the church of England, for which he pretended himſelf a warm advocate; he demanded a ſupply of them that ſhould be ſufficient for building new ſhips, and clearing off the anticipations of his revenue. The commons abſolutely refuſed to grant any money for paying off the crown debts; but they voted three hundred thouſand pounds for the expence of building twenty ſhips of a certain rate*; and appropriated the tonnage and poundage † to the ſupport of the navy. They next took into conſideration the diſadvantages the nation lay under with relation to the trade with France; and it appeared that the ſilk and linen manufactories only imported from France, amounted to eight hundred thouſand pounds and upwards; and that the manufactories of wool and ſilk exported to France did not amount to eighty-five thouſand pounds: that all other commodities of the product and manufacture of England exported to France, did not amount to ninety thouſand pounds; whereas the wine, brandy, and other commodities of the product and manufacture of France imported hither, amounted to three hundred thouſand pounds and upwards, beſides an incredible value in toys, new apparel, point lace, &c. ſo that our imports exceeded our exports thither at leaſt a million ſterling annually.

Commerce and navigation thus attended to, the commons thought it neceſſary, in the next place, to ſet a diſtinguiſhing mark on all ſuch of their members, as, preferring their own private intereſt to the good of the public, had ſold themſelves as penſioners to the court, and were ready on any occaſion to throw their votes into the ſcale of miniſterial influence. With this view they prepared the following declaration or teſt for every member to take, by which they "proteſted before God and that houſe, that they had not, directly or indirectly, received any ſum, gratuity, place, or penſion, or the promiſe of any from the court, or any foreign miniſter, ſince the firſt of January, 1672, but what they then gave in writing to the houſe; nor did they know of any ſuit, gift, grant, or promiſe, to any member of the houſe but what they had ſo inſerted in writing, nor had given a vote in parliament for any reward or promiſe whatſoever.

In the houſe of peers the duke of Buckingham propoſed a bill for the eaſe of the proteſtant diſſenters; but this bill and all other buſineſs was ſuſpended by the revival of the diſpute between the two houſes, in the caſe of Shirley and Fagg. The commons were as reſolute and determined as ever in maintaining their privileges. The earl of Shafteſbury, who, ever ſince his defection from the court, had acted the part of an incendiary between the king and the parliament, endeavoured to ſpirit up the houſe of peers in a flaming ſpeech, which had ſuch an effect on his auditors, that it was moved to addreſs his majeſty to diſſolve the parliament, and call another. This however was carried in the negative, though by two votes only; fifty No's againſt forty-eight Ay's; but the king, not chuſing to give his enemies ſuch an handle at this time, contented himſelf with proroguing the parliament on the twenty-ſecond of November, to the fifteenth of February twelvemonth.

The prince of Newburgh, coming over to pay a viſit to the court of England this year, was moſt magnificently and affectionately received and entertained, none of the foreign princes having ſhewn Charles more reſpect and kindneſs during his exile. About the ſame time the king thought fit to advance ſeveral of his children to the title and dignity of Engliſh dukes. Charles duke of Lenox (by Louiſe Querouallle, ducheſs of Portſmouth) was created duke of Richmond on the ninth of Auguſt; Charles Fitz-Roy (by the ducheſs of Cleveland) was created duke of Southampton on the tenth of September; and Henry Fitzroy, another natural ſon by the ducheſs of Cleveland, was created duke of Grafton on the eleventh of September.

The ducheſs of Mazarine having a difference with her huſband, withdrew into England this year, where it is pretended ſhe would have ſupplanted the ducheſs of Portſmouth, had not an intrigue with a certain courtier been too ſoon diſcovered to the king. He failed not, however, to aſſign her an annual penſion of four thouſand pounds ſterling. Her houſe, to the day of her death, was the rendezvous of all the men of wit and quality; and St. Evremont, a refugee as well as herſelf, was one of her conſtant attendants. On the nineteenth of December, Heneage lord Finch, baron of Daventry, who had been only lord-keeper before, was made lord high-chancellor.

Doctor Lightfoot, the famous Rabbinical divine, died this year, as did alſo Bulſtrode Whitlock, Eſq; author of Memorials of the Engliſh Affairs, a perſon of great judgment and temper, who filled ſome of the higheſt poſts under the Commonwealth. He was equally admired and valued for his humanity, candour, and ingenuity; and after having been twenty years upon the ſtage of public life, he paſſed the remainder of his days in a peaceful and happy retirement.

* One firſt-rate of one thouſand four hundred tons, eight ſecond-rates of one thouſand one hundred tons each, and eleven third-rates of ſeven hundred tons each.

† Then amounting to four hundred thouſand pounds a year. Salmon.

Notwithſtanding Turenne was dead, and the prince of Condé withdrawn from the army, the French king continued the war againſt the emperor, the Spaniards, and the Dutch, with ſome degree of ſucceſs. He had a number of officers who had been trained up under theſe great men; and the troops, by a long ſeries of victories, continued to think themſelves irreſiſtible. The beginning of the campaign, 1676, the French inveſted Condé, and took it in the preſence of the prince of Orange, and afterwards Bernheim: they alſo raiſed the ſiege of Maeſtricht, and obliged the prince to abandon it. Lewis had likewiſe put his marine upon a reſpectable footing: and now the French, who, when joined with the Engliſh, had not been able to gain any deciſive victory over the Dutch fleets, gained a victory alone over the combined fleets of Spain and Holland, on the eighth of July, 1676, off Meſſina in Sicily. In this engagement de Ruyter, the gallant admiral of the Dutch, was ſlain, to the irreparable loſs of his country. Theſe and ſome other ſucceſſes on the part of France, not that the allies were without their ſhare of good fortune, once more inſpired an inclination for peace; and the conferences for that purpoſe were reaſſumed at Nimeguen, under the mediation of the king of England, who in July this year ſent thither lord Berkley, ſir William Temple, and ſir Leoline Jenkins, in quality of mediating ambaſſadors; and there they found the plenipotentiaries of France and the States-General. Sweden was likewiſe very willing to treat, but the Imperialiſts, the Spaniards, and the elector of Brandenburg, protracted the time, in hopes of gaining further advantages, that might induce the French monarch to acquieſce in more equitable terms than they could expect from him in their preſent ſituation.

Lewis XIV. had now entirely laid aſide all ambitious views upon Holland. That republic had been ſo ſkilful, or ſo fortunate, to appear only as an auxiliary in a war which was begun for its deſtruction; while the empire and Spain, who were at firſt only auxiliaries, were at laſt become the principal parties. When the campaign was over, the hopes and expectations of all Europe were turned towards the negotiations at Nimeguen. It ſoon appeared that the deſign of France was only to divide the allies, and make a ſeparate peace with the States. The king of England was at this time placed in a ſituation which enabled him to act as the arbiter of Europe; and no terms which he would have dictated could have been ſafely refuſed by either party: but Charles, preferring his fatal prejudice in favour of France to the advancement of his own real intereſt, and the general benefit of Europe, joined Lewis in his deſign, and aſſiſted him therein to the utmoſt of his power. He ordered ſir William Temple to endeavour to bring the States and the prince of Orange to a ſeparate peace. The States ſeemed inclinable to adopt this party; but the prince of Orange would not liſten to any ſuch propoſal, which he ſaid would be no better than the betraying thoſe allies who had ſo generouſly interpoſed to ſave his country from ruin. However, to quicken the tardineſs of ſome of the confederacy, the Dutch declared, That if they delayed any longer ſending their plenipotentiaries to the congreſs, they would conclude a ſeparate treaty with France. Upon this, the ambaſſadors of the emperor and Spain at laſt made their appearance, but the negotiations went on very ſlowly. The truth is, the hopes the allies entertained that the court of England would at laſt open its eyes, and declare againſt France, was the greateſt obſtacle to the peace; but Charles took care to follow ſuch meaſures as were moſt likely to overturn all ſuch hopes, in order to bring them to a peace, ſuch as France deſired. With this view he iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting any of his ſubjects to take commiſſions from any foreign powers or ſtates in amity with his majeſty, or to ſerve as ſeamen in any ſhip or veſſel employed againſt any other prince or ſtate in amity with this crown.

Ever ſince the late peace with Holland, the French privateers had infeſted the Channel in ſuch a manner, that without any regard to the neutrality of England, they ſeized our ſhips, and, as if in open war, made prizes of them. At laſt, they carried their outrages and inſolence ſo far, that the commiſſioners of trade were obliged to repreſent the matter to the king, and pray him to interpoſe for the ſecurity of his ſubjects commerce. Hereupon orders were ſent to our ambaſſadors at the court of France to make complaints of this behaviour, and inſiſt upon ſatisfaction; but it all ended in nothing. The court of France was ſufficiently ſenſible that Charles would not break with them for trifles, ſo long as their monarch continued to make him the uſual remittances, and therefore took no notice of theſe complaints.

The remaining part of the year 1676, afforded nothing memorable beſides a proclamation publiſhed by the king againſt popiſh prieſts and jeſuits, and to prohibit his majeſty's ſubjects reſorting to popiſh chapels, on pain of proſecution. This was meant as a ſweetener to the parliament, which was to meet in the beginning of the following year. But before I cloſe my account of the preſent, I muſt take notice of an affair which, though of little conſequence in itſelf, ſerves ſtrongly to mark the character of the nation, and the ſpirit of Charles's adminiſtration. The freedom of the government, and the number as well as animoſity of the parties, had produced a propenſity for political diſputes: and as the coffee-houſes were the chief ſcenes where the meaſures of the king and his miniſters were examined with the greateſt ſeverity, a proclamation was publiſhed to ſuppreſs theſe places of rendezvous, for which the nation had long entertained a particular fondneſs.

Such an act of power, about ſeventy years before, would have been grounded entirely on the prerogative; and no difficulty would have been made in ſubmitting to that ſtretch of authority. But Charles, hearing that ſome exceptions were taken to his proclamation, applied to the judges, who furniſhed him with a quirk of law, and that too a very ridiculous one, by which he might vindicate his conduct.

The act which eſtabliſhed the exciſe, inveſted the king with a power to refuſe licences for retailing liquors to ſuch as could not give ſecurity for payment of the duties. But coffee was not an exciſeable liquor; and even this power of refuſing licences was very confined, and could not juſtly be ſtretched beyond the intention of the act. The king therefore, afraid of inflaming the reſentment of the people, complied with a petition of the coffee-men, who engaged for the future to prevent

vent all ſeditious diſcourſe in their houſes; and the proclamation was recalled *.

This year died George Digby, earl of Briſtol, aged ſeventy-five, the ſame who negotiated the Spaniſh matters in the laſt reign, and whom we have ſo often had occaſion to mention in the courſe of this hiſtory.

The people of England, grieved at the evident partiality their ſovereign ſhewed for the intereſt of France, and incenſed by the inſolence and piracies of that nation, were eager to revenge the injuries they had received by an open war; and waited with impatience for the aſſembling of the parliament, from whom they expected a greater attention to the intereſts and honour of the kingdom than the king appeared diſpoſed to ſhew.

That auguſt aſſembly met on the fifteenth of February, 1677, the day they ſtood prorogued to, and was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, and another from the lord-chancellor Finch; the purport of both which was, to recommend unanimity, to ſet the king's conduct in the faireſt light, and to preſs a ſupply, aſſuring them that his majeſty was really neceſſitous, and concluding with promiſing, that he was ready to give them all poſſible ſatisfaction in regard to the ſecurity of their religion, liberties, and properties. The commons were no ſooner withdrawn from the houſe of lords, than the duke of Buckingham, ſtanding up, began a long and florid ſpeech, in which he undertook to prove that the parliament was diſſolved by the laſt prorogation, in conſequence of a ſtatute of Edward III. importing, "That a parliament ſhould be held once a year, or oftener if need be." From whence he inferred, that a prorogation for above a year (this had been near fifteen months) was void, and conſequently they could not act by virtue of ſuch prorogation, but a new parliament muſt be elected. This was the conſtant drift of the Country Party, who could not with any temper perceive the court poſſeſſed of ſo great a majority in both houſes. The duke was ſeconded by the earls of Shafteſbury, Saliſbury, and the lord Wharton. Their arguments produced violent debates; but as they tended towards an abolition of all that had been tranſacted in this parliament, and opened a door to ſedition and anarchy, thoſe four noblemen were ſent to the Tower, from whence they were releaſed ſoon after, on making their ſubmiſſions, and acknowleging their errors, except Shafteſbury, who remained in confinement above twelve months.

The parliament, at its firſt proceeding to buſineſs, acted as if it had laid aſide thoſe unhappy heats and animoſities which had troubled its debates, and infected its councils, for the two preceding ſeſſions. The commons voted his majeſty near ſix hundred thouſand pounds for the uſe of the navy, and a continuance of the additional exciſe upon ale and brandy for three years: in fine, every thing ſeemed to promiſe a happy union between the king and his parliament; but theſe halcyon days were not of long duration. The rapid progreſs which the French king continued to make on the continent, filled the parliament with the moſt juſt apprehenſions. Lewis had taken the field in the month of January this year, and inveſted Valenciennes, which he took by aſſault in a few days. His general Luxemburg had beaten the prince of Orange before St. Omers; which town, with Cambray, yielded to the victors.

It was evident to all Europe that Charles had it in his power to give it peace whenever he pleaſed, by declaring war againſt France, unleſs ſhe would lay down her arms and accept of reaſonable terms; and the allies were at once aſhamed and incenſed at the partiality with which he acted the part of a mediator. His own people were penetrated with the ſame ſentiments, and ſaw with regret their honour and their intereſt ſacrificed to motives of avarice and ill policy. The repreſentatives of the people, thinking they could not, conſiſtent with their duty, longer keep ſilence, drew up the following addreſs to the king:

"We your majeſty's moſt loyal ſubjects do moſt humbly offer to your majeſty's conſideration, that the minds of your people are diſquieted with the manifeſt dangers ariſing to your majeſty by the growth and power of the French king; eſpecially by the acquiſitions already made, and the farther progreſs like to be made by him in the Spaniſh Netherlands; in the preſervation and ſecurity whereof, we humbly conceive the intereſt of your majeſty, and the ſafety of your people, are highly concerned: and therefore we humbly beſeech your majeſty to take the ſame into your royal care, and to ſtrengthen yourſelf with ſuch ſtricter alliance as may ſecure your majeſty's kingdoms, and ſecure and preſerve the ſaid Spaniſh Netherlands, and thereby to quiet the minds of your majeſty's people."

The king anſwering only in general terms, the commons reſolved to be more particular, and addreſſed his majeſty a ſecond time, beſeeching him, "That he would not delay to contract ſuch alliances as might be requiſite for ſtopping the progreſs of the French arms: and in caſe a war with France ſhould be the conſequence of his meaſures, they engaged to furniſh him with ſuch ſupplies as ſhould be neceſſary for maintaining the honour and intereſt of the nation."

Charles plainly perceived their drift, and was reſolved to make his own advantage of it. Accordingly, he ſent them a meſſage about ten days after, wherein he told them, That the beſt method for conſulting the ſafety of the kingdom, would be to enable him to put it in a proper poſture of defence; and for this purpoſe demanded a ſupply of ſix hundred thouſand pounds, without which, he ſaid, it would not be poſſible for him to ſpeak or act thoſe things which ſhould anſwer the end of their ſeveral addreſſes. The commons, however, excuſed themſelves from giving any more money at this time; but ſaid, if his majeſty would form alliances in the mean time, in purſuance of their former addreſſes, they would enable him to make them good at their next meeting. Whereupon the king came to the houſe on the ſixteenth of April; and after giving his aſſent to the money-bill and ſome others, adjourned the parliament to the twenty-fourth of May. The two houſes met on that day, and the commons ſtill refuſed to give money before ſome vigorous meaſures ſhould be ſet on foot againſt the French. They hoped, they ſaid,

* Burnet. Hume.

ſome

ſome alliances would have been formed for that purpoſe during their receſs, and then they would chearfully have granted ſupplies; they next took upon them to point out to his majeſty what alliances they thought the moſt proper for him to make, particularly inſtancing a league offenſive and defenſive with the States-General; and concluded with obſerving, that when theſe ſteps were taken, they would furniſh him from time to time with ſuch ſums as might preſerve the honour of the crown, and the ſafety of the people. Charles was (certainly not without reaſon) highly nettled at ſuch a barefaced encroachment on the royal prerogative of making peace and war, as dictating to him in ſo peremptory a manner what kind of alliances he ſhould make. He therefore ſent for the commons to the Banqueting-houſe; and after reprimanding them for the affront they had put on him, he ordered them to adjourn themſelves to the ſixteenth of July. In this diſpute between the king and the parliament, both ſides ſeem to have been in fault: the commons, by being wanting in that reſpect which ſhould ever be ſhewed to royal characters, the leaſt of whoſe acknowledged and lawful prerogatives are and ought to be held inviolably ſacred. On the other hand, it appears from the whole tenor of Charles's conduct, that he had at this time no other view than that of procuring a ſum of money: and as he was all along cajoled by the court of France, with promiſes of aſſiſtance to make himſelf abſolute, and change the eſtabliſhed religion; on this ſuppoſition, inſtead of being concerned to ſtop the progreſs of France, it could not but be his intereſt that ſhe ſhould grow more powerful; a ſcheme in which he too well ſucceeded, and muſt for ever, if not render his memory odious, at leaſt ſilence the tongues of his admirers.

All this time the negotiations were continued between France and Holland, and an eventual treaty was concluded; that is, all their differences were compromiſed, provided they could afterwards give ſatisfaction to their allies. But this work, tho' extremely difficult, ſeemed to be much facilitated by the farther loſſes of the confederates, and the great impotence of the Dutch, when an event happened which promiſed a more proſperous iſſue to the war with France, and an entire change in the Engliſh councils.

Charles, finding that the prince of Orange, in order to maintain himſelf in authority, and acquire opportunities of raiſing his military fame, ſtrongly oppoſed every ſtep towards a ſeparate peace, ſent for ſir William Temple from Nimeguen ſoon after the riſing of the parliament; and having complained to him of the uſage he received from the Country Party, who were for preſſing him into a war with France, he directed him to acquaint the prince of Orange from him, that he was extremely deſirous an end might be put to the war as ſoon as poſſible; with aſſurances that his majeſty would concur with the prince in inſiſting on ſuch terms as might be acceptable to Holland as well as England; and at the ſame time to invite the prince over to England, to put the finiſhing hand to the match which he had ſollicited for himſelf ſome time paſt with the princeſs Mary, eldeſt daughter of his royal highneſs the duke of York; for the completion of which, the king gave his royal word that he would exert all his influence and authority with his brother.

The prince, lulled by theſe flattering promiſes, came over to England in the beginning of October, and proſecuted his addreſſes with great warmth to the princeſs, then in the bloom of youth, about fifteen years of age, and a moſt agreeable young lady. The courtſhip was not of long duration, the marriage being celebrated on the fourth of November following, and ſoon after the prince embarked with his conſort for Holland.

During his ſtay here, every tentative was uſed to bring him into the ſcheme for a ſeparate peace; but he would not engage in any diſcourſe on that ſubject, alleging, that as the allies were like to have hard terms, they would be apt to think he had made his match at their coſt, and that he would never have it imputed to him that he had ſold his honour for a wife. The truth is, there was much more of policy than love in this match: nor is it improbable that the prince of Orange, finding the general bent of the nation againſt the ſucceſſion of a Roman catholic, might even at this time have a proſpect of mounting the throne of England. This much is certain, that the duke of York ſhewed great reluctance in giving his conſent to this match; not that he would deny the prince of Orange to be worthy of his alliance, as well on account of his deſcent from one of the moſt illuſtrious houſes in Europe, as of his own perſonal great qualities: but James had a certain foreboding of what would happen to him afterwards thro' his ſon-in-law, and in this he was more clear-ſighted than his brother Charles, who could not perceive in the phyſiognomy of his nephew aught that portended evil to him or his family. Happily he did not live to be convinced of his miſtake.

The French miniſtry, who had foreſeen the efforts their enemies would make to bring the Engliſh court to their intereſts, had not been negligent in providing againſt ſuch an event. They had for ſome time retained Charles and his courtiers as penſioners; the latter, dazzled by the ſhining metal, took care to encourage Charles in his partiality to their benefactor; ſo that Lewis XIV. at the ſame time that he humbled his enemies by the ſword, kept the Engliſh court in an abject ſubmiſſion to his will, by charming the eyes of its ſovereign with thoſe treaſures of which he was ſo fond, for no other purpoſe but to beſtow them on the miniſters of his riotous pleaſures. Lewis, however, ſenſible of the levity and inconſtancy of the Engliſh monarch, was afraid that ſooner or later he might have his eyes opened to his true intereſt, and, regardful of his honour, ſhake off the inglorious ſervitude he now kept him in, and vigorouſly join with the confederate powers to preſcribe limits to the ambition of France. He therefore endeavoured to perſuade him to diſmiſs part of the troops he kept in conſtant pay; and Mr. Barillon, who reſided here as ambaſſador from the French court, had orders to leave nothing undone to bring Charles to conſent to his ſcheme: and in order to diſpoſe him the more readily thereto, he was to offer a renewal of the former treaty between the two kings, without any other condition than that of Charles engaging to keep no more than eight thouſand troops in pay. Charles was not ſo blinded by his paſſions but that he felt all the infamy

infamy of this propoſal: and when the ambaſſador delivered the meſſage, he was anſwered with great anger: "How! is it thus my brother of France means to deal by me? are theſe the fruits of all his mighty promiſes to make me abſolute in my kingdom? or does he think it is to be done by eight thouſand men?"

It is really difficult to comprehend how Charles, who was actually endowed with great penetration, and no ſmall ſhare of underſtanding; and his council, who paſſed for ſome of the ableſt heads in Europe, could have been ſo long the dupes of French fineſſe. Lewis knew and acknowledged that the penſion he paid the king of England was in itſelf but trifling; but he had prevailed on him to content himſelf for the preſent, till he could amply repay him for his forbearance, by rendering him abſolute over his ſubjects. Thus for a long time did Charles continue to depend upon airy promiſes; nor was he perfectly convinced of the inſincerity of them till after the peace of Nimeguen, when his dear friend and ally, having his arms at liberty, ſoon ſhewed himſelf as prompt in forgetting, as he had been warm in forming engagements.

The reader will excuſe this digreſſion, which the reflection on Charles's circumſtances and conduct inſenſibly led me into. I return:

Immediately after the concluſion of the prince of Orange's marriage, the king had entered into conferences with him concerning the plan of a general pacification, at which the earl of Danby and ſir William Temple aſſiſted. After ſome diſpute, it was agreed that Lewis ſhould reſtore all he had taken from the emperor and the duke of Lorraine; that there ſhould be a mutual reſtitution between France and Holland; and that Spain ſhould recover poſſeſſion of Aeth, Oudenarde, Charleroi, Courtray, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, Saint Guillain, and Binch. The prince propoſed that Franchecomté ſhould likewiſe be reſtored; but Charles repreſenting the impoſſibility of compelling Lewis to reſign Franchecomté, the prince thought proper to ſubmit, and even engaged to uſe his endeavours in perſuading the States to agree to theſe conditions; while Charles, on his part, undertook to procure the conſent of the French monarch, declaring at the ſame time, that he would never recede in the leaſt article from the ſcheme concerted, but proclaim war againſt Lewis if he refuſed it; and with this aſſurance the prince left England.

The earl of Feverſham, a creature of the duke of York, and a Frenchman by birth *, was ſent as ambaſſador to Paris with intimation of this agreement; which, tho' it muſt have been extremely diſagreeable to Lewis, he received with ſeeming complacency and contentment. He told Feverſham, that the king knew he might always command a peace; but ſome of the towns in Flanders it ſeemed very hard to demand, eſpecially Tournay, upon the fortifications of which he had expended large ſums of money: he hoped his brother would not break with him for one or two towns; and even with regard to theſe, he would ſend orders to his ambaſſador at London to treat with the king himſelf; thus the blow was artfully eluded †.

Charles, however, piqued at the inſincerity of the French court, reſolved to let Lewis ſee that he was not to be inſulted with impunity. The meeting of the parliament, which ſtood prorogued to May, was anticipated to the fifteenth of January, 1678; a very uncommon meaſure, and ſuch as gave no little alarm to Lewis. In the mean time Laurence Hyde, ſecond ſon to the late chancellor Clarendon, was ſent to Holland to conclude a treaty of alliance with the States, in the nature of the triple league, to compel both France and Spain to agree to the terms concerted.

When the Engliſh parliament met, the king told them in a ſpeech from the throne, That as he ſaw there was little probability of procuring a good peace by conferences and negotiations, he was determined to undertake a war for that purpoſe, but that it was neceſſary they granted him a ſupply adequate to the occaſion; aſſuring them, that they might depend on the money being appropriated to that end. The commons having taken the king's ſpeech into conſideration, agreed upon an addreſs to his majeſty; wherein they thanked him for his care and encouragement of the proteſtant religion, by marrying his niece to the prince of Orange, intreating him that he would conſent to no peace with France, but upon the Pyrenean treaty; and that neither England nor the confederates ſhould be ſuffered to trade with France during the war, promiſing his majeſty to aſſiſt him in the proſecution of it, when he ſhould impart to them his alliances with the confederates.

The king reſented this addreſs as a repetition of the encroachment they had made on the royal prerogative in the former ſeſſion, and ſent them a very ſharp anſwer. The commons, however, inſtead of replying to it, immediately went upon the ſupply, and reſolved on a poll-tax, appropriating the money to the ſervice of the French war; and added a clauſe, whereby all trade with France was prohibited for three years.

In the mean time, the French king taking the field early in the ſpring, reduced Ghent and Ypres, and diſtributed his troops in quarters of refreſhment. This progreſs alarmed the Dutch in ſuch a manner, that they reſolved to conclude a ſeparate peace. Lewis knowing his own advantage, and that he had nothing to fear from the king of England, talked in the ſtrain of a conqueror, and inſiſted upon terms very different from thoſe which had been planned by Charles and the prince of Orange. In April the chancellor told the two houſes in the king's name, That the Dutch certainly intended to conclude a ſeparate peace with France, and his majeſty demanded their advice on that ſubject. The commons exhorted him to declare war againſt France; then they voted the alliance with Holland not anſwerable to their addreſs, nor ſufficient for the ſecurity of the kingdom. Charles expreſſed his diſſatisfaction at this vote; notwithſtanding which, they preſented another addreſs, deſiring to know the reſolutions he had taken in conſequence of their advice; that he would pay more attention to their addreſſes; and that he would remove the duke of Lauderdale from his councils. The king replied, That he was ſurprized at the extravagance of their addreſs,

* His name was Lewis Duras; he came over with Charles at his reſtoration.

† Temple. Salmon. Hume.

to which at preſent he would not make the anſwer it deſerved. As they had already paſſed a poll-tax for the ſervice of the year, he began to make levies, which were carried on with ſuch ſurpriſing diligence and ſucceſs, that in ſix weeks time an army of thirty thouſand men was compleated. The duke of Monmouth was ſent over with three thouſand to garriſon Oſtend; a fleet was equipped; and the court breathed nothing but defiance againſt the French monarch.

The parliament meeting again on the twenty-ſeventh of May, after an adjournment of twelve days, began to give evident ſigns of their diſtruſting the king's ſincerity in the levies he had lately made, and came to the following reſolution: "That the houſe taking into conſideration the ſtate of the nation, and the expence occaſioned by the army, were humbly of opinion, that if his majeſty pleaſed to think fit to enter into the war againſt the French king, the houſe was and would be ready to aſſiſt him in that war; but if otherwiſe, they would proceed to the conſideration of providing for the ſpeedy diſbanding of the army."

The houſe further ordered, that the members of his majeſty's privy-council ſhould acquaint the king with this vote, and to pray his ſpeedy anſwer. The king anſwered, "That the French king having offered a ceſſation till the twenty-ſeventh of July, there was great likelihood that it would be accepted, and end in a general peace; but that it was his opinion the army ſhould not be diſbanded before that time." Upon this anſwer, the houſe voted, "That all forces raiſed ſince the twenty-ninth of September laſt (excepting thoſe tranſported to foreign plantations) be forthwith paid off and diſbanded, and that they would conſider of a ſupply for that purpoſe." Accordingly, the fourth of June, the houſe voted two hundred thouſand pounds for the diſbanding of the army by the end of the month; and the next day they voted the ſame ſum towards defraying the expences of the fleet.

Upon theſe votes, the king ſent a meſſage to the houſe, repreſenting the danger of taking ſuch a ſtep before the concluſion of the peace; and he aſked them, whether he could honourably abandon thoſe powers in Flanders which had put themſelves under his protection, and which at preſent depended ſolely on him for their ſafety? The commons then agreed to prolong the term with regard to the forces in Flanders to the twenty-ſeventh day of July.

The fifteenth of June the houſe reſolved, "That after the Tueſday following, no motion ſhould be made for any ſupply of money, till after the next receſs." As hitherto the houſe had experienced that the king only amuſed them, and aimed to get the money before he poſitively declared his intention, they now reſolved to put him under a neceſſity of declaring within three days, for fear of being ſtill amuſed by him till the opportunity was loſt.

On that very Tueſday, June 18, the king came to the houſe of peers; and ſending for the commons, made a ſpeech to both houſes; in which he told them, "That the peace between France, Spain, and Holland, was almoſt as good as concluded. He ſaid the Spaniards had poſitively declared they were not able to bear the expence of maintaining garriſons in Flanders, which muſt be left expoſed, unleſs England would undertake to ſupport the fortifications. He therefore obſerved, it would be neceſſary to keep a good fleet at ſea, and in particular to provide for the ſafety of Oſtend, where otherwiſe the French might maintain a fleet of forty ſhips of war exactly oppoſite to the mouth of the Thames. If they deſired he ſhould live in ſtrict union with his parliament, they would make an addition of three hundred thouſand pounds to his revenue: in which caſe, they might bring in a bill for appropriating fifty thouſand yearly to the ſupport of the fleets and artillery; and then he would be always ready to paſs whatever acts ſhould be propoſed for the benefit of the nation. Finally, he deſired they would remember that he had engaged to pay forty thouſand pounds for the portion of the princeſs Mary; that the firſt moiety was already due, and demanded by the prince of Orange."

By this ſpeech of Charles, one would be led to imagine that he had performed every thing for the nation that could be aſked of a ſovereign, anxious for the welfare of his people, and jealous of the honour and majeſty of his crown; but his parliament was too well accuſtomed to ſuch kind of ſpeeches to ſuffer this to make any impreſſion upon them. They were convinced that it was in the king's power to procure all that he ſhould think proper to demand of France; and they were as well convinced that he was linked in a fatal connection with that court, which would not ſuffer him to fulfil the wiſhes of the nation, and perhaps the dictates of his own reaſon. The commons indeed voted his majeſty their thanks for the gracious expreſſions in his ſpeech; but they would not grant him any additional revenue, or even make him ſatisfaction for the loſſes he had ſuſtained in the cuſtoms, by the prohibition of the French trade: and when the lords made an amendment to the bill for diſbanding the army, by enlarging the time a month longer, the commons would not conſent to it. Whereupon his majeſty came to the houſe on the fifteenth of July, and prorogued them to the firſt of Auguſt. *. Let us now return to the negotiations for peace abroad.

Van Beverning was the Dutch plenipotentiary at Nimeguen, a man of great ability and addreſs. The States General, convinced that there were little hopes of receiving any aſſiſtance from England, conſidering the diſpoſition of the king, and the jealouſies of the parliament, ordered their miniſter to repair to the French king at Ghent, and ſettle a ſeparate peace with him, on condition he agreed to reſtore the ſix following towns to the Spaniards, viz. Ghent, Aeth, Charleroi, Oudenard, Courtray, and Limburgh; but the French king poſitively refuſed to evacuate them till he ſaw an entire reſtitution made to his allies the Swedes, of all they had loſt in the war.

The ſtates immediately acquainted Charles with this refuſal of the French king; and he was ſo incenſed at this conduct of Lewis, that he ſent

* Among other acts paſſed this ſeſſion was that for burying the dead in woollen, for the benefit of that manufacture. See ſtat. 30. Car. II.

Temple forthwith to Holland, in order to concert an effectual plan for oppoſing the ambition of France. In ſix days Temple concluded a treaty with the States to carry on the war jointly with them againſt France, if the aforeſaid towns were not evacuated within ſixteen days after the date of the treaty, which was ſigned on the twenty-ſixth of July; and the prince of Orange being joined by the Engliſh auxiliaries under the duke of Monmouth, marched to the relief of Mons, which was then blocked up by marſhal Luxemburg. This appearance of unuſual vigor on the part of the Engliſh court had ſuch an influence on the French miniſters, that on the morning of the critical day which was to determine peace or war for Europe, they waited on Van Beverning, and told him they were willing to agree to the reſtitution of the towns, and to conclude and ſign the peace. The articles were accordingly drawn and ſigned, juſt as the clock ſtruck twelve at night, by the miniſters of France and Holland. By this treaty, concluded the tenth of Auguſt, 1678, it was agreed, That each party ſhould retain what they were reſpectively poſſeſſed of, only the French were to reſtore Maeſtricht, with its dependencies, to the Dutch, which was all the French retained of their conqueſts in the United Provinces: and by a ſeparate article, all the territories belonging to the prince of Orange in France, Franchecomté, Charleroi, Flanders, &c. were reſtored to him.

The Spaniards, on their part, thought fit to accept of the conditions of peace the Engliſh and Dutch had procured for them, and their plenipotentiaries ſigned the treaty the latter end of September, as did the Germans the third of February following *. Thus all the confederates in a few months enjoyed the benefit of a pacification, except the duke of Lorraine, who was not reſtored to his dominions.

The prince of Orange, who was greatly diſſatisfied with this peace, took a very extraordinary ſtep, with a view to embroil matters again, if poſſible, or perhaps to expreſs his reſentment againſt Lewis, to whom he bore a particular hatred. Marſhal Luxemburg, who was then beſieging Mons, had lately received an account of the concluſion of the peace; upon which he lay lulled in full ſecurity in the village of St. Denis. The prince of Orange, with his whole army that had marched to the relief of Mons, attacking the marſhal's quarters and forces therein, a long and bloody engagement enſued, and the prince gained a conſiderable advantage over the marſhal, who could with great difficulty reſiſt the fury of this attack. The prince of Orange remained maſter of the field of battle; indeed he had the greateſt reaſon to expect the moſt complete victory: for he not only gave the attack, which is a great advantage, but he attacked an army which, depending on the faith of treaties, had grown remiſs in their military ſtrictneſs.

On this tranſaction a celebrated French writer † has the following judicious and elegant remark: "Did ambitious men pay any regard to their fellow-creatures, the prince of Orange would not have fought this battle. He certainly knew that the peace was already ſigned, or on the point of being ſo; he knew that this peace would prove advantageous to his country, and yet he hazarded his own life, and that of thouſands of men beſides, as the firſt-fruits of a general peace, which was then ſo far advanced, that had he even beat the French army, it would have made no alteration in the congreſs. This act, inhuman as it was glorious, and which at that time was more eſteemed than blamed, did not produce one ſingle additional article in the treaty; and the lives of two thouſand French, and as many of the enemy, were thrown away to no end."

This peace furniſhes us with a memorable inſtance how much projects are contradicted by events. Holland, againſt whom alone the war was undertaken, and whoſe deſtruction ſeemed inevitable, loſt nothing at all; on the contrary, ſhe gained a barrier, while every other power that had interpoſed to ſnatch her from deſtruction, ſaw themſelves conſiderable loſers, and were obliged to accept the terms preſented to them by France and Holland. It may, as Mr. Rapin very juſtly obſerves, be affirmed with great truth, that it was the king of England's fault alone that Europe had not a more advantageous peace, ſince the parliament was ready to grant plentifully all the neceſſary ſupplies, would Charles have acted agreeable either to the intereſts of Europe in general, or of England in particular. This conduct can only be aſcribed to his paſſion for executing his darling ſcheme of rendering himſelf abſolute maſter of his people. As for the other deſign with which he is charged by that writer and many others, of introducing the popiſh religion into England, I am far from being convinced in my own mind that he really entertained ſuch a thought. All religions were alike to Charles, and the conceſſions which he made in favour of the catholics, ſeem rather to have been the effect of his love for his brother, and ready compliance with any counſels which he adopted, than his own attachment to that particular mode of faith. As I have obſerved elſewhere, it was all one to him whether popery or proteſtantiſm were the religion of England, ſo that he could but enjoy his beloved eaſe and pleaſure.

This year, 1678, was diſtinguiſhed by the diſcovery of the famous conſpiracy in England, known by the name of the Popiſh Plot, which for a conſiderable time engroſſed the whole attention of the legiſlature, and has given occaſion to many politicians to exerciſe their talents in ſupporting the truth, or expoſing the falſity of it, as they were attached to one or the other party. The whole of this affair is indeed ſo replete with contradictions, that I ſhould puzzle my reader, as well as myſelf, was I to attempt the unravelling them. I ſhall

* By the treaty between France and Spain, dated the ſeventeenth of September, 1678, the French agreed to reſtore to the Spaniards, Charleroi, Aeth, Oudenard, and Courtray, the city and duchy of Limburgh, Ghent, the country of Waes, Lewe, St. Guillain, and Puicerda, and all the places they had taken in Sicily. On the other hand, it was agreed that the French ſhould retain the county of Burgundy, or Franchecomté, the towns of Valenciennes, Bouchain, Condé, Cambray, Tournay, Aire, St. Omers, Ypres, Warwick, Warneton, Poperinguen, Baillieul, Caſſel, Bava, and Maubeuſe, which they had conquered this war.

By the treaty concluded between the emperor and France on the third of February, 1679, France renounced all pretenſions to Philipſburg, but were to keep Friburg till an equivalent ſhould be given them.

† Volt. Age of Lewis XIV.

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therefore content myſelf with a plain narrative of facts, as handed down to us by the beſt authorities, and leave every one to draw ſuch concluſions as he may think moſt agreeable to reaſon and ſound ſenſe.

It is ſaid then, that the deſign of this conſpiracy was to kill the king, to ſubvert the government, to extirpate the proteſtant religion, and eſtabliſh popery. The authors and promoters of it were ſaid to be the pope and cardinals, the Romiſh, French, Spaniſh, and Engliſh jeſuits, the ſeminary prieſts in England, who at this time came over in great numbers, and ſeveral popiſh lords *, and others of that party. The duke of York himſelf was deeply ſuſpected of being concerned in it, all but that part relating to killing the king; and, that point excepted, the king himſelf was ſuppoſed to have favoured it, out of revenge to the French king, who had ſo infamouſly deceived him; and as he found he could not any other way hurt Lewis, he thought to give him a ſenſible mortification, by encouraging a perſecution againſt thoſe of his faith, to which he knew he was a great bigot. The article of taking off the king ſeems to be only the project of a part of the conſpirators, to make way for the duke of York to aſcend the throne, who was more forward, active, and leſs fearful than the king, and conſequently more likely to bring the grand deſign of the conſpiracy, the changing the government and religion, to a ſpeedier concluſion.

The chief diſcoverer of this conſpiracy was Titus Oates †, who having been a clergyman of the church of England, reconciled himſelf to the church of Rome, or pretended at leaſt ſo to do, and entered into the number of the Engliſh ſeminariſts at St. Omer's. He alſo went into Spain, and was admitted to the councils of the jeſuits. By theſe means he is ſaid to have got acquainted with all the ſecret deſigns that were carrying on, in order to eſtabliſh popery in this nation; and then returning to England, he digeſted the ſeveral matters he had heard into a narrative, and by the means of Dr. Tonge ‡, a city divine, got a copy of it delivered to the king ||, who referred him to the lord-treaſurer Danby.

It is probable that the two informers thought to make their fortunes by their diſcoveries; but finding that the king did not take much notice of it, they reſolved to communicate it to the parliament; but firſt Oates went and made oath of the truth of the narrative before ſir Edmundſbury Godfrey, a juſtice of the peace, and left one copy of it with him, reſerving another for himſelf. And now the affair taking wind, it was reſolved to bring it before the council, who ſat twice a day for above a week together, to examine into it; and Tonge and Oates had lodgings aſſigned them in Whitehall, with a handſome proviſion to each for their maintenance, and a guard for the ſecurity of their perſons. Upon their informations, which they threw out by wholeſale, ſeveral perſons were apprehended, as, Wakeman, the queen's phyſician; Coleman, the duke of York's ſecretary; and eight prieſts or jeſuits. In Coleman's houſe were found ſeveral letters which ſeemed to concur with Oates's teſtimony, and gave great weight to what he advanced. This, with the murder of ſir Edmundſbury Godfrey ſoon after, who had ſworn Oates to his narrative, confirmed the people in their belief of the plot.

Godfrey had been remarkably active in his office againſt the papiſts, to whom his murder was immediately aſcribed; and the truth was confirmed beyond a poſſibility of doubt, in the opinion of the multitude, by the evidence of Bedloe § and Prance; the latter of whom depoſed that he, with Green, Berry, Hill, and ſome others, dogged the juſtice for ſome time, till they got him into Somerſet-Houſe, where they ſtrangled him with an handkerchief; that they afterwards carried the body, and laid it in a ditch near Primroſe-hill, after having thruſt his own ſword thro' it, in which condition they left him: and indeed when the body was found, it appeared plainly that he had been ſtrangled ¶. Green, Berry, and Hill, were afterwards condemned and executed for the murder, but denied the fact to the laſt.

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* The lord viſcount Stafford, the lords Arundel, Bellaſis, and others.

† Echard gives us the following account of this man: "This Oates was the ſon of a ribband-weaver, who afterwards turning anabaptiſt-preacher, and being chaplain to a regiment of Cromwell's forces in Scotland, was there clapt up in priſon upon Overton's plot againſt that uſurper; but having the good fortune to eſcape upon the king's reſtoration, he conformed to the church, and got the living of Haſtings in Suſſex, where he continued till he thought fit to return to his former anabaptiſtical ſtation. This ſon of his had his firſt education in Merchant-Taylors ſchool in London, and next in the univerſity at Cambridge, where he was ſtudent in two colleges, Caius's and St. John's, and where he left no reputation behind him for his parts or learning, though he ſeemed diſtinguiſhed for a tenacious memory, a plodding induſtry, and an unparalleled aſſurance, beſides a particular canting way that appeared in his academical exerciſes. Removing thence, he ſtept into orders, and for a while officiated as curate for his father; after which he enjoyed a ſmall vicarage in Kent, from whence he removed to another in Suſſex; and after that for ſome time got into the duke of Norfolk's family, when he particularly ſided with the Socinians at London; ſo that he became very uncertain as to his principles and religion, and infamous as to his morals."

‡ The ſame author tells, "That Tonge was a man of letters, and a prolific head, filled with all the Romiſh plots and conſpiracies ſince the Reformation. This man was remarkable for his parts and great reading, but of a reſtleſs and humorous temper, full of variety of projects, and ſcarce ever without a pen in his hand, and a plot in his head."

|| On the twelfth of Auguſt (the day after ſigning the treaty of Nimeguen) Dr. Tonge applied himſelf to one Kirby, a chemiſt, that was for ſome time in the king's laboratory, and who had ſome intereſt at court, to deſire the king might be acquainted that he had an information to lay before him, of a plot carrying on againſt his perſon. Kirby took the opportunity of the king's walking in St. James's Park the very next day, to diſcharge his commiſſion, and was ordered to bring Tonge before him at eight that evening. Tonge was at Whitehall at the appointed hour, and put into the king's hand a writing or narrative, which in forty-three articles contained the particulars of a plot. The king, after a negligent peruſal of it, told Tonge that he was going to Windſor the next day, but would put the paper into the hands of the lord-treaſurer Danby, on whom he ordered him to wait the next morning. Rapin.

§ Bedloe was at firſt a menial ſervant to the lord Bellaſis; afterwards going abroad and ſerving in the wars, he aſſumed the title of captain; his character in general was bad. Prance was a goldſmith of London: he recanted his evidence two or three times.

¶ The biſhops Lloyd and Burnet went to view the body; and beſides the circumſtances above mentioned, obſerved that his ſhoes were clean, a mark round his neck an inch broad, his breaſt all over bruiſed, and his neck broken. There were many drops of white wax-light upon his breeches, which he never uſed himſelf: and ſince only perſons of quality and prieſts uſe thoſe lights, this made all people conclude in whoſe hands he muſt have been. Burnet.

The plot was firſt diſcovered in Auguſt, ſir Edmundſbury Godfrey was murdered in the beginning of October, and the parliament met on the twenty-firſt. It appears from the joint teſtimony of contemporary writers, that the king ſhewed great unwillingneſs to have the parliament take cognizance of the plot. He was obliged to take ſome notice of an affair which was the topic of every converſation, and had filled the minds of all ranks of people with fear and apprehenſion; but in his ſpeech to the two houſes at their meeting, he ſaid "he would forbear giving any opinion of the matter, leſt he ſhould ſay too much or too little, and that he would leave the diſcuſſion of it entirely to the law."

But Danby, either afraid of being called to an account, ſhould he conceal an affair of ſo much importance that had paſſed through his hands, or deſirous to ingratiate himſelf with the parliament, in which he had ſo many enemies, diſconcerted all the king's meaſures by opening the matter to the houſe of lords. The king afterwards reprimanded the treaſurer with great ſeverity for this haſty ſtep, which is a clear proof that it was contrary to his deſigns: poſſibly he thought he had already gone far enough in his revenge upon the French king, and was deſirous of ſtopping the proſecution againſt the catholics before it grew too violent.

The lords communicated the intelligence to the commons; and both houſes entered ſo warmly into the matter, that for ſeveral days they ſat from morning till night examining Oates and other witneſſes. At length, on the thirty-firſt of October, they reſolved nem. con. "That the lords and commons are of opinion, that there hath been, and ſtill is, a damnable and helliſh plot, contrived and carried on by popiſh recuſants, for aſſaſſinating and murdering the king, for ſubverting the government, and for rooting out and deſtroying the proteſtant religion."

It was about this time that Bedloe made his appearance as an evidence for the plot, and was examined by the lords. In the mean time, the commons ordered ſeveral perſons, whom Oates had ſworn againſt, to be apprehended; and among others the following noblemen, who were declared papiſts, the earl of Powis, the lord viſcount Stafford, and the lords Arundel of Wardour, Petre, and Bellaſis, who were ſent to the Tower.

The depoſitions of Oates and Bedloe being publiſhed, excited ſuch a ferment in the nation, that the king was obliged to iſſue a proclamation, commanding all popiſh recuſants, under the ſevereſt penalties, to repair to their own houſes, and not to venture from thence, without a particular licence, to a greater diſtance than five miles. At the ſame time another proclamation was publiſhed, offering a reward to any one who ſhould diſcover or apprehend a Romiſh prieſt or jeſuit; and a bill, which had lately paſſed the two houſes, diſabling all papiſts from ſitting in parliament, received the royal aſſent. Not contented with this, the commons finding that ſir Joſeph Williamſon, ſecretary of Scotland, had counterſigned ſeveral commiſſions to popiſh recuſants, for this offence, as a member of the lower houſe, committed him to the Tower. The king was greatly incenſed at this commitment of his ſervant, without application firſt made to him, and he inſtantly ordered him to be releaſed: however, he revoked the commiſſions that had given offence, and there the affair dropt.

The late vigorous meaſures taken by the commons againſt the papiſts, were only preparatory to the execution of a project which they had already formed, of excluding the duke of York from the ſucceſſion, as appears by their permitting a debate to ariſe in the houſe for an addreſs to remove the ſaid duke from his majeſty's preſence and councils, which was put off to another day; and in the mean time the king came to the houſe, and in a ſpeech told them, that he would conſent to any bills for their ſecurity in the reign of his ſucceſſor, ſo that they tended not to impede the right of ſucceſſion, nor the deſcent of the crown in the true line; and Charles ſtuck to this on all the attempts that were afterwards made for a bill of excluſion.

The next object that engroſſed the attention of the public was the trial and condemnation of the conſpirators. Coleman, the duke's ſecretary, was the firſt that was tried. On the twenty-ſeventh of November he was brought to the bar of the King's Bench, before the lord chief-juſtice Scroggs, where, upon the evidence of Oates and Bedloe, and his own letters, he was found guilty of high-treaſon, and executed on the third of December. It muſt be confeſſed that Coleman's letters ſufficiently prove how much the king and duke were under a French and popiſh influence *. Other perſons executed for the plot the beginning of the following year and the year after, were, William Ireland and Thomas Pickering, both prieſts; John Grove, a lay-brother; Thomas Whitebread, provincial of the jeſuits in England (who, according to the ſtory of Oates and his party, was to have been created archbiſhop of Canterbury) and Harcourt, Fenwick, Gavan, and Turner, all jeſuits likewiſe, and Langhorne, a popiſh lawyer. Beſides Bedloe and Prance, one Dugdale was a witneſs

* Burnet ſays that Coleman had found leiſure to convey all his papers out of the way, only he forgot a drawer under the table, in which the papers relating to the years 1674, 1675, and part of 1676, were left; theſe, being ſeized, contained many extraordinary paſſages. In particular, he wrote to father la Chaiſe (the French king's confeſſor) "We have here a mighty work upon our hands, no leſs than the converſion of three kingdoms, and by that perhaps the utter ſubduing the peſtilent hereſy which has long domineered over a great part of this northern world. There were never ſuch hopes of ſucceſs, ſince the days of queen Mary, as in our days. God has given us a prince," meaning the duke, "who is become (may I ſay a miracle) zealous of being the author and inſtrument of ſo glorious a work; but the oppoſition we are ſure to meet with is alſo like to be great: ſo that it imports us to get all the aſſiſtance we can."

In another letter he ſaid, "I can ſcarce believe myſelf awake, or the thing real, when I think of a prince in ſuch an age as we live in, converted to ſuch a degree of zeal and piety, as not to regard any thing in compariſon of God Almighty's glory, the ſalvation of his own ſoul, and the converſion of our poor kingdom." In other paſſages, he repreſents the intereſts of England, thoſe of the French king, and thoſe of the catholic religion, as intimately connected. The duke is alſo ſaid to be unalterably attached to the intereſts of Lewis. The king himſelf, he aſſerts, is always diſpoſed to favour the catholics, when he may do it with ſafety. "Money," ſays he in another letter, "is able to perſuade the king to any thing. There is nothing it cannot make him do, were it ever ſo much to his prejudice. It hath ſuch an abſolute power over him, that he cannot reſiſt it. Logic in our court built upon money, has more powerful charms than any other ſort of argument." Burnet. Rapin. Hume.

againſt them; by whoſe evidence it appeared, that when they had killed the king, they were to lay it on the preſbyterians.

The ſame day that Coleman was tried, the king, at the requeſt of the lords, iſſued a proclamation, offering to any one who, before the twenty-fifth of December next, ſhould make any farther diſcovery of the late horrid deſign againſt his majeſty's perſon and government, a reward of two hundred pounds; and if the informer was even principal in the deſign, his majeſty's moſt gracious pardon. Whether from a deſire of gaining this reward, or from a conviction that they had good authority for what they advanced, Bedloe and one Grove had the boldneſs, before the king and council, to accuſe the queen herſelf of being concerned in a deſign to poiſon him, by means of ſir George Wakeman, his phyſician; but their depoſitions appearing vague and inconcluſive, and the king interpoſing his abſolute command to ſtop the proſecution of this affair, nothing farther came of it.

Thus much I have thought neceſſary to lay before my readers concerning this famous plot. Such of them as have leiſure or inclination for examining the minuter circumſtances of the ſeveral trials, with the weight of the evidences for and againſt the conſpirators, will find the whole matter at large in the hiſtories of Rapin, Burnet, and Echard, and the State Trials, from whence we have collected the above account. We are now to proceed to other matters.

Notwithſtanding the appearance of attachment to the proteſtant religion aſſumed by Charles at this time, the generality of the nation, and the parliament in particular, were greatly diſguſted with his conduct, both in civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs; and, wearied out with the continual breach of his promiſes, they reſolved to leave nothing undone to cramp his power of doing harm. They were confirmed in this reſolution by a tranſaction which tranſpired about this time, to the no ſmall mortification of the king, and increaſe of the diſtruſt the parliament had entertained of his principles.

It ſeems that Mr. Montagu, our ambaſſador in France, had aſpired to the office of ſecretary of ſtate, and was greatly incenſed at the lord-treaſurer Danby for having procured it for another. Montagu was ſenſible he had in his poſſeſſion papers that might ruin Danby, and he reſolved to make that uſe of them. With this view he wrote over to his friends here to get him elected for the county of Northampton, then vacant; and they having ſucceeded, he returned ſuddenly to England, without the knowledge or conſent of the king, and took his ſeat in the houſe of commons. Charles ſuſpecting his intention, gave orders for ſeizing his papers, under pretext of his having correſponded with the pope's nuncio while abroad; but Montagu had made ſure of one paper which he knew was alone ſufficient to anſwer his purpoſe: this he immediately produced in the houſe of commons. It was a letter from the treaſurer Danby to Montagu, concerning the baſe negotiations in which Charles had engaged for ſelling his neutrality to the French king, during the war between that monarch and the allies *.

The commons were ſo exaſperated, that they immediately impeached the earl of Danby of high treaſon, deſigning thereby to oblige him to plead the king's orders, who was more ſtruck at in this proceeding than the treaſurer. It is a juſtice done to the character of Danby to obſerve, that he was ſo unwilling to have any concern in this ſcandalous treaty, by which the intereſt of his country was ſacrificed to the views of its moſt dangerous rival and enemy; that, in order to ſecure him from all danger, the king had with his own hand written the following words at the bottom of the duplicate of the letter: "This letter is written by my order. C. R." When this tranſaction came to be diſcovered, and the treaſurer found the houſe had impeached him, he was in the utmoſt perplexity how to act. He did not chuſe to accuſe the king; and unleſs he pleaded his expreſs order for the writing that letter, he knew his head muſt pay the forfeit of his compliance with the royal command. Charles was in as great a dilemma as himſelf: he dreaded to have the ſecret divulged, and therefore aſſured the earl of a pardon if he would ſtand between him and the attacks of the parliament. Danby conſented to conceal his majeſty's orders, and to defend himſelf in the beſt manner he could. In ſhort, Danby exculpated himſelf ſo fully of having given any encouragement to the intrigues of the French miniſtry, as well as of other matters urged againſt him in the impeachment of the commons, that the lords refuſed to commit him to the Tower. The commons inſiſted upon his being taken into cuſtody: a conteſt enſued between the two houſes; and the king, dreading ſome fatal conſequence from the violence of the commons, came to the houſe on the thirtieth of December, and prorogued the parliament. On the twenty-fourth of January following he diſſolved it by proclamation, after it had ſat near eighteen years, and, from the great extent of court influence among its members, had acquired the name of the Penſionary Parliament †. Soon after, writs were iſſued out for the electing a new parliament on the ſixth of March.

Charles, to his great mortification, found that the enſuing parliament was likely to prove as little complaiſant as the laſt; for the elections ſeemed to run againſt the crown, ſuch perſons only being returned as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their oppoſition to popery, and the extent of the regal prerogative. In order therefore to ingratiate himſelf as much as poſſible with the new aſſembly, he prevailed

* It was conceived in the following terms: "In caſe the conditions of peace ſhall be accepted, the king expects ſix millions of livres for three years, from the time that this agreement ſhall be ſigned between his majeſty and the king of France; becauſe it will probably be two or three years before the parliament will be in a humour to give him any ſupplies after the making of any peace with France; and the ambaſſador here has always agreed to that ſum, but not for ſo long a time. If you find the peace will not be accepted, you are not to mention the money at all; and all poſſible care muſt be taken to keep this whole negotiation as private as poſſible, for fear of giving offence at home, where for the moſt part we hear in ten days after of any thing that is communicated to the French miniſtry." Burnet. Rapin.

† A modern hiſtorian has the following remark on this parliament; "Such was the concluſion of a parliament, which, one year excepted, had ſat during the whole courſe of the preſent reign. The ſpirit which it had lately diſcovered was very different from that which it breathed in the beginning. Being elected during the joy and feſtivity of the Reſtoration, it was com-

vailed on his brother the duke of York to ſubmit to an order for his leaving England *. He took the treaſurer's ſtaff from Danby, and gave it to the earl of Lauderdale; but that the former might not, through reſentment or fear, be tempted to diſcover ſecrets which he wiſhed to have concealed, he granted him a free pardon under the great ſeal.

Theſe conceſſions on the part of the king, inſtead of ſoothing the new parliament, which met on the ſixth of March, 1679, rather encouraged them to freſh exertions of their power. The commons began by chuſing Edward Seymour, Eſq; for their ſpeaker; a perſon whom they knew to be a profeſſed enemy to the earl of Danby. The king knew it likewiſe, and refuſed his approbation to their choice, which occaſioned a diſpute between him and the commons, and a prorogation of a few days; when meeting again on the fifteenth, they choſe Mr. Gregory, ſerjeant at law, for their ſpeaker, who was approved of by the king. They preſently reſumed the affair of the earl of Danby, who choſe to abide by his pardon, and withdrew himſelf. Whereupon they paſſed a vote to require him "to ſurrender himſelf to juſtice, on or before the twenty-third day of April next enſuing, on pain of being ſubjected to an act of attainder." Rather than be condemned unheard, Danby ſurrendered himſelf before the day to the uſher of the black rod, and was committed to the Tower. A few days after he produced his pardon, and was remanded thither again. The commons declared this pardon to be illegal and void, and ſo he remained in the Tower till the year 1683.

The king, alarmed at the violence of the parliament, began to purſue ſuch meaſures as he thought moſt likely to charm down the ſpirit of oppoſition which ſo ſtrongly diſplayed itſelf. He offered ſir William Temple, who had been recalled from his foreign employments, the office of one of the ſecretaries of ſtate; but Temple, worn out with buſineſs, refuſed it; however, by his advice the king formed a new privy-council, into which were choſen ſeveral men of abilities, unconnected with the court, or ſuch who were poſſeſſed of the chief influence in both houſes †.

Charles aſſuredly thought that this alteration would have brought the commons into a more compliant humour; but he found himſelf grievouſly miſtaken. The earl of Shafteſbury, though made preſident of the council, finding that he had actually loſt the king's confidence, ſtill adhered to the oppoſition, and employed all his art and intrigue to keep up the flame of animoſity againſt the king and his brother. The houſe of one Bird being ſet on fire by his maid-ſervant, Elizabeth Oakley, ſhe confeſſed ſhe had been inſtigated to commit that crime by one Stubbs, a catholic; and he being queſtioned, owned that father Gifford, his confeſſor, had aſſured him there was no ſin in burning the houſes of heretics. He and Oakley declared, that the catholics in England intended to riſe in arms, and expected to be joined by an army of ſixty thouſand men from France. The commons immediately addreſſed the king for the execution of Pickering and the other condemned jeſuits. They even aſſembled on Sunday to concert meaſures for the preſervation of the king's perſon, and the proteſtant religion, againſt the attempts of the papiſts. They brought in a bill for baniſhing all Roman catholics from London; and on the twenty-ſeventh of April, 1679, they reſolved, "That the duke of York being a papiſt, and the hopes of his ſucceeding to the crown, has been the greateſt encouragement to the preſent conſpiracies, and deſigns of the papiſts, againſt the king and the proteſtant religion. This vote was ſent to the lords by the lord Ruſſel, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Bedford.

Hereupon the king, by the advice of his council, went to the houſe of peers, and propoſed ſuch limitations, in regard to the ſucceſſion of a popiſh prince, as he thought would remove all objections; but theſe limitations, though very conſiderable, were not ſufficient to ſatisfy the commons; and they reſolved to rid themſelves effectually of all their fears, by ſuch a ſtep as they thought could alone ſecure the liberties and religion of the nation. Accordingly, on the fifteenth of May, a bill was brought into the lower houſe, and there read for the firſt time, "To diſable the duke of York from inheriting the imperial crown of England." This bill was commonly called The Bill of Excluſion;" and as it was of ſo important a nature, I believe the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the ſubſtance of it here.

The preamble ſet forth, "That the pope's emiſſaries had ſeduced James duke of York, the preſumptive heir of the crown: that they had converted him to the catholic religion, and engaged him in ſeveral negotiations with the pope, his cardinals and nuncios, for the intereſt of that communion: that by his means they had increaſed the greatneſs of the French king, to the manifeſt danger of England: and that, by the acceſſion of a popiſh prince to the throne, ſupported by foreign alliances, they would in time be enabled to accompliſh their wicked purpoſe of deſtroying the liberty and religion of the kingdom."

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compoſed almoſt entirely of royaliſts, who were diſpoſed to ſupport the crown with all the liberality which the habits of the age would permit.

"But many cauſes had ſince concurred to alienate their affections from his majeſty. His open alliance with France, which was ſo inconſiſtent with the intereſt of the nation; his ſecret connections with that crown, which were equally pernicious and diſhonourable; his two ſeveral Dutch wars, undertaken with the ſole view of deſtroying that republic, the chief ſupport of civil liberty; his dangerous deſigns, and even attempts, againſt the rights and privileges of his own ſubjects; his attachment to the catholic religion; his averſion to the proteſtants: theſe and many other circumſtances tended to withdraw their confidence from the king, and to make them oppoſe him in all his meaſures." Hume's Hiſt. of Great Britain. Charles II.

* The duke however required, that his brother ſhould ſatisfy him, as well as the nation, by a public declaration of the illegitimacy of the duke of Monmouth, a natural ſon of his majeſty by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the Reſtoration. Being gratified in this requeſt, he withdrew with his family to Bruſſels, where he took up his reſidence. Rapin. Hume.

† The names of the counſellors were, prince Rupert, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, lord Finch chancellor, the earl of Shafteſbury preſident, the earl of Angleſea privy-ſeal, the dukes of Albemarle, Monmouth, Newcaſtle, Lauderdale, Ormond, the marquiſſes of Winchester and Worceſter, the earls of Arlington, Saliſbury, Bridgewater, Sunderland, Eſſex, Bath, the viſcounts of Falconbridge and Hallifax, the biſhop of London, the lords Robarts, Hollis, Ruſſel, and Cavendiſh, ſecretary Coventry, ſir Francis North chief-juſtice, ſir Henry Capel, ſir John Erneley, ſir Thomas Chicheley, Edward Seymour, and Henry Powle. Temple accepted of a place therein, in order to aſſiſt his prince in the preſent emergency. Rapin. Hume.

The bill then ordained, "That James, duke of York, Albany, and Ulſter, ſhould be incapable of inheriting the crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland: that, upon the death or reſignation of the king, the ſovereignty of theſe kingdoms ſhould devolve to the perſon next in ſucceſſion after the duke: that all acts of royalty which that prince ſhould afterwards perform, ſhould not only be void, but held treaſonable: that if he entered any of theſe dominions, he ſhould be deemed guilty of the ſame offence: and that all who ſupported his title ſhould be puniſhed as rebels and traitors."

This bill was read a ſecond time on the twenty-firſt; and the queſtion being put, Whether the bill ſhould be committed? it paſſed in the affirmative by a very great majority (Yea's two hundred and ſeven, No's one hundred and twenty-eight.)

Charles perceiving by theſe, and ſome ſubſequent proceedings of the commons, that they only ſought to drive things to extremity; and hearing, moreover, that they had a deſign to preſent to him a remonſtrance, not much unlike that preſented to the king his father in 1641, in order to inflame the nation againſt him, reſolved to cut ſhort their ſeſſion. Accordingly he went to the houſe of peers on the twenty-ſeventh of May, and, ſending for the commons, paſſed five bills; particularly one for the ſecuring the liberty of the ſubject, called the HABEAS CORPUS act *, and then prorogued the parliament to the fourteenth of Auguſt. By this means the Excluſion Bill was dropped for a time.

The oppoſition to the court was not confined to England alone. Here indeed the king had been pretty warmly attacked by parliamentary addreſſes: but the Scots, who were filled with the like ſpirit of diſcontent, had recourſe to terms of a more efficacious kind. The earl of Lauderdale had governed them as high-commiſſioner for upwards of twelve years, during which time he had exerciſed a perfect tyranny over the people. He had been accuſed before the council of England by the duke of Hamilton, and ſeveral other noblemen, who brought unanſwerable proofs of his maladminiſtration; but the king, with whom he was in great favour, had ſtopped any rigorous proceedings againſt him, knowing that his age, and the infirmities conſequent thereupon, muſt very ſoon render it neceſſary for him to reſign; and his majeſty had already deſtined his natural ſon the duke of Monmouth for his ſucceſſor. The preſbyterians or covenanters, however, whom he had in a particular manner oppreſſed, loſt all patience; and, taking advantage of the diſtractions in England, reſolved to right themſelves by force of arms, and openly unfurled the enſigns of rebellion. Sharp, archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, was marked out a ſacrifice to their firſt fury. If Burnet may be believed, he had been the foremoſt in the rank of their perſecutors, and what rendered him particularly culpable in their eyes, was his having been formerly one of their party, and even ſent as deputy by them to the Engliſh court at the Reſtoration, to take care of their intereſts there. He thought proper, however, whether from a motive of intereſt or conviction, to ſide with the court. On the removal of the epiſcopal order in Scotland, the archbiſhopric of St. Andrew's was beſtowed upon him, and he ever after proved a heavy ſcourge to the preſbyterians. They now thought the time was come to take full revenge on "this apoſtate, this betrayer of the godly, and perſecutor of Chriſt's church;" epithets they had for a conſiderable time conſtantly deſignated this prelate. Accordingly, a body of them way-layed him as he was returning from the council at Edinburgh; and on the third of May, between eleven and twelve o'clock in the forenoon, attacked his coach near a little country village called Magus, two miles diſtant from St. Andrew's, dragged him out of the carriage, and, regardleſs of the prayers and interceſſions of his daughter, who happened to be with him, murdered him, with every imaginable circumſtance of ſhocking brutality.

This aſſaſſination was celebrated by the covenanters as an exploit worthy the true ſervants of God, and ſerved as a ſignal for their party to fly to arms; and on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month they began to aſſemble their forces, proclaimed the covenant at Rutherglen, ſurprized the city of Glaſgow, iſſued out a proclamation, commanding the magiſtrates to turn out all archbiſhops, biſhops, and curates, with their children and ſervants, within forty-eight hours; and inviting their brethren to join them, who readily eſpouſed the good cauſe, they fell to plundering the adjacent country. Fortunately the miniſtry in Scotland found means to provide for the ſafety of Edinburgh; and the king no ſooner heard of this inſurrection, than he ſent the duke of Monmouth, with a body of forces, into Scotland to ſuppreſs it. The duke being joined by the troops that had been raiſed in that kingdom to make head againſt the rebels, who were by this time ſeventeen thouſand ſtrong, marched incontinently to give them battle. He came up with them at Bothwell-bridge on the twenty-ſecond of June; and falling on them with incredible fury, ſoon gained a complete victory. Near a thouſand of the inſurgents were left dead on the field, and about twelve hundred were taken priſoners. Among the latter were ſeveral of thoſe concerned in the murder of the primate Sharpe, who were inſtantly hanged; a few more afterwards were tried and executed, and the reſt tranſported. Thoſe who eſcaped diſperſed of themſelves, and the public tranquility was perfectly reſtored.

Towards the latter end of Auguſt this year, the king was ſeized with ſo violent a fever, that in a very few days his life was by his phyſicians thought to be in danger. Hereupon it was reſolved by the council, notwithſtanding the ſtrong oppoſition of Shafteſbury, their preſident, and others of the country party at that board, to ſend for the duke of York from Bruſſels, who, making a diſpatch proportioned to the importance of the circumſtance, arrived at Whitehall on the ſecond of Septem-

* This act ordained, that no perſon ſhould be ſent priſoner beyond ſea; that no judge, under the ſevereſt penalties, ſhall refuſe to any priſoner a writ of Habeas corpus, by which the goaler is to produce in court the body of the priſoner (whence the writ has its name) and to certify the cauſe of his commitment and detainer: that, if the jail lie within twenty miles of the judge, the writs be obeyed in three days; and ſo proportionably for greater diſtances: that every priſoner be indicted the firſt term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the ſubſequent term: and that no man, after being diſcharged by order of court, be committed anew for the ſame offence. See ſtat. 31 Car. II.

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ber; but by that time the king was pretty well recovered.

The duke of York, during his ſtay at court, employed all his influence over the king his brother to ſet him againſt the duke of Monmouth. That young prince, who was poſſeſſed of many amiable qualities, was become extremely popular, and Shafteſbury and the Country Party had already ſingled him out as a proper perſon to fill the place of York in the ſucceſſion to the crown, in caſe they could carry their favourite Excluſion Bill. Monmouth, elated with this flattering proſpect, had been rather too free in his cenſures on the court meaſures. He had not ſpared at ſeveral different times to intimate to his friends, that he was the true and lawful ſon of Charles, who, according to him, had been ſolemnly married to his mother, Mrs. Lucy Walters, daughter of a country gentleman of that name. In ſhort, his ſtrict connection with the party in the oppoſition, and the indiſcretion of his conduct and converſation, afforded but too plauſible a ſuppoſition that he aſpired to the crown. He was tenderly beloved by Charles; and it was not improbable that it was as much with a view to remove him out of the way of temptation, as from any compliance with the applications of his uncle, that the king, after taking from him his commiſſion, and depriving him of ſeveral other employments he held under the crown, ordered him to withdraw to the continent; whereupon he embarked for Holland. The duke of York ſoon after went over to Bruſſels; and Shafteſbury, whoſe projects were now univerſally known, was diſmiſſed from his place of preſident of the council. The duke of York did not remain long abroad; for thinking himſelf at too great a diſtance from the ſcene of his intereſts, he wrote a very ſubmiſſive letter to the king, wherein he repreſented to his majeſty, "That he conceived it, for many reaſons, more proper for him to be in his majeſty's dominions, rather than in thoſe of another prince; and therefore made it his humble requeſt to his majeſty, that he would grant him his royal permiſſion to go into Scotland." The king complied with his requeſt; and James leaving Bruſſels, came to London about the beginning of November; and, after having paid his devoirs to his royal brother, he ſet out with his family for Edinburgh, and arrived there on the fourth of December. During his ſtay in Scotland, he made himſelf many more enemies than friends.

The elections for the new parliament running all againſt the court, the king, fearful that they would renew their attack againſt his brother, and traverſe every meaſure he himſelf ſhould chuſe to adopt, determined to put off the ſeſſion for a whole year, and accordingly ſignified this his intention to the council. The members, ſurpriſed at this reſolution, and ſtill more ſo at the peremptory manner in which it was made known to them, reſolved to retire from court, nor longer fill the empty poſts of counſellors that might not counſel. Eſſex reſigned the office of treaſurer, which was beſtowed upon Lawrence Hyde, who, with Sunderland and Godolphin, became the king's chief counſellors. Lord Ruſſel, one of the moſt popular and virtuous men in the nation, quitted the board, ſir William Temple retired into the country, and Robert, earl of Radnor, was named preſident of the council.

Towards the latter end of October, about a fortnight after the parliament had been prorogued, a ſham-plot was diſcovered, contrived by the papiſts, to be revenged on their perſecutors, and to tranſlate the odium from themſelves to the preſbyterians. One Dangerfield, a fellow who had ſuffered almoſt every puniſhment that the law can inflict on the moſt abandoned miſcreant, and ſtood foremoſt in the chronicles of infamy, was tutored for the purpoſe. The catholic party releaſed him out of Newgate, where he was impriſoned for debt, and ſet him to work. He pretended to have been privy to a deſign for deſtroying the king and the royal family, and converting the government into a commonwealth. The king and his brother countenanced the tale, and rewarded him for his diſcovery with a ſum of money; but certain papers which he produced in evidence of his aſſertions, appearing upon examination to be forged by himſelf, he was put under arreſt. All his haunts were ordered to be ſearched; and in the houſe of one Mrs. Cellier, a midwife, a Roman catholic, and an intimate of his, was found the model of the pretended plot, wrote very fair, and neatly made up into a book, tied with a ribband, and concealed in a meal-tub; whence it acquired the name of the MEAL-TUB plot. Finding himſelf thus detected, the incendiary made a full confeſſion of the impoſture, which he ſaid had been contrived by the earl of Caſtlemain, the counteſs of Powis, and the five popiſh lords in the Tower, in order to invalidate the teſtimonies of Oates, Bedloe, and the reſt, againſt the papiſts; and that he was to have accuſed the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the earls of Eſſex, Halifax, and others, with being concerned in a conſpiracy againſt the king and the duke of York. Upon this lord Caſtlemain and lady Powis were committed to the Tower; and the people did not ſpare to cenſure the king himſelf, as a promoter of this deſign againſt the lives and honours of thoſe perſons, who were well known to be obnoxious to him, but with what truth cannot now be determined by us.

Thus much, however, is certain, that the detection of this infamous juggle raiſed anew the ſtorm againſt the catholics. The moſt irritating libels were diſperſed thro' the kingdom: in London the mob, inſtigated, doubtleſs, by their ſuperiors, carried about in proceſſion the image of the murdered ſir Edmundſbury Godfrey, crying out, that ſuch would be the fate of every proteſtant, ſhould a papiſt be ſuffered to ſucceed to the crown. Shafteſbury was at the bottom of all this, and had concerted matters ſo with the duke of Monmouth, that the latter came over to England without the king's leave, and arrived in the city juſt as theſe tumultuous doings were at the higheſt. The frantic demonſtrations of joy that burſt from the populace on the firſt notice of his return, the ſeditious pamphlets that immediately flew about, and in which the duke was repreſented as the only man that could deliver the nation from popery and ſlavery, ſufficiently indicated a deſign to exclude the duke of York from the throne, and to ſet up Monmouth in his ſtead.

Such was the ſtate of domeſtic affairs in England at the cloſe of the year 1679. Many true lovers of their country beheld, with unſpeakable grief, that animoſity between the court and country parties, which ſeemed to threaten a renewal of

the fatal year 1641: nor is it at all improbable that ſuch might have been the caſe, if the king's neceſſities had, like thoſe of his father, been ſo preſſing, as to oblige him to aſſemble the parliament, as that unfortunate prince had done; had the Scots not been ſo effectually enſlaved by a ſtanding army which the court kept among them, that they had not power to ſtir; and had not the biſhops and clergy, forgetting every other conſideration in the purſuit of their intereſt, attached themſelves ſo ſtrongly to the court, as to give it a ſuperiority over the oppoſition.

The nation by this time grew impatient at the long prorogation of the parliament. The country party took advantage of this, and by their emiſſaries procured a number of addreſſes to be ſent from different parts of the kingdom, petitioning his majeſty for the ſpeedy aſſembling of the great council of the kingdom. The city of London diſtinguiſhed itſelf on this occaſion: ſir Gilbert Gerard the lord-mayor, with ſeveral conſiderable citizens, went in a body to court, and preſented a petition to the king, praying that he would give orders for the immediate meeting of the parliament, and that the popiſh lords might be brought to their trials. His majeſty returned for anſwer, "That he looked upon himſelf to be the head of the government, and the only judge what was fit to be done in thoſe cauſes."

This reply, however it may have been repreſented by ſome hiſtorians, too much biaſſed by their own prejudices, was certainly well becoming the dignity and majeſty of a ſovereign: nor can we condemn Charles's conduct in this affair, when we reflect that numbers of the old rebel brood appeared at the head of the petitioners of the ſeveral counties.

The court party, however, thought it behoved them to uſe every precaution againſt this growing ſpirit of diſaffection and oppoſition. They found means to have a number of counter-addreſſes ſent up from the towns and boroughs in their intereſt, expreſſing the greateſt abhorrence of ſuch petitions, as an infringement upon the prerogative, which in their expreſſions they took care to advance as high as poſſible. Thus the nation came to be divided into *Petitioners* and *Abhorrers*, ſoon known by the names of *Whigs* and *Tories*, which both parties, by way of reproach, gave each other, and which have ſo long ſerved to characteriſe the different parties of this iſland *.

The king, however, thought fit to ſuffer the parliament to meet on the twenty-ſixth day of January, 1680, the day they ſtood prorogued to; when he told them, That the diſtractions and jealouſies of the kingdom were ſuch, and ſo heightened by the malice and induſtry of ill-deſigning men, "that he was of opinion, a longer interval of parliament would be abſolutely neceſſary for compoſing and quieting men's minds;" and therefore ordered them to be prorogued, at the ſame time giving them to underſtand, that it would be farther prorogued, unleſs the condition of his allies abroad required their immediate aſſiſtance.

And now the king determined to have the duke of York again near his perſon. Accordingly, he ſent for him out of Scotland, and he arrived at court on the twenty-fourth of February. The city, by a ſtrange inconſiſtent conduct, expreſſed the greateſt joy at his return; invited the king his brother and him to a grand entertainment; and every ſtreet blazed with bonfires, every houſe ſhone with illuminations.

The Whigs were not a little mortified at the duke's return; and the earl of Shafteſbury, who was at the head of that party, and who had for ſome time been making a progreſs thro' the kingdom with Monmouth, in order to acquire him a powerful party among the populace, now took a ſtep that bid fair to effectually ruin the duke of York, and eſtabliſh the intereſts of his patron and pupil Monmouth. He induſtriouſly circulated a report of that nobleman's legitimacy, pretending that the king had been actually married to Mrs. Lucy Walters, or Barlow, the duke's mother; and that the contract of marriage was in a black box entruſted to the care of ſir Gilbert Gerard. Such a report was of a nature not to be paſſed by on the part of the court and the duke of York. Sir Gilbert was examined before the council, and declared upon oath, that he never had ſuch a contract in his poſſeſſion, nor had ever heard that any ſuch writing exiſted. Whereupon the king iſſued a declaration, importing, that he never was contracted to Mrs. Lucy Walters, or Barlow, mother to the duke of Monmouth, nor to any other woman but his royal conſort queen Catherine. This declaration, atteſted by all the privy-counſellors, was regiſtered in the Court of Chancery.

In Eaſter term this year, 1680, the counteſs of Powis being indicted of treaſon upon the evidence of Dangerfield, the jury brought in the bill, Ignoramus: whereupon the lord Stafford, one of the five popiſh lords confined in the Tower, thinking the credit of the plot and its witneſſes began to decline, moved to be enlarged upon bail; but his ſuit was denied. In the ſummer, the earl of Caſtlemain and Cellier the midwife were tried on account of the Meal-Tub plot, and acquitted. The famous informer Bedloe died in Auguſt at Briſtol, having on his death-bed ſigned a depoſition before the lord chief-juſtice North, of the duke of York's being as much concerned in the popiſh plot as any one, excepting what related to the murder of the king.

Though the court party had of late gained ground, thoſe in the oppoſition made ſtrong efforts to retain their influence in the nation, in which they were not a little aſſiſted by the favour of the city of London; which, notwithſtanding the outward marks it had given of regard to the court, was in general averſe to the adminiſtration. An opportunity offered about this time of giving a convincing proof of its real ſentiments: ſir Robert Clayton the mayor had, as uſual, drank to a perſon, by way of nominating him ſheriff, who happened not to be agreeable to the popular leaders. The common-council rejected the nomination, and

* The court party reproached their antagoniſts with their reſemblance to the conventiclers in Scotland, who were commonly called Whigs; a name derived from a kind of buttermilk, upon which the covenanters were ſuppoſed to live: the country party diſcovered a ſimilitude between the courtiers and the popiſh banditti in Ireland, who were uſually diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Tories; and ſuch was the origin of theſe fooliſh and ridiculous terms, which have ever ſince prevailed in England; and even at preſent ſeem not nearer their end than when they were firſt adopted. Hume.

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choſe the aldermen Bethel and Corniſh, two preſbyterians, for their ſheriffs. There was a great conteſt on the occaſion; but the country party carried their point, to the no ſmall mortification of the court.

All this time the duke of Monmouth, who had been forbid appearing in the king's preſence, upon his having returned to England without his majeſty's permiſſion, was labouring hard to get a party among the people: but the boldeſt ſtroke, and what alarmed the king and the whole court the moſt, was, his going publicly to the King's Bench bar at Weſtminſter, with his friends Shafteſbury, Ruſſel, Cavendiſh, and ten or a dozen more noblemen and perſons of diſtinction, to preſent the duke of York (his uncle) as a popiſh recuſant. The truth of this allegation was but too notorious: the whole kingdom was ſenſible of it; but till this time no perſon had the boldneſs to take ſuch a ſtep, which was regarded as a ſettled deſign to break all meaſures with the duke.

On the twenty-firſt of October the new parliament aſſembled; and it ſoon appeared that the majority of the houſe was ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt the meaſures of the court. The king opened the ſeſſion with an eloquent and ſpecious harangue. As he knew that both houſes had greatly at heart the protection of the proteſtant religion, he enlarged a great deal upon that head, and uſed all his endeavours to perſuade them, that he was zealouſly affected to the religion of the church of England, the preſervation of which he would ever make one of his principal cares. He recommended to them, in the warmeſt terms, to lay aſide thoſe party animoſities and diſſenſions, which had hitherto troubled their councils: he declared himſelf ready to join with them in the moſt perfect harmony and union for reſtoring domeſtic peace, by which alone the honour and intereſt of the nation could be effectually ſupported; with much more of the like tendency. But the houſe knew Charles too well to lay any greater ſtreſs upon thoſe profeſſions than they merited; nor could all his rhetoric mollify the diſguſt they had conceived at his conduct, and that of the perſons moſt in favour about him. Inſtead of appearing charmed with, and thankful for, theſe gracious declarations of the ſovereign, they openly cenſured the court for the notorious miſapplication of the generous ſupplies that had been granted to it by the parliament: they expoſed that profuſion, that prodigality of diſpoſition, which rendered the king for ever a beggar, while his people were continually giving with unbounded liberality: they went upon the popiſh plot: they expelled one of their members for having declared in public converſation, that he believed it all a forgery: they voted ſir George Jefferys, one of the king's ſerjeants, and ſir Francis Withens, high-ſteward of Weſtminſter, betrayers of their country, for being Abhorrers, that is, for having joined in counter-addreſſes againſt the petitions for the ſitting of the parliament. They next recommended Dr. Tonge, one of the diſcoverers of the popiſh plot, to the king, for the next eccleſiaſtical preferment that ſhould become vacant; and in all probability Charles would have been obliged to gratify them in this point, had not Tonge died ſoon after. They alſo gave great encouragement to Dangerfield, and indeed to every other perſon that had been in any manner inſtrumental in diſcovering the popiſh conſpiracy.

The maſter-blow, however, remained yet unſtruck; but on the twenty-ſixth of October, within leſs than a week after the meeting of the parliament, the lord Ruſſel, in direct terms, moved for excluding the duke of York from the ſucceſſion. He was ſeconded by ſir Henry Capel, brother to the earl of Eſſex, and ſeveral others joined in the ſaid motion. Whereupon the houſe of commons came to the following reſolution on the twenty-ſecond of November, viz. "That the duke of York's being a papiſt, and the hopes of his coming to the crown had given the greateſt countenance and encouragement to the preſent deſigns and conſpiracies againſt the king and the proteſtant religion; and that, in defence of the king's perſon, government, and the proteſtant religion, they would ſtand by his majeſty with their lives and fortunes; and that, if his majeſty ſhould come to any violent death, they would revenge it to the utmoſt on the papiſts." In conſequence of which vote, a bill was brought in on the fourth of November, "to diſable James, duke of York and Albany, from inheriting the imperial crown of this realm;" which occaſioned ſeveral warm debates. The moſt conciſe abſtract of theſe would fill up many pages; and as they are to be found at large in the printed Debates of the Houſe of Commons, and in almoſt all other hiſtorians, I ſhall omit them, and content myſelf with obſerving, that the bill having made its way thro' the lower houſe, was, on the fifteenth of November, ſent up to the lords, where, though it was carried for a ſecond reading by two voices, it was then thrown out by a majority of ſixty-three againſt thirty, all the biſhops preſent voting againſt it, and the king being alſo there during the whole time of the debate. The noblemen who chiefly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in oppoſing the Excluſion Bill in the houſe of peers, were the earls of Eſſex, Sunderland, and Halifax, who went by the name of the Triumvirate. It was not long, however, before they gave manifeſt proofs of a change of ſentiments.

The country party could not conceal their rage at the loſs of their favourite bill: the commons addreſſed the king to remove lord Halifax, and the other lords who had voted againſt it, from his majeſty's preſence and councils for ever: they iſſued writs for apprehending ſeveral gentlemen of rank and fortune, who had been principally concerned, as formen of grand juries, in the *abhorring addreſſes*: they impeached the lord chief-juſtice North of high crimes and miſdemeanors, for having aſſiſted in the ſame; and the other lord chief-juſtice, Scroggs, of high-treaſon, for having browbeaten the evidences of the popiſh plot. On the thirtieth of November, the lord viſcount Stafford, one of the five popiſh lords in the Tower, was brought to his trial for being concerned in the ſaid plot; and being found guilty by his peers, he was condemned, and on the twenty-ninth of December beheaded on Tower-Hill, continuing to aſſert his innocence to his laſt moment. In a word, it is hard to ſay which is moſt deſerving the cenſure of candid poſterity, the unwarrantable arbitrary proceedings of the king in many former inſtances, or the preſent mad and undiſcerning reſentment of the parliament. Not content with ſhewing theſe marks of their extreme

extreme diſpleaſure againſt the court, they paſſed the following votes: "That it is the opinion of this houſe, that there is no ſecurity or ſafety for the proteſtant religion, the king's life, and government of this nation, without paſſing a bill for diſabling James duke of York to inherit the imperial crown of this realm, &c. and to rely upon any other means and remedies, is not only inſufficient, but dangerous."

The king looking upon theſe proceedings as direct attacks upon his dignity and prerogative, and being apprehenſive that if he winked at them, they would ſoon be attended with more ſerious conſequences, reſolved to put a ſpeedy end to their ſeſſion. This coming to the knowledge of the commons, they met early in the morning of the tenth of January, 1681, the day on which the king was expected at the houſe to prorogue it; and came to a reſolution, "That whoever adviſed his majeſty to prorogue the parliament to any other purpoſe than in order to paſſing a bill for the excluſion of the duke of York, is a betrayer of the king, the proteſtant religion, and the kingdom; a promoter of the French intereſt, and a penſioner of France." They had ſome time before refuſed to grant the king any ſupply; and now, leſt he ſhould be able by other means to ſupport the government, and render himſelf independent, they paſſed another vote, importing, That whoever ſhould advance any money upon thoſe branches of the king's revenue ariſing from cuſtoms, exciſe, or hearth-money, ſhould be deemed an enemy to parliaments, and be anſwerable for the ſame in that aſſembly.

Theſe votes were ſcarce paſſed, when the uſher of the black rod came to require their attendance in the houſe of peers; when the king, after having given his conſent to ſeveral laws of real importance and utility to the nation, prorogued the parliament to the twentieth of January, and ſoon afterwards diſſolved it; at the ſame time he iſſued writs for calling another on the twenty-firſt of March, which was to meet at Oxford.

The king, in making choice of this city for holding his parliament, had in view to deprive the country party of the advantage their cloſe connection with the city of London had given them, and at the ſame time to puniſh that capital for the countenance and ſupport it had all along given to the violent councils of the parliament: but here Charles found himſelf deceived, and that he had taken his meaſures wrong. The members of the new parliament in the country intereſt were, almoſt to a man, the ſame as had been returned in the preceding parliament; and they brought with them the ſame reſentment, the ſame avowed ſpirit of oppoſition to all the king's meaſures, and ſeemed determined to be revenged for the indignity they thought had been put upon them, by his majeſty's having ſo ſuddenly, and with ſo high an hand, diſſolved their former ſeſſion.

The aſſembling of this parliament had indeed rather the appearance of thoſe in the diſtracted times of the ſecond, third, and ſixth Henry, at Clarendon, Oxford, and Coventry, than the peaceful and amicable meeting of a ſovereign and his people: each ſide came armed, and attended by their friends and adherents, as if confident of an immediate rupture. The city members (of London) in particular appeared in the midſt of a numerous body of horſemen, diſtinguiſhed by knots of ribbands, inſcribed, NO POPERY, NO SLAVERY. In ſhort, both parties endeavoured to make a diſplay of their ſtrength.

On this occaſion Charles ſhewed a vigor and firmneſs truly becoming a great prince, and ſuch as appeared the more ſurpriſing in him, who had hitherto been remarkable for his facility and irreſolution. On opening the ſeſſion he made a noble, and not inelegant ſpeech; in which, after complaining of the diſreſpectful proceedings of the laſt parliament, which were ſuch, he ſaid, as few princes beſides himſelf would have borne with equal patience; he gave them to underſtand, that as it was not his deſire or intention to exerciſe arbitrary power on them, ſo he would not allow it to be exerciſed over himſelf: and again inculcated to them the neceſſity of moderation in their debates, as that alone could anſwer the ends of the nation, who had deputed them as repreſentatives. He was willing, he ſaid, to give them every poſſible ſatisfaction in his power, in relation to their fears from a popiſh ſucceſſor, by joining with them to eſtabliſh any practicable ſcheme for putting the government entirely into proteſtant hands, during the reign of ſuch an one. In fine, that as on his part he had and would perform every thing that could reaſonably be expected from him, ſo he looked that they ſhould lay aſide their animoſities, and concur with him in that ſalutary end, nor, by a revival of their paſt irregularities, inſpire him with a diſguſt to parliaments.

The commons ſeemed equally indifferent to the menaces or ſoothings of the king: they elected the ſame ſpeaker who filled the chair in the laſt parliament, and they inſtantly adopted the ſame meaſures; the impeachment of Danby, the enquiry into the popiſh plot, and the Bill of excluſion. So bent were they upon carrying this laſt point, that they rejected every expedient offered by the court. In a word, the leaders of the oppoſition were reſolved to be diſſatisfied with every thing they could propoſe, in hopes of humbling them into a perfect compliance with their will. What other motive, for inſtance, can with any ſhadow of reaſon be aſcribed, for their rejecting the following expedient, offered by Ernely, one of the king's miniſters, to remove all their fears of a popiſh ſucceſſor, and which was read in the houſe on the twenty-ſixth of March.

He propoſed, "That the duke of York ſhould be baniſhed five hundred miles from the Britiſh dominions: that the government ſhould be wholly veſted in a regent: that this regent ſhould be the princeſs of Orange; and in caſe of her death, without iſſue or with iſſue (being a minor) her ſiſter the princeſs Anne: that if the duke ſhould have a ſon educated in the proteſtant religion, then the ſaid princeſſes reſpectively to ſucceed in the regency, during the minority of ſuch ſon, and no longer: that notwithſtanding theſe kingdoms, out of reſpect to the royal family, and for the ſake of preſerving the right of ſucceſſion, might be governed by the name of James II. yet no man ſhould take arms from him, or by virtue of his commiſſion, on pain of being capitally puniſhed: that all officers, civil or military, ſhall take an oath to obſerve this ſettlement of the government: that acts of the like nature ſhould paſs in the parliament of Scotland and Ireland: that the duke of York

ſhould come into any of the three kingdoms, he ſhall be ipſo facto excluded, and the ſovereignty devolve to the regent: that all papiſts of any conſideration ſhould be baniſhed by name, and their children be educated in the proteſtant religion."

Theſe expedients, however rigorous, as indeed they came very little ſhort of an excluſion, if Mr. Echard, from whom this account is taken, has given us a true one, did not appear to the commons (or they would not think them) a ſufficient barrier againſt popery, though the duke of York and his party were ſo ſenſible of the force of them, that they declared themſelves more againſt the limitations than againſt the excluſion itſelf; and therefore they reſumed their favourite bill, and were proceeding to ſeveral violent reſolutions, when an event happened which created a quarrel between the two houſes, and ended in the breaking up of the ſeſſion.

One Fitz-Harris, an Iriſh papiſt, had been employed by the dutcheſs of Portſmouth, the king's favourite miſtreſs, and another Pompadour, in reſpect to intermeddling with ſtate affairs, in procuring intelligence of any libel wrote by the country party, or of any deſigns formed againſt her, or againſt the court. This man contracted an acquaintance with one Everard, a ſpy of the Excluſioniſts, to whom he propoſed to write a libel againſt the king and the duke of York, apparently with a view to have by this means ſuch a teſtimony in his hands, as might effectually ruin the Whigs in the opinion of the people. Everard was himſelf upon the catch, and came into Fitz-Harris's propoſals, only with an intent to reveal the whole affair to his patrons. They met by appointment; Everard had planted ſir William Waller, a juſtice of peace, where he might diſcover the whole of what paſſed. The heads of a ſeditious pamphlet were drawn up between the two ſpies. Fitz-Harris took the paper away in his pocket, was preſently purſued by the proper officer attending for that purpoſe, and was taken with the writing about him. The commons impeached him in the houſe of lords; but the latter rejected the impeachment, and ordered him to be proſecuted at common law, which occaſioned a difference between the two houſes: and the commons, with their uſual ſpirit, declared, that whatever inferior court ſhould preſume to try Fitz-Harris, or any one that lay under an impeachment, ſhould be deemed guilty of an high breach of privilege. In fine, the diſpute grew warmer and warmer. Charles beheld the quarrel between the two houſes as the moſt favourable pretext he could have wiſhed, for cutting ſhort a parliament which was determined to thwart him in all his meaſures; and by this ſtroke to ſpare his beloved brother from the mortification of farther inſults, and perhaps keep his right of ſucceſſion from being violated. Having fixed his reſolution, he carefully concealed it, even from his greateſt intimates; and going with the utmoſt privacy to the houſe on the twenty-eighth of March, 1681, the day the Excluſion Bill was to have a ſecond reading, he diſſolved the parliament before they had the leaſt intimation of his deſign: after which he took coach, and drove directly for London, where he publiſhed a declaration, containing his reaſons for diſſolving the two laſt parliaments; in which he taxed the commons with a deſign to wreſt the regal authority out of his hands, and ſubvert the conſtitution.

This unprecedented act of vigor and reſolution in the king was a thunder-ſtroke to the country party: they were confounded and abaſhed at being thus circumvented; and knowing not what meaſure to have recourſe to, they retired quietly every man to his habitation. Thus far Charles acted with a becoming ſpirit; thus far he ſhewed himſelf worthy of ſwaying the ſceptre of ſo great a kingdom: we wiſh that the ſubſequent part of his conduct was equally free from reprehenſion.

But Charles was a man, and, as ſuch, ſubject to the frailties of human nature: he did not enjoy his triumph with moderation, nor did he duly diſtinguiſh between the irregular attempts of a diſcontented faction to ingroſs all power to itſelf, and the noble efforts of a patriotic ſpirit to withſtand the encroachments of the crown on the undoubted liberties of the ſubject. His parliament had contradicted him; they had wounded him in the tendereſt part; and therefore he determined for the future to govern without them; and the reſt of his reign was ſpent in continual attempts to render himſelf abſolute, in which he ſucceeded but too far, when he grew as cruel and deſpotic as he before appeared mild and merciful.

What contributed chiefly to the eſtabliſhment of his arbitrary power, was the fierce animoſity which then prevailed between the two parties of Whigs and Tories, which the court carefully fomented. Charles applied himſelf particularly to the latter: he had frequent conferences with their leaders; to whom he was conſtantly repreſenting, that the late diſputes, and the diſſolution of two ſucceſſive parliaments, in conſequence thereof, had been entirely owing to the intrigues of the Whigs, who, under the appearance of an extraordinary zeal for the church and the proteſtant religion, concealed the moſt inveterate hatred to monarchy; and that their real deſign was to bring about its ſubverſion, and eſtabliſh a republican form of government upon its ruins; by the means of which, they hoped to get the firſt poſts in the kingdom into their own hands, and enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of a civil war, which might be the unavoidable reſult of their carrying their point: that epiſcopacy, and the liturgy of the church of England, were alike diſagreeable to them: in fine, that they were moſt of them in their hearts either rigid preſbyterians, or rebellious independents.

This artifice had the deſired effect; the epiſcopal party, and all the high-churchmen, took the alarm, and joined themſelves to the court, in order to oppoſe the deſigns of the Whigs: the clergy every where preached up paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, in the moſt ſlaviſh and abſolute ſenſe; and multitudes of flattering addreſſes flowed in from all parts of the kingdom, advancing the prerogative of the crown to the moſt extravagant height. The cry was now changed; the church indeed was ſtill repreſented to be in danger, but it was not from the papiſts now, but from the Whigs and the preſbyterians. In fine, the catholics uniting with the Tories and the common intereſt, they carried all they deſired, and the country party was obliged to bow beneath the power of their adverſaries. The duke of York was ſoon after recalled from Scotland, and reſumed his place at the council-board. Charles, who had an affec-

tion for, and confidence in him, that exceeded the bounds of reaſon and ſound policy, followed implicitly all the meaſures he propoſed, and in a manner committed the reins of government into his hands, that he himſelf might enjoy his pleaſures uncontrouled.

The effects of this prepoſterous conduct were ſoon felt by all who had rendered themſelves obnoxious to the court. Fitz Harris was, a little time after the diſſolution of the parliament, tried at the King's Bench bar, condemned, and executed; as was alſo one Oliver Plunket, the popiſh titular primate of Ireland, for a conſpiracy with the French court, in order to ſtir up an inſurrection in that iſland. The moſt remarkable ſacrifice to the reſentment of the court, was Stephen College, a joiner, of London, a man of ſome abilities, who had ſhewn himſelf particularly zealous againſt popery, and from thence had acquired the name of the Proteſtant Joiner. He attended the city members to Oxford, where, it is ſaid, he took ſome indecent liberties, both in ſpeaking and writing verſes, reflecting on the king and court. For this, a bill of indictment of high treaſon was preferred againſt him to the grand jury, but was by them thrown out: the court, however, was not to be thus baffled of its revenge; he was hurried down to Oxford, and methods taken which were not the moſt juſtifiable, to have the bill found there, upon which he was tried, condemned, and executed. On the ſame day that College ſuffered (Auguſt 31) Titus Oates was, by an order of council, turned out of his lodgings at Whitehall, with a prohibition to appear within the precincts of the court. Titus had done the buſineſs he was ſet upon; and indeed it ſhould ſeem he was thought to have overdone it: the popiſh plot was now made a matter of ridicule by the king and his courtiers; the preſbyterians were now become the only traitors.

The ruin of Shafteſbury yet remained to compleat the triumph of the court party. The duke, to whom he had in a particular manner rendered himſelf obnoxious, was fully bent to be revenged on him. He was ſent to the Tower for high treaſon, and his trial was to come on at the Old Bailey in November; but he luckily eſcaped, by the grand jury's not finding the bill of indictment againſt him: on which occaſion there were bonfires and illuminations throughout the city, and even a medal was ſtruck to commemorate the event. Various are the opinions of writers concerning the truth of the crimes alleged againſt the earl, which were nothing leſs than a deſign to ſeize the king at Oxford, to have brought him to London, and compelled him to have yielded to the demands of the parliament. It was ſworn that troops were actually raiſed in London and other places, beſides thoſe who went down with the members, and only waited for the earl of Shafteſbury's orders to march; but I refer to the State Trials for a further account of theſe proceedings.

The duke of York, who all this time governed Scotland as high-commiſſioner, carried every thing there according to the deſire of the court. He is accuſed of having acted in a moſt arbitrary, and even cruel manner, during his reſidence in that kingdom. The Scottiſh parliament was entirely at his devotion. They paſſed an act, acknowleging "That the crown of Scotland had, by an inherent right, by the nature of the monarchy, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom, always deſcended to the heir of blood, and that no law or conſideration could alter the ſucceſſion." They enacted another ſtatute for impoſing upon perſons in office a teſt oath, acknowleging the king's ſupremacy, renouncing the covenant, and eſpouſing the doctrine of paſſive obedience." A clauſe however was admitted in favour of the proteſtant religion, ratifying an old confeſſion of faith, in which the maxim of reſiſtance was inculcated: A ſtrange inconſiſtency! and which ſufficiently proved the whole to be the work of people of different parties, agreeing only in a ſervile ſubmiſſion to the will of their ruler. The earl of Argyle, a nobleman of unimpeached integrity, of the preſbyterian perſuaſion, who had adhered to the king in all his adverſity, refuſed to take this motley oath without an explanation; for which he was condemned to loſe his head, which he prevented, for the time, by eſcaping out of the caſtle of Edinburgh, and retiring into Holland. If we may believe Mr. Hume, and ſome other writers, who appear to be rather overheated with zeal, the duke of York, during his reſidence in Scotland, gave proofs of a ſavage cruelty that out-does any thing we read of to have been practiſed by the Spaniards upon the defenceleſs inhabitants of the new world. For the honour of humanity, we hope theſe reports are exaggerated: certain it is, that the Scottiſh fanatics omitted no opportunity of incenſing the government, by the moſt indecent and bitter invectives: they were actuated by two furious preachers, called Cameron and Cargill; the firſt of whom was ſlain in the act of open rebellion: the other fell by the hands of the executioner, though, after a ſummary trial, about fifteen other perſons ſuffered death, rather than ſay, God bleſs the King, the hardeſt conceſſion impoſed upon them. At length, the duke finding that their infatuation was ſuch, as to bid defiance to all ſeverity, and that they gloried in their ſufferings, ſtopped the hand of the executioner, and the delinquents were only condemned to hard labour for a time proportioned to the nature and degree of their offence. About the cloſe of the year the duke returned to the Engliſh court, where he continued his preſence and influence to the end of this reign. In the mean time, the king ordered the proteſtant diſſenters to be proſecuted with all the rigor of the law, on the ſtatute enacted againſt non-conformiſts in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

Before I cloſe the tranſactions of this year, I think it neceſſary to inform the reader of a circumſtance which I omitted in its proper place; namely, that the commons in the laſt parliament aſſembled at Oxford, ordered their votes to be printed every day, that the public might be acquainted with the ſubject of their deliberations; which practice has been continued ever ſince.

The mutual animoſity of the two parties in the kingdom was now inflamed into rage and rancour; and Charles, who ought as a king to have conducted himſelf as the common parent of all his people, openly headed a faction. The city of London had hitherto preſerved its independence; and the Whig intereſt predominated there: but the court found means in the following year 1682, to get the lord-mayor and ſheriffs choſen from among the king's party: this was a great point gained by the Tories; and Shafteſbury was ſo ſenſible

ſible of it, and how little favour he had to expect from a London jury under ſuch influence, that he thought fit to quit the kingdom, and take refuge in Holland, in that very country of whoſe ruin he had been the original promoter, and which he had urged in parliament with all that eloquence which he knew ſo well how to adapt to his own intereſt and the circumſtances of the times.

The duke of York, finding the city thus gained over, thought it a favourable opportunity to wreak his vengeance on ſome of its members who had, perhaps, too indecently reflected upon his character; the principal of theſe were, Pilkington, an alderman, whom he ſued in a writ of ſcandalum magnatum, and was caſt in damages to the amount of one hundred thouſand pounds, in direct violation of that excellent clauſe in Magna Charta, which ſays, "No one ſhall be amerced to his utter ruin." Sir Patience Ward, who had ſerved the office of lord-mayor, and gave evidence in behalf of the alderman, was ſued for perjury, and condemned to the pillory; which ignominious ſentence he underwent in that very city, and in the view of theſe very people over whom he had ſo lately ruled as ſupreme magiſtrate.

The year 1682 furniſhes us with few memorable events, except the triumph of the court and the Tories, the ruin of the Whig party, and the perſecution of the preſbyterians. Some things remain which perhaps the reader may not be diſpleaſed to find noticed. In the beginning of the year Thomas Thynne, Eſq; was aſſaſſinated in his coach in the open ſtreet, at the inſtigation of count Coningſmark, on a quarrel about a lady; for which three perſons, one of them the count's footman, was executed.

Two extraordinary embaſſies arrived in England this year, one from the emperor of Fez and Morocco, and the other from the king of Bantam, in the Eaſt-Indies.

On the twenty-ninth of November, this year, died prince Rupert, in the ſixty-third year of his age. He was duke of Cumberland, and earl of Holderneſs, in England; ſo created by his uncle king Charles I. in 1643. This prince was the third ſon of Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, daughter of king James I. and brother to the princeſs Sophia; on whoſe iſſue the crown of Great-Britain was ſettled by act of parliament, the laſt year of king William III. He made a diſtinguiſhed figure both by ſea and land, in this and the former reign; and died covered with military glory.

About the ſame time died John Maitland, duke of Lauderdale, earl of Guildford, in England, who had the adminiſtration of the affairs of Scotland in his hands great part of this reign; in which office he created himſelf innumerable enemies: his death was little regretted in either kingdom. Heneage Finch, lord chancellor, an eloquent ſpeaker, and an upright counſellor, who had been created earl of Nottingham, alſo left the world this year: nor muſt we forget to mention that the earl of Shafteſbury died in Holland, within three months of his arrival there, in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age.

There were ſeveral removals at court, and creations of nobility, the latter end of this year; the privy-ſeal was taken from the earl of Angleſea, and given to George Saville, earl of Halifax, who was thereupon created marquis of Halifax; the earl of Sunderland was again called to the council-board, and on the reſignation of lord Conway made ſecretary of ſtate again: among other creations we muſt not paſs unnoticed that of colonel John Churchill (afterwards the famous duke of Marlborough), who was made baron Churchill of Aymouth; the duke of Grafton, one of the king's natural ſons, was made vice-admiral of England, vacant by the death of prince Rupert.

The fore-part of the year 1683 was diſtinguiſhed by a memorable exertion of deſpotic power, on the part of the crown; I mean the diveſting the city of London of its charter. The laſt year there had been a very great riot raiſed by the Whig party, in which they had carried matters to ſuch an unwarrantable length, as to arreſt Sir William Pritchard, the lord-mayor, ſheriff North, and ſeveral other aldermen of the court party, in an action at the ſuit of Papillon and Dubois, under pretence of the damages theſe latter had received by not being returned ſheriffs. The lord-mayor and his brethren were kept in cuſtody till midnight, and then releaſed: the common-council, however, apprehenſive that the court would reſent this outrage on the ſupreme magiſtrate of the capital, and the reſt of their friends, publicly diſclaimed the action, by an order of common-council, declaring therein their diſavowal and diſapprobation of the ſame; and turned out one Broom, who had been particularly active in the riot, from his place of coroner, declaring him incapacitated to enjoy any place or preferment in the city for the future.

Soon after the election of ſheriffs coming on, the Whigs again raiſed a furious riot, in which they aſſaulted the lord-mayor, forced him upon his knees, threw off his hat, beat down the ſword that was carried before him, and continued the hall, in ſpite of his adjournment. For this and the former proceedings, it was determined to bring a Quo warranto againſt the city, to ſhew they had forfeited their charter by theſe tumultuous doings: in the mean time, on the eighth of May this year, the attorney-general, by order, laid an information againſt fourteen perſons concerned in the latter riot; theſe were the then ſheriffs Pilkington and Shute, now lord Grey of Werk, Sir Tho. Player, Corniſh Bethel, and others of inferior note, who were tried, convicted, and condemned in heavy fines. The city, in order to reconcile themſelves to the court, did about this time ſet up the ſtatue of king Charles I. in one of the niches of the Royal Exchange, and made ſeveral ſubmiſſions, but all in vain; for the court, glad of this opportunity to humble the capital, was reſolved not to let it ſlip.

Accordingly, on the twelfth of June, a writ of Quo warranto was brought by the king againſt the city, in the King's Bench of Weſtminſter, that is, an enquiry how it became a corporation, and "by what warrant" it enjoyed its privileges. On ſuch occaſions, the corporation againſt which the Quo warranto is iſſued, produces the charter of its privileges; and the queſtion is, Whether it has exactly obeyed the conditions and articles of its charter?

On this occaſion, excluſive of the late treaſonable inſurrections, as the court party affected to call the late riots, it was pretended that the city had forfeited all its privileges, and ought no longer to enjoy the rights of a corporation, by reaſon of two offences, which the court of aldermen and common-council had committed.

After

After the great fire in 1666, all the markets had been rebuilt, and had been furniſhed with many conveniences; and in order to defray the expences of theſe reparations, the magiſtrates had impoſed a ſmall toll on all thoſe who brought any goods to market. This was ſuppoſed to be an uſurpation of powers to which they had no title, and an encroachment on the prerogative of the king, and the privileges of the parliament, who alone had a right to impoſe taxes.

In the year 1679, the city had addreſſed the king againſt the prorogation of parliament, and had made uſe of the following expreſſion: "Your petitioners are greatly ſurprized at the late prorogation, whereby the proſecution of the public juſtice of the kingdom, and the making of neceſſary proviſions for the preſervation of your majeſty, and your Proteſtant ſubjects, have received interruption." Theſe words were conſtrued into a ſcandalous reflection on the king and his meaſures *.

The attorney and ſolicitor generals conducted the ſuit in behalf of the crown; the defence of the city was managed by Treby and Pollexfen, then eſteemed the two moſt eminent men in their profeſſion; the pleadings were drawn out to a very great length; for which I muſt again refer the reader to the State Trials: the reſult of the matter was, that the court gave judgment againſt the city, whoſe liberties and franchiſes were declared to be forfeited, and ſentence given that they ſhould be ſeized into the king's hands. Severe reflections were then, and ſtill are, made on this judgment, greatly to the diſhonour of the king and the court. However that may be, the citizens were ſtruck with the greateſt conſternation; and the common-council aſſembled to conſult what was to be done in this exigency. It was propoſed, by an entire ſubmiſſion to the will of the court, to deprecate its wrath; and thus prevent the recording the Quo warranto, and the total extinction of the liberties of the city: this propoſal was warmly combated by the Whig party; they repreſented the late action of the court as a moſt notorious violation of their rights and charters; to which, added they, we ſhall in ſome meaſure be acceſſary, if by a daſtardly ſubmiſſion we acknowlege their aſſumed authority. Fear, conjoined with intereſt, however, prevailed over that firmneſs and reſolution which might have been expected from the capital of the Engliſh nation. An humble deputation was ſent to his majeſty, requeſting the reſtoration of their charter: the king granted their petition, but not till they had made ſuch conceſſions as, in effect, annihilated even the ſhadow of liberty amongſt them †.

The city of London thus humbled, all the other corporations in the kingdom thought it would be in vain to ſtruggle with the court; and moſt of them tamely reſigned their charters into the hands of the king; nor could they obtain the reſtoration of them till they had paid conſiderable ſums; and even then all the places of power and profit were, like thoſe of the capital, left entirely at the diſpoſal of the crown. This was truly the triumph of deſpotiſm. The Engliſh were no longer that bold and reſolute people who had made their monarchs tremble on the throne, in defence of their ancient privileges; they were dwindled into daſtardly ſlaves, who courted the yoke of oppreſſion, and ſervilely licked the feet that trampled on their freedom.

We are now come to the diſcovery of the Proteſtant Plot, as it was called, though it is difficult to conceive the propriety of that term in a proteſtant country. It is commonly known by the name of the Rye-houſe Plot, from a houſe ſo called, in the road to New-market, poſſeſſed by Richard Rumbald, one of the conſpirators, where it is pretended a deſign was formed to aſſaſſinate the king and his brother. It is almoſt impoſſible for an hiſtorian who relates the events of theſe times, not to diſpleaſe ſome part of his readers, and incur the cenſure of partiality, if he goes about to determine the truth or futility of the facts advanced by either party. I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to the ſimple narrative of thoſe circumſtances that were acknowledged by both parties.

The firſt perſon who diſcovered this conſpiracy was Joſias Keeling, ſalter and citizen of London, who made and ſubſcribed his confeſſion on the twelfth day of June this year, before the earl of Dartmouth and Mr. ſecretary Jenkins; but reflecting that the depoſition of a ſingle witneſs would not be ſufficient, he prevailed upon Goodenough, under-ſheriff of London, and one of the conſpirators, to admit his brother John Keeling to the next meeting of thoſe concerned in the plot. This was done; and then Joſias Keeling taking his brother John with him to the ſecretary, they both gave their joint teſtimony upon oath, on the fourteenth of June. Upon the depoſitions of theſe two men, a proclamation was iſſued for apprehending colonel Rumſey, Rumbald maſter of the Rye-houſe, Nelthorpe, Wade, Goodenough, Walcot, Thompſon, Burton, and Home. Rumſey ſurrendered himſelf; and upon his confeſſion, which was confirmed by Weſt and Sheppard, two others of the conſpiracy, there was another proclamation iſſued for apprehending the duke of Monmouth, the lord Grey, ſir Thomas Armſtrong, and Robert Ferguſon. Shortly after, the lord Howard of Eſcrick came in; and upon his information warrants for high-treaſon were iſſued out againſt the earl of Eſſex, the lord Ruſſel, and others, who were accordingly apprehended.

The plot is ſaid to have conſiſted in the following particulars: To attack the king's guards, and ſeize the perſons of the king and his brother; and if that attempt ſhould miſcarry, to aſſaſſinate the king and the duke in a hollow way near the Rye-

* Rapin. Smollett. Hume.

† They were as follow: "That no mayor, or other officer of the commonalty, ſhould exerciſe his office, until his election ſhould be confirmed under the king's ſign manual: that in caſe his majeſty ſhould diſapprove of their choice of a mayor and ſheriffs, they ſhould proceed to a new election; and provided the ſecond election ſhould be diſagreeable to the king, they ſhould appoint perſons of his own nomination: that the mayor and court of aldermen ſhould be impowered to diveſt any alderman of his office by the king's permiſſion: that ſhould any alderman, after his election, be deemed incapable by the court of aldermen, the ward ſhould be obliged to chuſe another; and ſhould he prove unacceptable to the court, a third ſhould be elected by the court itſelf; and that the juſtices of the peace in London ſhould act only by the king's commiſſion."

houſe, in their return from Newmarket. This done, the conſpirators were to have repaired in all haſte to London, to join their brethren in the city, aſſemble their forces, and break out into open rebellion *. The priſoners were not kept long in confinement: Walcot was firſt brought to his trial on the twelfth of July. The evidences againſt him were Rumſey, Weſt, and one Bourne a brewer, who all concurred in depoſing that the priſoner had been at ſeveral meetings held the preceding year, on the buſineſs of the plot: that he was to have been an active perſon therein, being pitched upon to head thoſe who were to attack the king's guard. Walcot in his defence alleged, and offered to prove by undoubted teſtimony, that he was ill of the gout all the time the king was at Newmarket. The evidence againſt him was, however, greatly confirmed, by a letter wrote by the priſoner himſelf, while under confinement, to ſecretary Jenkins; wherein he promiſed to reveal all that he knew in either of the three kingdoms, relating to a plot againſt his majeſty, if he might be ſecured of the royal pardon. In concluſion, he was found guilty of high-treaſon by the jury. Home and Rouſe were likewiſe tried and condemned, and in a few days all three were executed at Tyburn.

The next perſon who was brought to his trial was the lord Ruſſel, ſon to the earl of Bedford. The witneſſes produced againſt him were Rumſey, Sheppard, and the lord Howard of Eſcrick, a man who had been his intimate friend. Tho' the evidence againſt this nobleman was, by every impartial perſon, held as ſlight and imperfect, yet he too was brought in guilty. His caſe was by moſt people thought very hard; for he was condemned only for words ſpoken by others in his preſence. Lord Howard was the chief evidence, and he was obliged to ſave his own life. By his conduct in this affair, he rendered himſelf ſo odious to every one, that not a man of character or reputation of either party would be afterwards ſeen in his company. The lord Ruſſel was a nobleman univerſally beloved, and many eminent perſons appeared for him, as, the duke of Somerſet, the earl of Angleſea, the lords Cavendiſh and Clifford, Dr. Tillotſon, and Dr. Burnet; but all to no purpoſe.

But what was ſuppoſed chiefly to have prejudiced the jury againſt lord Ruſſel was, an accident that happened during the trial: the earl of Eſſex that very morning was found dead in the Tower, with his throat cut in a ſhocking manner. The news of this was immediately carried to the Old Bailey, and ſerved to impreſs the minds of the judges, the council, and the jury, with a belief of the reality of the plot, ſince the earl of Eſſex, rather than ſtand his trial, had choſen to lay violent hands on himſelf. The king's council and the lord chief-juſtice made a ſuitable uſe of this incident in their charge to the jury; though it was afterwards induſtriouſly given out that the earl was murdered by other hands than his own, and even by order of the king and the duke, who had been in the Tower that very morning, where they had not been for many years before. This, however, to uſe the words of a modern hiſtorian †, "is a circumſtance which might naturally be interpreted in their favour; for had they really been concerned in ſuch an atrocious crime, they would have hardly appeared upon the ſcene; a ſtep which could not fail to raiſe the ſuſpicion of the public:" beſides, not to mention the atteſtation of Dr. Burnet, who had it from the earl's family, that he was not only ſubject to great fits of the ſpleen, but was a profeſſed advocate for ſuicide, it is our duty to take notice, that the counteſs of Eſſex, who had cauſed all imaginable enquiries to be made after the cauſe of this fatal end of her lord, did publicly declare herſelf ſatisfied that he had met with no foul play, and concurred in the verdict of the coroner, who declared the deceaſed felo de ſe. But to return:

After the condemnation of the lord Ruſſel, a petition was preſented to the king by his lady, daughter of the good earl of Southampton, for a pardon, which it ſeems probable would have been granted, had not the priſoner inſiſted to the laſt, that reſiſtance was lawful; a doctrine which the court, or rather the duke of York, who conducted all its determinations, held incompatible with the duty and loyalty of a ſubject. Moreover, the duke could never forgive Ruſſel for the zeal he had ſhewed in behalf of the Excluſion Bill: in fine, all intreaties to ſave him were ineffectual, and on the twenty-firſt of July, 1683, he was beheaded in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, whither he was attended by Dr. Tillotſon and Dr. Burnet. He died with the greateſt compoſure and reſignation, denying with his laſt breath his having been privy to any deſign againſt the king's perſon, or to alter the government: he profeſſed his entire belief in the popiſh plot, and his firm attachment to the proteſtant religion.

For a concluſion to this tragedy, I muſt mention the trial, condemnation, and execution of colonel Algernon Sydney, brother to the earl of Leiceſter, who was accuſed of being concerned in this plot to kill the king. This gentleman had been deeply engaged in ſupport of the republican ſchemes and form of government during the late troubles: he had even been nominated one of the late king's judges, but declined taking his ſeat on that infamous occaſion. He was, however, a ſworn foe to monarchy, on the reſtoration of which he withdrew into Holland; but deſirous of reviſiting his native country, he took the benefit of the act of indemnity, and in 1677 returned to England. He ſoon engaged in the country party, became a warm ſtickler for the Excluſion Bill; and, in a word, oppoſed with all his intereſt and eloquence, every deſign and meaſure of the court. Such a conduct could not fail to render him highly obnoxious to thoſe in power, and it was reſolved to ſtretch the law to the utmoſt in order to effect his ruin. In the month of November he was brought to his trial: the only witneſs who depoſed againſt him was lord Howard. In the courſe of his trial, he proved by the teſtimonies of the earls of Angleſea and Clare, Mr. Philip and Mr. Edward Howard, Dr. Burnet, and others, that the lord Howard had

* This conſpiracy, it ſeems, was firſt formed a little after Midſummer the preceding ſeſſion 1682, and every thing was in readineſs for the intended aſſaſſination, in the beginning of the ſpring of the year, when the king and duke were, as uſual, to go to the races at Newmarket; but a fire happening in that town on the twenty-ſecond of March, which burnt down the palace, his majeſty was obliged to return to London a week ſooner than was expected, and thus the deſign was fruſtrated. Rapin, Salmon.

† Smollett.

confeſſed, "That he could not get his pardon till he had done ſome other jobbs, and had gone thro' all the drudgery of ſwearing:" but no notice was taken of this; nay, although the law expreſly requires two witneſſes, the king's council had recourſe to a ſtrange expedient to ſupply this defect, and which, to the diſgrace of a court of judicature, was admitted as competent by Jefferies, lately made lord chief-juſtice of the King's Bench, who afterwards rendered himſelf ſo infamous in the ſucceeding reign. His houſe having been ſearched, among his papers was found a manuſcript on the Original and Forms of Government, which appeared to be an anſwer to a book written by ſir Robert Filmer, to prove that, by the laws of God and nature, kings, and particularly thoſe of England, were inveſted with abſolute and unlimited power. Sidney in his manuſcript Anſwer had aſſerted a doctrine the reverſe of this, and in terms that were equally extravagant; but this Anſwer had never been publiſhed, nor even printed, and intended only for his private uſe or amuſement: nevertheleſs, the council inſiſted that this book was equivalent to a ſecond witneſs, inaſmuch as it was a proof of his principles and intentions. Finch declared it an overt act, obſerving, *ſcribere eſt agere*, that writing is acting. Jefferies delivered it as law, and ſaid all the judges were of the ſame mind *. In ſhort, the jury brought him in guilty, and he ſuffered on the ſcaffold the ſeventh of December, the king having changed his ſentence of hanging to decapitation.

I ſhall not trouble my reader with the trials of the other accomplices in this plot, real or pretended, as they furniſh nothing worthy his notice, after what has been already delivered. I ſhall only obſerve, that ſome of them were moſt heavily fined, and others committed into the hands of the executioner. Sir Thomas Armſtrong, who was thought to have been the principal inſtrument in ſeducing the duke of Monmouth from his duty, was executed without trial, and his limbs diſperſed thro' the principal towns of the kingdom. Titus Oates was about this time accuſed of ſpeaking ſome diſreſpectful words of the duke, and condemned in a fine of one hundred thouſand pounds, and committed to priſon till he could pay it. A like fine was impoſed upon one Dutton Colt, for a like offence; and ſir Samuel Barnardiſton, who had incurred the diſpleaſure of the court, by having been foreman of that jury which rejected the bill againſt the earl of Shafteſbury, was amerced in ten thouſand pounds, becauſe in ſome private letters which had been intercepted, he had taken the liberty of cenſuring the public meaſures. I mention theſe trials, though they have no connection with the Ryehouſe Plot, in order to ſhew the temper of both judges and juries at this period, and the little ſecurity men had for the enjoyment of their lives or fortunes.

The duke of Monmouth, who had abſconded on the firſt diſcovery of the plot, now wrote two letters to the king, full of the moſt humble and ſubmiſſive expreſſions. Monmouth was the beloved ſon of Charles, who felt all his tenderneſs revive, accepted of the guilty youth's ſubmiſſions, and allowed him to come to court; nay, the king indulged him ſo far, as to promiſe he ſhould not be obliged to give public evidence againſt any one: he was, however, required to ſign a letter owning the plot in general, and tacitly juſtifying the evidence againſt thoſe who had ſuffered. This letter, which was actually ſigned by the duke, the reader will find in the note †. Monmouth in a few days repented of the ſtep he had taken, and with great earneſtneſs entreated the king to return him the paper. Charles was ſo highly incenſed at this behaviour, that he baniſhed Monmouth the court, who went over to Holland, where the king, notwithſtanding all that had paſſed, correſponded with him by letters, unknown to the duke of York, and privately made him remittances of money.

Whilſt the trials for the Ryehouſe Plot were depending, the univerſity of Oxford preſented their famous Decree to his majeſty; a ſervile piece of court flattery, more ſuitable to an abſolute monarchy than a limited one, ſuch as is that of England; and the Oxonians, in the overflowings of their loyalty, ſeemed to have held for nought the natural rights and liberties of mankind.

The diſcovery of the late plot had wrought greatly upon the people in favour of Charles; they ſtill had an affection for his perſon, and could not without horror reflect on any attempts levied at his life. The ſeverities lately practiſed were univerſally attributed to the duke of York, and that prince became daily more diſagreeable to the nation: his enemies omitted no opportunity to blacken his character, and we ſhall find that the hatred he had brought upon himſelf by his unpopular conduct, was the principal cauſe of his being ignominiouſly driven from the throne of his anceſtors, to which he had otherwiſe an indiſputable right. His brother Charles, deſirous to increaſe his own popularity by every poſſible expedient, and knowing the fear of popery to be the predominant paſſion in the minds of his people, thought proper to beſtow his niece Anne, daughter to the duke of York, on prince George, brother to the king of Denmark, a proteſtant. The nuptials were celebrated on the twenty-eighth of July this year, about the height of the aſſaſſination plot: but though he gratified his ſubjects in this inſtance, no conſideration could induce him to ſummon a parliament, or truſt the nation with the election of new repreſentatives, who might, in their collective capacity, become formidable to his newly-aſſumed deſpotic power. In this reſolution he was ſtrongly upheld by his brother York, who at the ſame time put him upon ſuch meaſures, and rendered it indeed unſafe to convene ſuch an aſſembly.

Tangier, on the coaſt of Barbary, part of queen Catherine's portion, was by the king's order de-

* Burnet, p. 572.

† "I have heard of ſome reports of me, as if I ſhould have leſſened the credit of the late plot, and endeavoured to weaken the evidence given againſt thoſe who have died by the hands of juſtice. Your majeſty and the duke know, how ingenuouſly I have owned the late conſpiracy; and though I was not conſcious of any deſign againſt your majeſty's life, I yet lament my having had ſo great a ſhare in the other parts of that conſpiracy. I have therefore, ſir, taken the liberty to put this into writing for my own vindication: I beſeech you to look forward, and endeavour to forget the faults you have forgiven me. I will take care, on my part, never to commit any more againſt you, or incur the danger of being miſled from my duty; but make it the ſtudy of my life to deſerve the pardon which your majeſty hath granted to your dutiful

MONMOUTH."

moliſhed

moliſhed this year, as in his preſent diſpoſition not to call a parliament, he could not ſupport the expence of keeping it.

As the city of London had not formally acknowleged their acquieſcence in the decree iſſued againſt them, the king ordered the judgment on the Quo warranto to be recorded; then he ſeized the government of the city into his own hands, and ſent a commiſſion to ſir William Pritchard, continuing him in the office of lord-mayor during his pleaſure. He likewiſe confirmed the two ſheriffs under the ſame reſtriction, but diſmiſſed the recorder, and put another in his place.

Little happened abroad this year worthy our attention, unleſs the memorable ſiege of Vienna, the capital of the empire; before which Cara Muſtapha, the Turkiſh grand vizier, at the head of one hundred and thirty thouſand men, ſat down about the middle of July; and having reduced the place to the laſt extremity, was, on the twelfth of September, obliged to abandon his enterprize, by John Sobieſki king of Poland, and the duke of Lorraine, general of the Imperialiſts. On this occaſion the Turks received the greateſt defeat from the Chriſtians that is mentioned in hiſtory, it being computed that no leſs than ſeventy thouſand of the Infidels were killed at the ſiege and in the battle. Several Engliſh volunteers ſignalized themſelves in the defence of Vienna, and among them the lord Lanſdown, ſon to the earl of Bath; in conſideration of whoſe merit the emperor created him a count of the Roman empire.

In the beginning of the year 1684, the earl of Danby, who had remained ſeveral years a priſoner in the Tower, and had often, but in vain, moved to be admitted to bail, was brought to the King's Bench bar, and indulged with that privilege, on entering into a recognizance himſelf in ten thouſand pounds, and two of his friends five thouſand pounds each, for his appearance in the houſe of lords the next ſeſſion of parliament. The four popiſh lords remaining in the Tower were alſo admitted to bail on the ſame day (February 12): the lord Petre had died in that place about a month before. On his death-bed he had ſent a letter to the king, wherein he declared, by his hopes of ſalvation, that he was innocent of the plot with which he was charged.

The greateſt part of this year was taken up with proſecutions againſt diſaffected perſons, as they were called; that is, every one who offered to ſpeak or write againſt the worſe than Turkiſh deſpotiſm now exerciſed by the court. Among others was Mr. Samuel Johnſon, who had been the lord Ruſſel's chaplain, and was now fined in five hundred marks for writing a book, entitled, Julian the Apoſtate; in which he expoſed and confuted the prevailing notions of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance. A great many other perſons were tried for ſpeaking ill of the king, the duke, and the government, who were fined in large ſums, and ſome of them pilloried. Sir George Jefferies, chief-juſtice of the King's Bench, ſignalized himſelf in a particular manner on theſe occaſions: equally devoid of honour, humanity, and conſcience, he raiſed himſelf to that high poſt by the moſt ſervile complaiſance to the will of the duke of York and his party. During his holding aſſizes in the north, he ſo terrified the people by his arbitrary and unjuſt ſentences, that all the towns corporate, by way of conciliating the favour of the court, delivered up their charters, and threw themſelves entirely upon the mercy of the government. The king having thus obtained poſſeſſion of theſe invaluable pledges of the people's liberties, thought proper to publiſh a declaration, thanking his ſubjects in the moſt affectionate terms for having repoſed ſuch confidence in him their ſovereign, aſſuring them he would uſe it with moderation, and convince the moſt extravagant republicans, that as the crown was the origin of the people's rights, ſo it was the ſureſt ſupport of their liberties *.

In order however to engage the affections of a prince inveſted with ſuch power, the Hamburgh company thought proper to erect a marble ſtatue to him this year, in the midſt of the Royal Exchange, where it ſtill remains, with an inſcription on the pedeſtal flattering him as if he had been the greateſt and beſt of all kings; but alas! how vain, how empty are thoſe titles which ſervile adulation beſtows contrary to the general ſentiments of a nation, and how little capable of impoſing upon impartial poſterity!

In the midſt of all theſe triumphs of ill-acquired power, Charles ſecretly languiſhed beneath the conſcious guilt of being the oppreſſor of a free and generous people: he had been put upon meaſures, he had yielded to counſels that his own heart told him were not conſiſtent with his own honour, or the welfare of his people: by nature formed of a gentle diſpoſition, he had ſuffered arbitrary, and even cruel proceedings to receive the ſtamp of his royal authority: he ſaw, but he ſaw too late, that while he compelled his ſubjects to ſubmit to his deſires through fear, he had loſt the firmeſt hold a monarch can have over the millions ſubjected to his dominion, the maſtery over their hearts; and, if we may believe thoſe moſt converſant about the court at that time, he began to form a deſign of altering his conduct, of throwing himſelf upon his people, and renewing the true conſtitutional intercourſe between a Britiſh king and a Britiſh parliament.

In the mean time, however, his miſtaken maxims of domeſtic government had likewiſe influenced his conduct in regard to foreign affairs; and while he was intent on rendering himſelf abſolute at home, he had ſuffered the French monarch almoſt to enſlave the reſt of Europe. Lewis, notwithſtanding the peace of Nimeguen, continued to give laws to half the princes on the continent: he ſeized into his hands the antient and free town of Straſburg: on the pretence of a ſlight affront, he bombarded Genoa: the empire he inſulted in its head and principal members. Theſe arbitrary proceedings at length rouſed the court of Spain, and ſhe declared war againſt this general oppreſſor, weak as ſhe was, relying on the powers of Europe, who, according to the dictates of common reaſon and good policy, ſhould have flown to her aſſiſtance. The prince of Orange indeed, to his honour be it ſpoken, exerted his utmoſt endeavours to defeat the deſigns of Lewis; but Charles diſcovered not the leaſt jealouſy of the growing power of France; he rather ſeemed inclined to aid her ambitious monarch in his ſchemes of univerſal

* Rapin. Smollett.

empire,

empire. Europe ſaw and trembled at this ſupineneſs in a prince, who by his ſituation had in his hands the balance of her liberties; tho' at length the repeated repreſentations of the ſeveral ambaſſadors of the reſpective courts concerned, opened the eyes of the long-deluded Charles: he beheld with amazement the deſtructive path he had ſo long been led in; he reſolved to retrace his ſteps, and by one bold act ſhake off the inglorious dependence in which he had hitherto been held: the headſtrong, imperious temper of the duke, who was continually engaging him in dangerous attempts, now began to fill Charles with fear and apprehenſion. He was one day overheard to ſay, "Brother, I am too old to go again to my travels; you may if you pleaſe."

In ſhort, he began to grow melancholy, and reſerved; he opened himſelf not with the uſual freedom to his brother; and he is ſaid to have formed a deſign, by the inſtigation of the ducheſs of Portſmouth, who ſaw that the preſent mode of government could not long ſubſiſt, to regain the good will and affection of his ſubjects, by convoking a free parliament, diſcarding all his unpopular miniſters, recalling Monmouth, and ſending the duke of York into Scotland: but the execution of theſe laudable deſigns, if really formed, were anticipated by the death of Charles, who was ſuddenly ſeized with an apoplectic fit, on Monday the ſecond of February, 1684, and his recovery looked upon as deſperate: and though upon bleeding he recovered his ſenſes again, yet it was only for a ſhort time; for four days after, February ſixth, he expired in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-ſeventh of his reign, if we reckon from the death of his father king Charles I. but in the twenty-fifth only computing from his own reſtoration. His death was attended with ſuch circumſtances as gave ſtrong ſuſpicion of his having been poiſoned, and the papiſts bore the odium of having perpetrated ſo execrable a deed, in order to prevent the reformation the king propoſed making in the government, which muſt end in their ruin; whereas they had every thing to hope for under the reign of his ſucceſſor, a blind bigot to their faith. There is, however, no certain proof of this, and the duke is acknowleged by all parties to have had no hand in it.

Dr. Burnet, in the Hiſtory of his own Times, gives us the following account of the manner in which the king paſſed his laſt moments: "He was conſtantly attended by biſhop Ken, who was more in his favour than any other prelate. This good man took all opportunities to fit and prepare the king for his approaching diſſolution; and when the ducheſs of Portſmouth, the favourite miſtreſs, came into the room, prevailed on his majeſty to command her abſence, and to ſend for the queen and aſk her pardon for the violation of her bed, which was readily complied with; and the biſhop apprehending his majeſty to be ſincerely penitent, propoſed his receiving the bleſſed ſacrament. The duke of York being appriſed of this, and finding the king not likely to live many hours, was deſirous that the Roman catholics might have the honour of his dying in their communion: he therefore ſent for and introduced to his majeſty, then hardly ſenſible, Father Huddleſton, a Benedictine monk, who had a great hand in ſaving the king's life after the fight of Worceſter: then all who were in the bed-chamber were ordered to withdraw, except the earls of Bath and Feverſham, and the door was double locked; then Huddleſton cauſed the king to go through ſome acts of contrition; and after ſuch a confeſſion as he could then make, he adminiſtered to him the three popiſh ſacraments of Penance, Extreme Unction, and the Euchariſt, the duke all the while aſſiſting with great fervency of devotion. The company was then re-admitted, and biſhop Ken preſſed the king ſix or ſeven times to receive the ſacrament according to the rites of the church of England; but his majeſty declared he was very weak. Soon after he died."

What we have ſaid of this prince in the beginning of his reign, and the relation of his conduct during the time he held the ſceptre, ſo ſtrongly mark his character, that there is hardly any neceſſity to retouch the portrait. Former hiſtorians have indeed exhauſted themſelves on this ſubject; and as they have been influenced by their connections with, or attachment to, different factions, have deſcribed Charles as the moſt odious, or the moſt amiable of princes. Some ſcruple not to compare him to the Roman emperor Tiberius for cruelty and deceit: others, while they allow him the common frailties incident to humanity, paint his good qualities in the moſt lively and agreeable colours. Mr. Hume, in his hiſtory of the Stuarts, ſeems to have ſummed up Charles's character in a more impartial and concile manner than any writer who has gone before him: I ſhall therefore give it the reader nearly in that author's own words:

"In the duties of private life, his conduct, though not altogether free from faults, was, in the main, commendable. A generous lover, an obliging huſband, a friendly brother, an indulgent father, a good-natured maſter: had he been born in an inferior ſtation, he would probably have paſſed through the world with the affection of ſome, and without incurring the hatred of any: but, placed as he was in a high ſphere, for which he was altogether unqualified, he drew upon himſelf, by his indolent temper, the contempt not only of the neighbouring potentates, but even of his own ſubjects. Negligent of the intereſts of the nation, regardleſs of its glory, averſe to its religion, jealous of its liberty, laviſh of its treaſures, ſparing only of its blood, he expoſed it, by his raſh and pernicious meaſures, to the danger of a furious civil war, and even to the diſgrace of a foreign conqueſt."

Charles II. was in his perſon tall and ſwarthy, and his countenance marked with ſtrong harſh lineaments: his penetration was keen, his judgment clear, his underſtanding extenſive, his converſation lively and entertaining; "his wit, to uſe the expreſſion of the marquis of Halifax, could not be ſaid ſo much to be very refined or elevated, qualities apt to beget jealouſy and envy in company, as to be a plain, gaining, well bred, recommending kind of wit; and tho' perhaps he talked more than the ſtrict rules of politeneſs might permit, men were ſo pleaſed with the eaſy and affable deportment of the monarch, that they always went away contented, both with him and with themſelves."

It would be doing injuſtice to this king, did we omit to mention, that few princes ever paſſed more acts of parliament for the benefit of the ſubject. Trade and manufacture flouriſhed more in this

reign than at any other æra of the Engliſh monarchy. The arts and ſciences were cultivated with good ſucceſs, though not greatly encouraged by the ſovereign, who, tho' he had himſelf made ſome proficiency in mechanics and chemiſtry, and was no bad judge of genius; yet was ſo beſet by miſtreſſes and craving courtiers, that he had neither money nor attention for literary merit. In the firſt year of this reign, a few philoſophers, who had eſtabliſhed conferences for the mutual communication of their diſcoveries in phyſics and geometry, procured a patent; and having enlarged their number, were denominated the Royal Society. This inſtitution began to ſoften the manners by improving the underſtandings of men: the principal members who firſt compoſed this ſociety, were lord Brouncker, ſir Robert Murray, Dr. Wilkins biſhop of Cheſter, Mr. Robert Boyle, who had made a great progreſs in natural philoſophy, and Dr. Ward, afterwards biſhop of Exeter, a profeſſed mathematician.

To this period the learned world was indebted for the illuſtrious Newton, who inveſtigated the firſt principles of the general ſyſtem of the univerſe, which till then had remained hidden. All that the enquiries of paſt ages had effected in natural philoſophy, was nothing in compariſon with the ſingle diſcovery of the nature of light. In a word, the works of this great man will reflect eternal honour on the nation that gave him birth. Stillingfleet, Tillotſon, Tenniſon, Patrick, and Lloyd, were ſhining lights in divinity: the practice of medicine was greatly improved by the judicious Sydenham: the belles-lettres were making daily advances towards perfection: Dryden held the chief rank in poetry, though his writings are juſtly cenſurable, as well for their incorrectneſs, as for the vein of licentiouſneſs which runs through the greateſt part of them; the depravity of the public taſte, and the preſſing neceſſities of the writer, may however be pleaded in excuſe for theſe faults. His Ode on St. Cecilia's day ſtands unrivalled in the Engliſh language. Wycherley, as a comic writer, and Otway in his tragedies, had both great merit: the latter, however, received ſo little encouragement, that he died almoſt deſtitute of the common neceſſaries of life. The love of literature in this age inſpired the breaſts even of the higheſt perſonages: the court itſelf became emulous of the bays. The duke of Buckingham's Rehearſal ſtill ſhines diſtinguiſhed in the rank of comic ſatire: the earl of Rocheſter, vicious as his ſentiments were, poſſeſſed ſuch a ſtrange power of pleaſing, that while we condemn his morals, we cannot but be enchanted with the muſic of his numbers. The earls of Dorſet, Roſcommon, and Mulgrave, wrote with eaſe and ſpirit, and with that pleaſing negligence which is ſo peculiar to the gentleman writer. The marquis of Halifax is deſervedly diſtinguiſhed for his refined genius; and had he not been a principal perſonage in the ſtate, he would have claimed the firſt rank in literature: but buſineſs ſpoiled the writer. Of all the authors of this age, ſir William Temple is the moſt entertaining and inſtructive *. In fine, to cloſe the character of this reign, we may ſay, that the genius of the nation acquired immortal reputation under Charles II. though the adminiſtration did not.

The nuptial bed of this prince was not bleſſed with any iſſue; but he left a numerous progeny the fruits of his illicit love.

By Mrs. Lucy Walters, daughter of Richard Walters, eſq. James duke of Monmouth, born in 1646, married to Anne Scot, daughter and heireſs of Francis earl of Buccleugh in Scotland, and executed on Tower-hill, 1685.

By Mrs. Elizabeth Killegrew, viſcounteſs Shannon, daughter of ſir William Killegrew, Charlot-Jemima-Henrietta-Maria Fitzroy, married firſt to James Howard, and afterwards to the earl of Yarmouth.

By Mrs. Catherine Peg, daughter of Thomas Peg, eſq. Charles Fitz-Charles, earl of Plymouth, commonly called Don Carlos, born in 1658, married to lady Bridget Oſborne, daughter of the duke of Leeds, and killed at Tangiers in 1680.

By Mrs. Barbara Villiers, heireſs of William viſcount Grandiſon in Ireland, and wife of Roger earl of Caſtlemain, created lady Nonſuch, counteſs of Southampton, and ducheſs of Cleveland, three ſons, and as many daughters, viz. Charles Fitzroy, created duke of Southampton, and after his mother's death, duke of Cleveland; Henry Fitzroy, duke of Grafton; and George Fitzroy, duke of Northumberland; Anne Fitzroy, married to the earl of Suſſex; Charlotte Fitzroy, married to the earl of Litchfield; and Barbara, who became a nun at Pontoiſe in France.

By Louiſe de Querouaille, ducheſs of Portſmouth, Charles Lennox, duke of Richmond.

By Mrs. Eleanor Gwynn (commonly called Nell Gwynn) an actreſs, Charles Beauclerk, duke of St. Albans: And,

By Mrs. Mary Davis, a lady of the ſame profeſſion, Mary Tudor, married to the earl of Derwentwater.

Remarkable Occurrences.

The moſt remarkable things which happened in this reign, beſides the terrible fire of London in 1666, already mentioned, were,

The plague in the year 1665, of which ſeventy thouſand died in London, beſides thirty thouſand that died of other diſtempers. This is the laſt plague that ever we had in England.

Several comets appeared in this reign; the moſt remarkable whereof was ſeen at Falmouth on the twenty-ſecond of November, and for ſeven days ſucceſſively, two hours every morning before ſun-riſe, and about as long after ſun-ſet, having a fiery tail, extended to a very great length, and was ſeen the next month in ſeveral other parts of England and Ireland.

In the year 1683 was one of the longeſt and hardeſt froſts that till then had happened in England. It began about the middle of December, and continued till the fifth of February: a fair was kept on the Thames, and oxen roaſted on the ice: the coaches drove from the Temple to Weſtminſter-hall on the river as frequently as in the ſtreets.

* We muſt not paſs over unnoticed the witty doggreliſt Butler, who by his poem of Hudibras contributed more than any other perſon to expoſe the fanaticiſm and falſe pretences of the old republicans. The advantage which the royal cauſe received from this work was prodigious; yet the king allowed the author, who was a man of probity and virtue, to live in obſcurity, and die in want.

JAMES II. the fourth King of ENGLAND of the Name of STUART. A. D. 1685.

NOTWITHSTANDING the vigorous attempts made by the two laſt parliaments of the preceding reign to exclude this prince from the ſucceſſion, on account of his religion, his brother Charles had no ſooner paid the debt of nature than he was proclaimed king, without the leaſt appearance of oppoſition on the part of his ſubjects; not but that they had apprehenſions, and thoſe of the moſt alarming kind: but James, who could not but judge this to be the caſe, took a very prudent ſtep at his firſt acceſſion, to quiet the minds, and gain the confidence and affection of his people; and indeed, had he made good his profeſſions, the nation would have had no cauſe of uneaſineſs. Immediately upon the deceaſe of his brother, he aſſembled the privy-council, when, after lamenting the loſs himſelf and the public had ſuſtained by this melancholy event, he declared to them in a ſpeech, that he was determined to do his utmoſt to preſerve the government both in church and ſtate, as it was then eſtabliſhed by law; and that however he had been repreſented as a man of arbitrary principles, it was his firm reſolution to ſupport his ſubjects in the uninterrupted enjoyment of all their religious and civil privileges; and that as he would never invade any man's property, ſo he would never depart from the juſt rights and prerogatives of his crown. He likewiſe intimated an intention of preſerving the balance of power in Europe, and freeing the nation from that ſtate of dependence, or rather vaſſalage, in which it had hitherto been held by its ambitious neighbours. James had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, while in France, in a military capacity; and the commendation given his valour by the prince of Condé and mareſchal Turenne, thoſe two great maſters of the art of war, had eſtabliſhed his character as a ſoldier: the Engliſh had ſeen repeated proofs of his abilities and courage as a ſea commander, and few perſons in Europe were thought to excel him in the knowlege of maritime affairs: the people therefore entertained the moſt pleaſing hopes from this declaration of their new ſovereign; and his friends the Tories were not wanting in ſetting forth the extreme probity and good faith of James, who, they ſaid, never was known to falſify his word as a private man, and much leſs could be ſuſpected ſo to do now that he was inveſted with the ſacred dignity of king. The populace eaſily believed all they heard, becauſe it was all they wiſhed. His ſpeech was printed, and read with great applauſe. Addreſſes were poured in from all quarters, filled with the warmeſt expreſſions of loyalty and affection. James himſelf was the dupe of his own artifice: he thought the voice of a part of his ſubjects the ſentiments of the whole kingdom.

But the thinking part of the nation, and thoſe who were the beſt acquainted with the character of the king, were not to be impoſed on by his ſpecious aſſurances: indeed it was a kind of infatuation to ſuppoſe that he really entertained the ſentiments he profeſſed. They had known him, while duke of York, to be a bigot to popery, and a zealous oppoſer of the proteſtant religion: they had been witneſſes to the frequent inſtances he gave of a mercileſs and cruel diſpoſition, and of a total diſregard to the liberties of the people, and the eſtabliſhed form of government: they knew him to have been the principal adviſer and promoter of all the unpopular and arbitrary meaſures which his brother purſued in the latter part of his reign, and that he himſelf was the ſworn friend of Lewis XIV. whoſe ambition all Europe dreaded, and, like that monarch, a profeſſed enemy to all heretics; and was it likely that he ſhould cheriſh ſuch ſentiments leſs when he came to be king? James was ſenſible, penetrating, and enterpriſing; but then he was headſtrong, violent, and arbitrary, and his judgment was not clear. How could it be expected that a king with this ſtrange mixture of good and bad qualities, could ever render his people happy?

James did not long keep his ſubjects in ſuſpence concerning his real ſentiments and intentions. The firſt Sunday after his acceſſion he went publicly to maſs: this, however, was looked upon as nothing ſtrange, conſidering how many years he had openly profeſſed the popiſh religion: but the people were more alarmed when, ſome time after, he iſſued a proclamation for continuing the cuſtoms and duties granted to the late king. This was a direct violation of the conſtitution, by which no impoſts can be levied upon the ſubject but by act of parliament, and a plain indication what regard he had to the liberties of the nation: but what every body the moſt wondered at, and which indeed is an action there is no poſſibility of accounting for, but from his blind zeal for his religon, is his expoſing, without any neceſſity, the inſincerity of his brother in his repeated aſſurances of his attachment to the proteſtant religion, by ordering Huddleſton to publiſh an account of Charles's dying in the Roman catholic faith, and his producing two papers which had been found in that king's cloſet, written in his own hand, in defence of popery.

James, however, in diſpoſing of public employments, and ſettling the officers of his houſhold, did not yet think fit to ſhew much partiality to thoſe of his own communion. All thoſe who poſſeſſed poſts under the late king were continued in their reſpective offices by proclamation *: this was a politic ſtep in the new monarch.

* The duke of Ormond was continued lord-ſteward of the houſhold; the earl of Arlington, lord-chamberlain; the lord viſcount Newport, treaſurer; the lord Maynard, comptroller; and Henry Saville, eſq. vice chamberlain of the houſhold. Soon after, Lawrence Hyde, preſident of the council, and the king's brother-in-law, was conſtituted lord high-treaſurer of England; the earl of Clarendon, his other brother-in-law, was made lord privy-ſeal; the marquis of Halifax, lord-preſident of the privy-council; the duke of Beaufort, lord-preſident of Wales; the lord Godolphin, chancellor to the queen; and Henry Bulkeley, eſq. was made maſter of the king's houſhold.

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JAMES II.

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The late king having been interred privately, and at a very little expence (a poor return for the tenderneſs he had ſhewn to his brother all his life-time) James and his queen were crowned by archbiſhop Sancroft on St. George's day (April 23) 1685. The king would not receive the ſacrament, but all the reſt of the ceremony was performed according to the form of the church of England. His prieſts, doubtleſs, diſpenſed with his compliance in this reſpect, as well as with the coronation oath.

King James now thought fit to ſhew his reſentment againſt the witneſſes for the popiſh plot. The famous Titus Oates was, on the eighth and ninth days of May, tried before the lord chief-juſtice Jefferies on two indictments for perjury: the one for ſwearing that he himſelf, and ſeveral other jeſuits, were at a treaſonable conſultation in London, on the twenty-fourth of April, 1678; whereas it was clearly proved by a multitude of witneſſes, both proteſtants and papiſts, that he was at that time at St. Omer's in Flanders. He was therefore found guilty; as he likewiſe was of the ſecond indictment, for ſwearing that William Ireland the jeſuit, executed in the late reign, was in London on a certain day, when he was, upon the fulleſt evidence, proved to have been one hundred miles diſtant from London. Whereupon Oates was ſentenced to pay one thouſand marks upon each indictment, to be ſtripped of his canonical habit, to ſtand twice in the pillory, and five times a year afterwards as long as he lived; to be impriſoned for life, and to be whipped, firſt from Aldgate to Newgate, and the next day but one from Newgate to Tyburn, which was executed with great ſeverity, ſo that he ſwooned away ſeveral times; and it was aſtoniſhing that he eſcaped with his life.

Dangerfield, another of the plot diſcoverers, was tried ſoon after, for having formerly written a ſeditious libel, reflecting on the late king and the government; of which being convicted, he was ſentenced to ſtand twice in the pillory, to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate one day, and from Newgate to Tyburn another, and to pay a fine of five hundred pounds. As he was returning in a coach from his ſecond whipping, he was inſulted by one Francis, a barriſter of Gray's-Inn; to whom the other making a warm reply, and ſpitting in his face, Francis in a rage puſhed his cane in his face, which unfortunately running into his eye, Dangerfield died in great torment a few hours afterwards. Francis was immediately apprehended; and the court very prudently, as well as juſtly, rejected all application for his pardon, and he was deſervedly hanged.

The ſame day Dangerfield was tried (May 30) Richard Baxter, the famous preſbyterian preacher, who had bore a great ſhare in ſpiriting up the people againſt the government in the reign of Charles I. was brought to his trial in the King's-Bench for a work of his, intitled, A Paraphraſe on the New Teſtament; in which were ſeveral paſſages groſly reflecting upon epiſcopal government in general, and on the biſhops of the church of England in particular. He was fined five hundred marks, and obliged to find ſureties for his good behaviour for ſeven years.

As to the proceedings on theſe trials, the credit of the evidence produced, and the validity of the defence made by the priſoners, I would adviſe my reader to have recourſe to the State Trials, and not to truſt to the partial repreſentations on either ſide. I ſhall only obſerve, that it appears ſomewhat extraordinary that the chief-juſtice Jefferies ſhould have behaved with ſo great paſſion and partiality as he is on all hands allowed to have done on theſe occaſions. In regard to Oates's affair in particular, it is very certain that Jefferies had been one of the moſt ſtrenuous of the late king's council, in ſupporting that man's evidence in the popiſh plot, againſt the very witneſs on whoſe depoſition he was now condemned. It may naturally be ſuppoſed that king James was not diſpleaſed with an opportunity of puniſhing thoſe who had endeavoured to bring ſuch a load of infamy on the religion he profeſſed, and even on his own character: but then, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that Oates was a man of a moſt infamous character, and had undoubtedly been the inſtrument of taking away ſome innocent lives, by unpardonable prevarications, or rather falſifications, in regard to times and places.

The parliament of Scotland met on the day of the coronation, being aſſembled by the duke of Queenſberry, who repreſented the king's perſon as lord high-commiſſioner. His grace made known to them his majeſty's gracious declaration in council, and aſſured them that they were equally included therein with their brethren of England: at the ſame time he cauſed a letter to be read from James to the Scottiſh parliament; in which he inveighed againſt the fanatics, or rigid preſbyterians, whom he called horrid murderers and aſſaſſins, and deſired the ſtates would take proper meaſures to ſecure the kingdom againſt their intrigues. The parliament on this occaſion ſhewed the moſt abject ſubmiſſion to the royal will in every act of its ſeſſion: a fawning and humble addreſs was ſent to the king on his acceſſion: they confirmed the act of the preceding reign for maintaining the eſtabliſhed religion: they annexed the exciſe to the crown: they enacted a ſtatute, making it high-treaſon to give, take, or defend the national, or, as it was called, the ſolemn league and covenant; and another againſt houſe and field conventicles, ordering, that ſuch who ſhould hereafter preach at ſuch conventicles, or be preſent at field conventicles, ſhould be puniſhed with death: and in a vote which they called an offer of duty, they profeſſed their abhorrence of all principles and poſitions that any wiſe tended to derogate "from the king's ſacred, ſupreme, ſovereign, abſolute authority and power."

In England the parliament, the only one in this reign, met on May 19. The court had employed every art to influence the elections, and had ſucceeded ſo far, that the new houſe of commons conſiſted almoſt entirely of Tories: the king therefore had no reaſon to fear an oppoſition to any meaſures he might think proper to purſue, provided he kept within the bounds of common prudence. His ſpeech on meeting them, however, was rather in the ſtile of a prince who knew how to make himſelf feared, than one who wiſhed to unite himſelf to his people by the moſt ſecure of all ties, thoſe of mutual affection and confidence. He did indeed renew in the moſt ſolemn manner, the promiſes he had made before the privy-council; but at the ſame time he told them, that he expected they ſhould ſettle his revenue, and that during his life, as in the time of his brother; and

concluded with theſe remarkable words: "Some men," ſaid he, "may object, that, by feeding me from time to time with ſuch ſupplies as they deem ſufficient, they will better ſecure frequent meetings of parliament: but as this is the firſt time I ſpeak to you from the throne, I muſt plainly tell you, that ſuch a method would be very improper to employ with me, and the beſt way to engage me to meet you often, is always to uſe me well."

The drift of this ſpeech was clearly comprehended, and it occaſioned many learned debates on both ſides the queſtion; but the court party prevailing, the houſe granted him all that he deſired, which enabled him afterwards to govern without a parliament. As a farther inſtance of their regard for the king, the houſe of peers, upon the petition of the lords who had been bailed out of the Tower, thought fit to diſcharge their bail, and to diſmiſs them. A bill alſo paſſed that houſe for revoking the attainder of the lord viſcount Stafford; but it was dropped in the lower houſe, after it had received a ſecond reading. We muſt not omit to mention, that the two houſes joined in an addreſs of thanks to the king for his ſpeech, and promiſed to ſtand by him with their lives and fortunes. This obliging diſpoſition in the Engliſh parliament, and the ſervile compliance of that of Scotland, gave James the higheſt ſatisfaction, who flattered himſelf with the hopes of a peaceful and happy reign.

The calm, however, did not laſt long: the earl of Argyle, who had been obliged to fly from Scotland in the late reign, on being accuſed of having been concerned with the duke of Monmouth in a ſcheme for raiſing a rebellion in that kingdom, thought the time was now come when he might ſucceſsfully ſtir up his countrymen againſt James, whom he looked upon as the author of his diſgrace and misfortunes. He imparted his deſign to Monmouth, who was, like himſelf, an exile in Holland; and this giddy young man gave readily into the project. They hired a few ſhips of the Dutch, and got together about two or three hundred of the Engliſh exiles in Flanders, men of deſperate fortunes, and who had no view of retrieving their affairs but by a change of government at home: this was all the reſource the duke and earl had to depend upon, except their hopes of being joined by a conſiderable number of the Whig party, in caſe they could effect a ſucceſsful landing in England or Scotland.

Having concerted their meaſures, the two chiefs of the malcontents ſeparated, in order to follow each his plan of operations. The earl of Argyle, with a ſmall company, but arms for five thouſand men, ſailed from Holland the beginning of May, and made a deſcent upon Scotland. He ſoon found himſelf deceived in his notion of being joined by a conſiderable number of his friends; they came not in as he expected: he made a ſhift indeed to get together about two thouſand men, chiefly of his own clan, in the Highlands: but the government having received advice of his intended enterprize, were prepared for his reception. A conſiderable body of troops were ſent againſt him ſoon after his landing; upon which he, by the help of his ſhipping, tranſported his men from place to place, till two or three of the king's ſhips of war arrived in thoſe parts, and then he was compelled to quit the ſea-coaſts, and march into the country, where he was hotly purſued by the royal army; and after flying for ſome time before them, his followers abandoned him, and he himſelf running into a water up to the neck to eſcape his purſuers, was taken by a countryman, who ran in after him and knocked him down. Being thus ſeized, he was ſent under a ſtrong guard to Edinburgh, where his head was cut off, and ſet upon the Tolbooth. Rumbold, the old maſter of the Rye-houſe, who had fled for that plot, and ſome others who had now come over again with the earl, were alſo taken and executed: the earl's father had ſuffered the like fate on the ſame occaſion. It is ſurprizing that his tragical end had not proved a warning to his ſon, not to engage in ſuch perilous enterprizes, where the ſucceſsful are at beſt but deemed fortunate traitors.

Monmouth was no leſs unſucceſsful in his attempt: that nobleman ſailed out of the Texel on the twenty-fourth of May; and after having been detained nineteen days at ſea by contrary winds, landed at Lyme in Dorſetſhire, on the eleventh of June, with about eighty followers, but with arms for a much greater number. Some of his officers diſperſed themſelves about the country, in order to engage the gentry and the common people to take up arms and join them; in which they ſo far ſucceeded, that the duke's little party was increaſed to two thouſand men, moſtly from the adjacent counties. On his firſt landing he had publiſhed a kind of manifeſto or declaration, in which he ſet forth the cauſe of his coming over, which he ſaid was for the recovery of his natural right (aſſerting the validity of the late king's marriage with his mother) and to free the nation from the tyranny of the duke of York, whom he accuſed as the author of the dreadful conflagration that had reduced the greateſt part of the capital to aſhes; of the late popiſh plot for taking away the life of the king, and for the ſubverſion of the proteſtant religion; of the murder of the earl of Eſſex in the Tower; and of having poiſoned the king his brother. Laſtly, he repreſented that his very religion incapacitated him from ſwaying the ſceptre of this kingdom, which muſt never hope for eaſe or ſafety while a papiſt and a tyrant ſat on the throne.

This declaration, which upon the whole was fuller of invective than ſound reaſoning, produced very little effect in the duke's favour: few perſons of any diſtinction joined his ſtandard; his army conſiſted chiefly of a rude undiſciplined rabble: in ſhort, the whole affair was as ill conducted as it had been raſhly undertaken. About a week after his landing at Lyme, he marched to Taunton, where he took upon him the title of king, and was proclaimed in that town, on the twentieth, by the name of James II. By this time his army, ſuch as it was, amounted to about five thouſand men: but the duke, inſtead of marching directly to Briſtol, the taking of which would have given great credit to his cauſe, and been of effectual ſervice, by furniſhing his army with refreſhments, waſted his time in the ridiculous pageantry of his proclamation at Taunton; and this gave the king time to aſſemble an army, which was now in full march againſt him, under the command of the duke of Albemarle.

Monmouth began now to be ſenſible of the temerity of his project: he ſaw that nothing was left for him but to fight and conquer; he therefore reſolved

to prevent the king's forces in their deſign to ſurprize him, and ſet forward to meet them, in hopes of taking them unprepared for an attack; but herein, as in all the reſt, he was diſappointed. When he came in ſight of the royaliſts, he found them drawn up in excellent order, at Sedgeley-moor, near Bridgewater. Early the next morning (July 6) the fight began; Monmouth's horſe fled at the firſt charge, which was thought to be owing to the inexperience, cowardice, or treachery of the lord Grey, who commanded them; and who being taken, readily obtained the king's pardon. The foot was not ſo eaſily routed: they maintained their ground with great reſolution for ſome time; but being deſerted by the horſe, and expoſed to a moſt dreadful fire from the artillery of the king's army, they at length gave way, when a moſt dreadful ſlaughter enſued amongſt them; three hundred were killed on the ſpot, one thouſand in the purſuit, and as many made priſoners.

The unfortunate duke of Monmouth, after having endeavoured in vain to retrieve the fortune of the day by the moſt noble efforts of perſonal courage, and ſeeing all loſt, took to flight. He now ſaw his aſſumed ſovereignty vaniſhed in air, and all his mighty proſpects appeared like a dream that paſſes away, and is no longer remembered. He fled as far as his horſe would carry him, being attended only by a German ſervant, who had come over with him from Holland, when his beaſt dropped under him with fatigue. He was obliged to purſue his forlorn way a-foot till he came to a poor cottage, where having changed cloaths with the peaſant who occupied it, he continued his flight, till, unable longer to walk, he laid himſelf down in a ditch thick-covered with fern. Unfortunately, however, a party of the king's forces paſſing by the cottage the next day, knew the duke's cloaths upon the countryman's back, who being ſeized, told them which road the duke had taken; and after ſtrict ſearch, he was the next morning found in his hiding-place, with his pocket full of green peaſe; the only food he could find to keep off the attacks of hunger. He was immediately conducted to London, and lodged in the Tower.

Monmouth, brave as he was in arms, was not proof againſt this cruel reverſe of fortune. On his arrival in London, he wrote to the king in the moſt abject terms, humbly imploring his pardon, and proteſting by the moſt ſolemn aſſeverations, that if his majeſty would graciouſly pleaſe to overlook his former errors, he would endeavour by his future conduct to render himſelf worthy of ſo great a favour. All theſe ſubmiſſions availed him nought; James was inexorable: the duke ſued for an interview; James granted it; but it was only with a view to make his own advantages of it. He thought his wretched priſoner might be induced, through fear of death and hope of pardon, to impeach ſome of his principal accomplices; but no ſuch infamy dwelt in the heart of Monmouth: culpable and miſtaken as he was, he refuſed to purchaſe life at the expence of honour. He reſigned himſelf to his fate; and James, forgetful of the blood from whence he ſprung, and regardleſs of his brother's dying recommendation of this unhappy youth to his favour, ordered him for immediate execution. The duke's conduct in his laſt moments proved that his abject behaviour, on his firſt being apprehended, was the mere effect of human nature, oppreſſed by great calamity. He met his death in a manner that became his rank and character. On the fifteenth of July he was brought to his execution, which was attended with a ſhocking circumſtance: the executioner was ſeized with ſuch a trepidation juſt as he was about to execute his office, that he ſtruck the unfortunate duke five ſtrokes with the ax before he could ſever the head from the body. Thus died James, duke of Monmouth, whoſe character in many reſpects was truly amiable: he was brave, gentle, generous, ſincere; but too open to flattery, and too warmly addicted to pleaſure, the effects of his education in a court which was the emporium of debauchery. He was the darling of the people; the conſciouſneſs of which, and the allurement of ambition, had engaged him in enterprizes for which he was of all men the leaſt qualified, and which in the end coſt him his life.

This victory, gained in the very beginning of his reign, ſeemed to eſtabliſh the king's power and authority on the firmeſt baſis; but by the cruel uſe he made of it, and the deſpair into which his ſubjects were driven, it proved one of the principal cauſes of his ruin. Jefferies, the lord chief-juſtice, was, ſoon after the execution of Monmouth, ſent into the Weſt, to try the unhappy perſons who had been any ways concerned in the late raſh and ill-concerted rebellion. Colonel Kirk, a ſoldier of fortune, who had long ſerved at Tangiers, and, from his intercourſe with the Moors, had contracted an inhumanity totally unknown in European countries, attended him with a body of troops, to keep the people in awe. The bare recital of the barbarities committed by theſe two inhuman fiends in the ſhape of men, muſt fill every reader with horror. They hanged up numbers in the moſt inſulting manner, many without form of trial. Kirk cauſed thirty to be executed at once in ſight of himſelf and officers at dinner. Obſerving them to quiver in the agonies of death, he ſaid that he would give them muſic to their dancing, and immediately ordered the drums to beat, and the trumpets to ſound. Ten of theſe unhappy wretches were turned off with a health to the king, ten with a health to the queen, and the other ten with a health to Jefferies. The lady Liſle, widow of one of the regicides, but herſelf a loyaliſt, and now deeply ſtricken in years, was beheaded for harbouring a preſbyterian miniſter of Monmouth's party, though not one of the perſons mentioned in the proclamation. The jury thrice refuſed to find a verdict againſt her; they were as often ſent back with menaces and reproaches by the brutal Jefferies, and were at laſt compelled to bring her in guilty. Many other inſtances are given of the brutiſh cruelty of this judge and his military aſſiſtant *. In ſhort, ſome hundreds were executed, and

* One execution was attended with ſuch circumſtances of treachery, as well as barbarity, as to merit a more particular relation. A young maid implored the pardon of her father ‖, and threw herſelf at Kirk's feet, armed with all the charms which beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could poſſibly beſtow. The tyrant was fired with luſt, not ſoftened into love or clemency. He agreed to grant her requeſt, provided that ſhe, on her part, would condeſcend to gratify him.

‖ Some ſay ſhe was a young married woman, and that it was for the life of her huſband that ſhe ſued.

and the Weſt became like a ſhambles, by their quarters being fixed up in the roads and public places. The infernal monſter Kirk triumphed in his barbarous ingenuity; he cauſed the whole country to be ravaged by his ſoldiers, whom he allowed to live on free quarters; and Kirk's Lambs, as he, by way of pleaſantry, affected to have them called, is an appellation remembered with horror to this day in the weſtern counties. Jefferies boaſted on this occaſion, "That he had hanged more than all the judges ſince William the Conqueror:" and ſo acceptable had he made himſelf to his maſter by this bloody work, that, at his return, he was created a baron, and rewarded with the office of lord high-chancellor, upon the death of the lord-keeper.

Numberleſs were the other inſtances of ſeverity exerciſed in London, and different parts of the kingdom, upon the proteſtant party, on pretence either of the Rye-houſe plot, or of their having favoured Monmouth's deſign; in which revenge, and the ſcheme for eſtabliſhing popery in theſe kingdoms, appear to have had an equal influence. This had been the favourite plan of James whilſt duke of York, but was never openly attempted till now, when, being freed from Monmouth's rebellion, he thought himſelf in a ſtate of perfect tranquility. He began in Ireland, where he diſſolved the privy-council, and appointed a new one, the majority of them papiſts: the proteſtants of that kingdom were every where diſarmed, whilſt means were found of keeping on foot a ſtanding army of catholics. Colonel Richard Talbot, afterwards earl of Tyrconnel, by caſhiering ſuch officers and ſoldiers as he thought proper, and putting others in their ſtead, ſoon modelled it to the purpoſes it was intended for.

The ſituation of James was at this time as proſperous as any ſovereign could deſire. He ſaw a ſtanding army at his beck; he had a parliament which he knew was ready to prevent him in all his deſires: paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance were inculcated as articles in the Engliſh creed: foreign ſtates ſeemed to vie with each other in courting the favour of a monarch, who confeſſedly held the balance of Europe in his hands. Theſe advantages, however, inſtead of inſpiring James with a deſire to preſerve them by a prudent conduct, which would in no wiſe have impaired his power, only ſerved to intoxicate him; he thought he had no longer any occaſion to diſguiſe his ſentiments, or ſuffer reſtraint in his actions; and he began to diſcover his arbitrary principles in a manner not to be miſtaken. The parliament meeting on the ninth of November, after a prorogation, he opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech; in which, after congratulating them on the happy ſuppreſſion of the late rebellion, he took notice, that the great head the rebels had got to before they were quelled, had been entirely owing to the want of a regular force being at hand to oppoſe them at their firſt inſurrection: the houſe, he ſaid, muſt be ſenſible that the militia was very inſufficient for the defence of the kingdom on ſuch exigencies; and therefore plainly told them, that he was determined to ſupport thoſe regular forces which he had raiſed, and now increaſed to fifteen thouſand men, and demanded a ſupply for their maintenance: at the ſame time, he deſired that the parliament would not take exceptions that he had admitted ſome catholic officers into his army, and that he had in their favour diſpenſed with the law commanding the teſt to be taken by every one who enjoyed any public office. "They are moſt of them known to me, added he, and have ſerved me faithfully in the late commotions: and I will deal plainly with you, that, after having the benefit of their ſervice in ſuch a time of need and danger, I will neither expoſe them to diſgrace, nor myſelf to the want of them."

This parliament had, ever ſince its exiſtence, ſhewed the greateſt approbation of the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, and given ſignal proofs of its attachment to the king's perſon, particularly in the caſe of the rebellion, when it granted ſubſidies exceeding even what he could have aſked. It had increaſed his annual revenue, and made it perpetual: was it probable then that a parliament ſo generous and complying, would have made any difficulty of ſetting aſide ſuch a trifling law as the Teſt Act? Thus James thought, but he found himſelf miſtaken. This pliant, this ſubmiſſive parliament ſtill remembered there was ſuch a thing as liberty entailed on the people of this happy land, and that they were ſworn conſervators of that ineſtimable treaſure, in behalf of the people. They would have gone any decent lengths rather than come to a rupture with the king, or incur his diſpleaſure; but this open declaration on his part to govern without the laws, or rather to act in open defiance of them, opened their eyes; and ſome who had been the warmeſt againſt the Excluſion Bill, began to be alarmed at the king's large ſtrides towards arbitrary power. In the houſe of lords, the motion for an addreſs of thanks to the king for his ſpeech met with great oppoſition; and though it paſſed by a ſmall majority, the houſe reſolved to take the ſpeech into further conſideration: but it was otherwiſe in the houſe of commons; for when the lord Middleton, ſecretary of ſtate, made a motion that they ſhould immediately return his majeſty thanks for his ſpeech from the throne, ſeveral of the members refuſed it; and a motion being made for an addreſs to the king againſt employing popiſh officers in the army, contrary to the known laws of the land, it was carried in the affirmative, and the addreſs was accordingly preſented, at which his majeſty was highly offended. In the mean time, the commons granted a ſupply of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds: nevertheleſs, the king ſent them a ſharp reprimand for the liberty they had taken with him in their addreſs, and peremptorily told them, that he was fixed in his reſolution, both in regard to keeping up a ſtanding army, and employing catholic officers. The commons, who appear to have been terrified into ſubmiſſion by this haughty meſſage,

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The ſtruggle was hard and ſevere, to loſe her father, or to part with her honour. At laſt the force of filial affection overcame all ſelfiſh regards. The maid ſubmitted to the conditions: but after ſhe had paſſed the night with him, the inhuman ruffian, next morning, ſhewed her from the window her father, the darling object for whom ſhe had ſacrificed her virtue, hanging on a gibbet, which he privately cauſed to be there erected for his execution. This ſhocking and unexpected ſight ſtruck her with ſuch a ſudden ſurprize, that ſhe was inſtantly ſeized with a phrenzy, and never after recovered her ſenſes. Hume.

offered to indemnify the officers already employed, and to paſs a new act, qualifying a certain number whom the king ſhould name; yet rather than have his diſpenſing power conteſted, he, on the twentieth of November, prorogued the parliament, by which he loſt the ſupply the commons had voted, and which happily had not paſſed into a law, otherwiſe the conſtitution had been expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, as James would then have been enabled to carry his deſign into execution, without demanding any further ſupplies from his parliament; for they had gone ſo far as to vote that three hundred thouſand pounds of the ſum mentioned ſhould be annually levied for nine years and an half to come.

In Ireland and Scotland the king carried on his deſigns with greater ſucceſs than he had as yet been able to do in England. The duke of Ormond was, in the beginning of 1686, removed from his poſt of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, notwithſtanding his many ſervices, and inviolable attachment to the royal family: and colonel Talbot being made earl of Tyrconnel, was put in his place, who ſoon got the Teſt Act repealed in that kingdom. In Scotland the earl of Moray, who in complaiſance to the king had changed his religion, found means to ſupplant the duke of Queenſberry; and being made high-commiſſioner, convoked the parliament, to whoſe care and humanity he recommended, in his majeſty's name, his poor catholic ſubjects, for indulgence in the exerciſe of their religion. A bill was accordingly brought in for permitting papiſts the private exerciſe of their religion; but it was warmly oppoſed, and deferred to further conſideration: then the king ordered the commiſſioner to prorogue the parliament, and by virtue of his own prerogative eſtabliſhed liberty of conſcience through the whole kingdom. From this time the catholics got into moſt of the offices of truſt or profit, as well civil as military, in both theſe kingdoms, to the no ſmall ſatisfaction of James, who hoped, by means of the influence they would neceſſarily acquire, to complete the ſcheme he had formed of introducing popery and arbitrary power throughout his dominions.

By this time the earl of Arlington was dead, and his place of chamberlain was beſtowed upon the earl of Mulgrave, who had acquired a great ſhare of the king's favour. Sunderland was appointed ſecretary of ſtate, and became in effect prime miniſter.

Encouraged by the ſucceſs he had met with in Ireland and Scotland, James now ſet himſelf to work to carry his point in England likewiſe: the firſt ſtep he took for this purpoſe was to get the judges to declare their opinion in favour of the diſpenſing power. He ſent for them one by one, and had private conferences with them in his cloſet, whence the odious term of Cloſeting firſt took its riſe; but he met with a reſiſtance from ſome of that venerable order, which gave him a good deal of uneaſineſs. Sir Thomas Jones, lord chief-juſtice of the Common Pleas; Montagu, lord chief-baron of the Exchequer; ſir Robert Charlton, one of the juſtices of the Common Pleas; and baron Nevil, openly declared againſt the diſpenſing power, as ſubverſive of the laws of the land. For this they were turned out of their places, and others put into them, who were known to be creatures of the court. Amongſt thoſe, to the indignation of every proteſtant, one Mr. Milton, a profeſſed catholic, was made a baron of the Exchequer. The king then proceeded with his council as he had done with his courts of law: he warmly ſollicited the nobles about his perſon to oblige him, by changing their religion, and embracing the Roman catholic faith. This very modeſt and conſtitutional demand was rejected by many with the contempt it deſerved *. The earl of Sunderland was ſo baſe as to purchaſe favour at this price: Rocheſter the treaſurer, though the king's brother-in-law, was deprived of his office, for refuſing to give this inſtance of complaiſance: the treaſury was put in commiſſion; and lord Bellaſis, who had been ſo long impriſoned for the popiſh plot, was appointed firſt lord of that board. Clarendon, keeper of the privy-ſeal, was likewiſe diſplaced for his refuſal, and his office beſtowed upon lord Arundel of Wardour, another of the five popiſh lords: at the ſame time the lord Dover and the earl of Tyrconnel, both outrageous catholics, were ſworn into the privy-council.

And now the king having new-modelled his council and his bench of judges, it was neceſſary in the next place to ſtrike ſome ſtroke that might impreſs the minds of the people with a notion of the legality of the diſpenſing power in the ſovereign. For this purpoſe, one Godwin, a coachman belonging to ſir Edward Hales, a gentleman who, to pleaſe the court, had changed his religion, was deſired to bring an action againſt his maſter, for exerciſing the office of governor of Dover-caſtle, not having qualified himſelf by law by taking the teſt, &c. This cauſe was heard with great ſolemnity before the judges. Sir Edward pleaded the king's diſpenſing power; when, after abundance of learned arguments on both ſides, the judges, as had been preconcerted, gave it as their opinion, "That the diſpenſing power was a prerogative inſeparable from the kings of England." Thus all the fences to the conſtitution were at once thrown down, and all the reſt of James's reign was wholly employed in taking meaſures to render himſelf abſolute, and eſtabliſh popery. The papiſts, emboldened by the countenance of the ſovereign, and ſtill more by this deciſion of the judges, began every-where to ſet up the public exerciſe of their religion: the jeſuits erected colleges and ſeminaries in all the principal towns; four popiſh biſhops were publicly conſecrated in the king's chapel, and ſent into ſeveral parts of England to exerciſe epiſcopal juriſdiction over thoſe of their own communion. Monks and friars were now to be ſeen in all public places, habited in the veſtments of their reſpective orders. Lieutenancies of counties were beſtowed on declared papiſts, nor was it long before popiſh juſtices of the peace, and other popiſh magiſtrates, ſwarmed all over England. All places of honour and profit were ſhared among catholics, or perſons popiſhly in-

* The king even condeſcended to exhort Kirk to become a convert. The barbarian told him, that he would have been extremely willing to gratify his majeſty in this particular, but that he was unhappily pre-engaged, having already given his promiſe to the king of Morocco, that, if ever he changed his religion, he would turn Muſſulman. Hume.

clined,

clined, to the prejudice of proteſtants, many of whom were diſplaced to make room for thoſe new intruders.

James was encouraged in theſe violent attempts againſt the conſtitution by Lewis XIV. his own queen, who was a bigotted Papiſt, and the Jeſuits; which latter never ceaſed perſuading him to perſevere in reſtoring their religion, and with it their credit. Father Peters, his confeſſor, was admitted into the privy-council: in a word, the king acted with ſo little diſcretion, that the cardinals at Rome uſed to ſay of him, by way of jeſt, that he deſerved excommunication, as a perſon who was going about to deſtroy the ſmall remains of the catholic religion that ſtill exiſted in England. Pope Innocent XI. conceived ſuch indifferent hopes of James's projects, that he never would grant a cardinal's hat to Peters, though warmly ſollicited to it by the king. This Peters was a Jeſuit, a hot-headed, intriguing man, who, mad with the ambition of becoming a cardinal and primate of England, was the chief perſon who puſhed the miſguided king on to the precipice from which he afterwards fell. Taking advantage of his ſovereign's blind zeal, he put him upon ſending the earl of Caſtlemain this year on a ſolemn embaſſy to the court of Rome, with inſtructions to make his holineſs the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, in the king's name, of his entire devotion to the holy ſee, and requeſting him to ſend over a legate a latere to reconcile the long ſchiſmatic church of England to the apoſtolic communion; but the pope was a perſon of too much diſcernment to be ſeduced by this dazzling offer: he judged better than James of the little likelihood there was of ſucceeding ſuddenly in ſuch a ſcheme, which demanded the utmoſt prudence and caution, and could alone be the work of time: he tried all means to evade giving the ambaſſador an audience, till the earl preſſed it in ſuch a manner, that decency would no longer permit the pope to refuſe this mark of reſpect to the repreſentative of ſo great a prince; but when he at length admitted his excellency to an audience, the good pontiff was ſeized with ſuch an opportune fit of coughing, as interrupted the earl's ſpeech, and obliged him to retire. The earl made ſeveral new attempts to deliver his meſſage; but the pope ſtill happened to labour under the ſame malady, which ſo piqued the ambaſſador, that he threatened to return. The pope, with great coolneſs, made anſwer, that, ſince his excellency was reſolved to go, he would adviſe him, while he travelled, to ſet out early in the morning, and repoſe himſelf during the heat of the day, otherwiſe the climate of Italy might prove dangerous to his health. Innocent, however, thought proper to return the king's compliment by having a nuncio at London, and he inveſted with that character Ferdinando Doda, an Italian Jeſuit, who had been about the king's perſon ever ſince his acceſſion.

The late flagrant breaches of the king's promiſes to maintain the proteſtant religion filled the greateſt part of the nation with the moſt melancholy apprehenſions. On this occaſion, to their immortal honour, the clergy of the church of England exerted their talents to the greateſt advantage in defence of their religion againſt the errors of popery, which thoſe of that communion were every day maintaining in pamphlets and other writings with the moſt unparalleled audacity. Upon this the court iſſued an order prohibiting the inferior clergy preaching on controverted points of religion: but this order was little regarded; our divines continued their laudable efforts; Tillotſon, Stillingfleet, Tenniſon, Patrick, Sharp, and ſome others, ſhone with diſtinguiſhed luſtre on this occaſion.

This honeſt boldneſs greatly irritated the king and his popiſh council, and they reſolved to make uſe of ſome expedient whereby they might effectually reſtrain the clergy from thus oppoſing their deſigns. After much conſultation on this ſubject, it was determined to erect a commiſſion for eccleſiaſtical affairs. This court, known by the name of the High Commiſſion Court, had, together with the Star-chamber, another inſtrument of arbitrary power, been aboliſhed in the reign of Charles I. by act of parliament; to which a clauſe was added, prohibiting the re-eſtabliſhment of theſe courts, or any other of the like nature: but James now held all laws at defiance. The commiſſion was iſſued, and Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury (who would never act in it) with Crow and Sprat, biſhops of Durham and Rocheſter; the earls of Rocheſter and Sunderland, chancellor Jefferies, and lord chief-juſtice Herbert, were appointed commiſſioners: on Sancroft's peremptory refuſal to take up his commiſſion, the biſhop of Cheſter was put into his place. Theſe commiſſioners were veſted with the ſame inquiſitorial powers which had been poſſeſſed by the former court of High Commiſſion *; and the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, with all its dependencies, was ſubject to the arbitrary determinations of theſe commiſſioners.

Shortly after the commiſſion was opened, Dr. Sharp, rector of St. Giles, and dean of Norwich, had preached a ſermon, wherein he had inveighed againſt popery, and expreſſed his apprehenſion of the danger that then threatened the eſtabliſhed church. This ſermon had given great offence at court, and the king himſelf wrote to Dr. Compton, biſhop of London, ordering him to ſuſpend Sharp from his clerical function, till he ſhould have given ſatisfaction, and his farther pleaſure was known therein. On receipt of the order, Compton wrote a letter to the earl of Sunderland, principal ſecretary of ſtate, which he deſired might be communicated to the king, repreſenting, that he the biſhop could not, according to law, and as a judge, proceed to condemn a man before he had knowlege of the cauſe, and had cited the party to anſwer for himſelf. The furious James was all in a flame at this inſolent dallying with his authority, as he termed it; and the biſhop was called before the new court on the ninth of Auguſt this year, and by a majority both himſelf and the doctor were ſuſpended.

* Their commiſſion empowered them, or any three of them, of whom the lord-chancellor was to be one, "to exerciſe all manner of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, to viſit, reform, correct, amend, and puniſh all offences whatever againſt the eccleſiaſtical laws, by ſuſpenſion, deprivation, cenſures of the church, &c. The commiſſioners (or any five of them, of whom the lord-chancellor was to be one) were alſo authoriſed to viſit the univerſities, cathedral and collegiate churches, colleges, grammar ſchools, and other eccleſiaſtical corporations; to examine their ſtatutes, rules, ordinances, letters-patents, and writings, and the ſame to alter, correct, and amend, at their pleaſure." Burnet. Rapin. Salmon.

Not content with thus impetuouſly following his popiſh proceedings, he reſolved to ſhew his people what they muſt expect if they preſumed to diſpute his will. Though it was now a time of profound peace, he cauſed a camp to be formed at Hounſlow of fifteen thouſand men, the ſtanding army he had, in ſpite of the parliament, kept on foot, and gave the command to the earl of Feverſham: in this camp was a public chapel, where maſs was ſaid every day. James fondly imagined that this ſtanding military force, officered by Roman catholics devoted to his ſervice, would enable him, like ſome of his arbitrary neighbours, to carry every point he pleaſed in this kingdom: but he did not reflect that this army was compoſed of Engliſhmen, who would be the firſt to abandon him, whenever they ſhould be made ſenſible that he intended to uſe them for the deſtruction of their own and their fellow-ſubjects liberties.

The keeping on foot this ſtanding army, and the abolition of the Teſt Act, or what came to the ſame end, the diſpenſing with the penalties it had decreed againſt thoſe who ſhould refuſe to take it; together with the obſtinate refuſal of the king to join in the meaſures which the other powers of Europe were taking to ſecure themſelves againſt the ambitious deſigns of France; theſe proceedings, I ſay, filled the people with a thouſand melancholy apprehenſions. Some thought James had, after the example of his brother, entered into a ſecret treaty with Lewis XIV. and had adopted that monarch's plan of government. In ſhort, it was not doubted that the king would even ſend for an auxiliary force over from his good neighbour, in caſe his preſent forces were not thought ſufficient for eſtabliſhing his arbitrary projects. At this time the dock-yards were inceſſantly at work in repairing and fitting out ſhips of war: this proceeding, at a time when the nation was in profound peace, increaſed its alarms and ſuſpicions. The oppoſers of the government gave out, that this fleet was intended to act againſt the Dutch, with whom the court were about to come to a rupture, in order from thence to find a pretext for excluding the prince of Orange for ever from the ſucceſſion, as, unleſs ſuch excluſion could take place, whatever had been, or was to be done for the eſtabliſhment of the Roman catholic religion, would be rendered fruitleſs. Theſe ſuſpicions, which were not without the appearance of probability, and which the Whigs circulated with great aſſiduity, compleatly ruined the king in the affections of his people.

The murmurs againſt the government became every day more loud. A miniſter, whoſe name was Johnſton, publiſhed a paper, addreſſed to the officers and ſoldiers in the camp at Hounſlow, repreſenting the guilt, baſeneſs, and infamy, of ſerving as inſtruments to deſtroy the religion and conſtitution of their country. For this affair having been ſolemnly degraded, he was ſet twice in the pillory, was whipped from Newgate to Tyburn, and fined five hundred marks: but this writing being diſperſed in the army, made ſuch an impreſſion as was thought to have contributed not a little to the defection that happened in it afterwards.

About the ſame time Miles Prance the goldſmith, who had been a witneſs againſt the perſons tried for the murder of St. Edmundſbury Godfrey, was brought to his trial for perjury; and pleading guilty, was fined one hundred pounds, and ordered to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn. Some will have it, that, terrified by the ſeverity he had ſeen exerciſed on Titus Oates, he pleaded guilty merely to eſcape his puniſhment. We ſhall not pretend to decide on this point: in ſuch caſes, every man is at liberty to form his own conjectures.

Neither the ill ſucceſs of his late negotiation at the court of Rome, the continual complaints of his own ſubjects, nor even the remonſtrances of ſome of the moſt ſenſible and prudent of his popiſh counſellors, who were fearful their ſovereign was running too great lengths, and intreated him to moderate his zeal, could divert James one moment from the purſuit of his darling purpoſe, the advancement of the catholic faith in theſe kingdoms. Deaf to all ſober advice, he liſtened only to the ſuggeſtions of his own blind ſuperſtition. Knowing himſelf deſerted by the church party, he affected to careſs the preſbyterians. In the beginning of the year 1687, he ſent his declaration into Scotland, ſuſpending, by virtue "of his ſovereign authority, prerogative-royal, and abſolute power," (the expreſs words of the declaration) all oaths, teſts, &c. impoſed upon non-conformiſts, profeſſors of the Chriſtian religion. In this declaration, "firſt, he allows the moderate preſbyterians to meet in their private houſes only, but forbids all field-conventicles, under the moſt rigorous penalties. In like manner, he tolerates quakers to meet and exerciſe in their form, in any place or places appointed for their worſhip." Then the declaration proceeds to include the catholics, who, after a long encomium on their loyalty and integrity, are declared relieved from all acts of parliament made or executed againſt thoſe of their faith. In the ſame paper, however, the king reiterates his former promiſes of maintaining the proteſtant religion, as by law eſtabliſhed, and its biſhops and regular clergy in the full enjoyment of their rights, liberties, privileges, &c. &c.

On the fourth of April the king publiſhed the like declaration for liberty of conſcience in England, only not quite in ſo high a ſtile. It is not to be wondered at, that the ſeveral ſects of proteſtant diſſenters ſhould at firſt look upon this declaration as an inſtance of great indulgence in the crown to tender conſciences. Accordingly, addreſſes of thanks were crouded in to the throne from all denominations of nonconformiſts, wherein they flattered the king in the moſt fulſome manner: the anabaptiſts led the way; the quakers followed: next came the independants; and laſtly the preſbyterians. It is remarkable that the greateſt part of theſe addreſſers, ſpeaking of the royal power, exalted it beyond all meaſure; in particular, the preſbyterians; thoſe very people who had firſt ſet the example in the reign of Charles I. to the reſt of the nation, to preſcribe the ſtricteſt limits to the exerciſe of the royal authority. Human nature is always the ſame: the diſſenters thought themſelves unkindly uſed by that monarch: they thought James treated them like a tender parent. It was not long, however, before they diſcovered that this act of the king's was at beſt but a ſnare laid for the whole proteſtant intereſt in the kingdom, and they readily joined with the church of England in combating the deſtructive doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance.

James did not think this ſtep for the intereſt of the popiſh religion ſufficient, unleſs he could procure greater advantages for its profeſſors. Hitherto the papiſts had not been able to procure any preferments in either of the univerſities, which they paſſionately deſired. This point therefore was the next to be carried; and as the king had already introduced the catholics into the adminiſtration of court affairs, he reſolved to procure them a ſhare in the government of the church. An order was ſent by the king and council to the univerſity of Cambridge to admit Father Francis, a Benedictine monk, to the degree of maſter of arts, without adminiſtering to him the uſual oaths. The univerſity had the ſpirit to refuſe its compliance, and petitioned the king to recal his mandate: upon which they were ſummoned before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, to anſwer for this act of diſobedience. The vice-chancellor was ſuſpended; the ſenate alſo were reprimanded, and ordered to ſend up copies of their ſtatutes: but as the univerſity choſe Dr. Balderſon, maſter of Emanuel-college, a man of ſpirit, to ſucceed in that office, the king thought proper to deſiſt from his purpoſe.

Having failed in this attempt, he reſolved to try his influence with the univerſity of Oxford, never ſuppoſing that they, who had been the foremoſt to eſtabliſh by their famous decree the doctrine of paſſive obedience, would make the leaſt heſitation to put their principles in practice, when ſolicited thereto by a power they had ſo highly exalted. It happened that the preſidentſhip of Magdalen-college became vacant, and a day was appointed for the election of another preſident; but before that day came, the king ſent down his mandate to the vice-preſident and fellows, requiring them to elect one Anthony Farmer, a man of a very indifferent character, who had promiſed to declare himſelf a catholic, into that office. The college refuſed to comply, as being contrary to their ſtatutes, and actually made choice of Dr. Hough; for which they were ſummoned before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners at Whitehall, who ſuſpended the vice-preſident, and deprived the new-elected preſident: but as the univerſity had proved the character of Farmer to be notoriouſly bad, the king ſent them a ſecond mandate to elect Dr. Parker, biſhop of Oxford, a tool of the court, and a reputed papiſt. The fellows, abiding by their choice, would not obey this mandate any more than the former: they cited the ſtatutes and oaths they were obliged to obſerve, or elſe deliberately perjure themſelves: they ſhewed that the biſhop of Oxford was no better qualified than Mr. Farmer, having never been fellow either of Magdalen or New-college, and therefore not to be elected.

The king, incenſed at their refractory behaviour, and hoping to conquer their obſtinacy by his preſence, repaired in perſon to Oxford, under pretence of a ſummer's jaunt or progreſs; and having ſummoned the fellows before him, he reproached them in the moſt virulent terms for their diſloyalty, arrogance, and preſumption, as he called it; and commanded them forthwith to elect the biſhop of Oxford, or prepare to feel the weight of his diſpleaſure; but all his threats were thrown away: the fellows remained firm; and the king having expoſed himſelf to the contempt of the whole nation, returned with ſhame and confuſion to London. The eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, however, were let looſe againſt them, and the preſident and twenty-five fellows were expelled. Dr. Hough refuſing to put the biſhop of Oxford in poſſeſſion of his lodgings, the doors were broke open, Parker was eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of his office, and the deprived fellows had their places ſupplied by papiſts.

Of all the violences committed during this reign, this may be ſaid to be the moſt openly illegal and unjuſt: accordingly, the nation was now perfectly convinced that the king had nothing leſs in view than to reduce it to the moſt abject ſtate of ſubmiſſion. The moſt bitter reflections, the moſt pathetic remonſtrances, and the loudeſt complaints againſt the court, now filled every mouth, or made the ſubject of almoſt every publication. James on his ſide, to ſhow his ſupreme contempt of all theſe murmurs of the people, gave a ſolemn audience to Dada, who had the preceding year been appointed the pope's nuncio in England. He made his public entry as a foreign ambaſſador at Windſor (where the court then was) on the twenty-third day of July, with all the formality of a popiſh proceſſion, being preceded by a croſs-bearer, carrying his croſs erect, and attended by crowds of popiſh prieſts and monks in their reſpective habits. The duke of Somerſet, who was at that time in waiting as lord of the bed-chamber, was appointed to introduce the apoſtolical nuncio to his audience of the king, but refuſed; alleging as an excuſe, that it was high-treaſon by the laws for any one to aſſume that character in England. For this refuſal the duke was turned out of his poſt in the bed-chamber, and loſt the command of a regiment of dragoons. The nuncio continued to reſide at London during the whole of this reign.

It was about this time that father Petre, or Peters, the king's confeſſor, a ſhallow bigot, was publicly admitted as a member of the council-board, contrary to the advice of all the leading men among the catholics.

James intended to call a new parliament, and therefore exerted all his influence to get ſuch perſons choſen as he thought would prove the moſt compliant with his meaſures. He renewed his practice of cloſeting, in which no arguments, threats, or promiſes, were omitted to induce them to conſent to a formal repeal of the teſt and other penal laws. The deputy-lieutenants, judges, and juſtices, in different parts of the kingdom, were ſet to work to bias the minds of the electors; and thoſe corporations which ſhewed themſelves refractory, were perſecuted into compliance by Quo warrantos, new-modelling them, and a thouſand other illegal acts of oppreſſion: but after all, ſuch was the diſpoſition of the nation in general, and ſo great an averſion the people ſhewed to popery and arbitrary power, that the king, fearing his endeavours would prove ineffectual, would not venture to call another parliament.

It is very obſervable, that while James was thus labouring to introduce popery, he received into protection, and very charitably relieved, multitudes of French proteſtants, whom perſecution had obliged to fly their native country.

Henry IV. of France had, about a century before, granted an edict, commonly called the Edict of Nantes; ſecuring the proteſtants in the free ex-

ercise of their religion. This edict, which had often been declared irrevocable, and which, during the experience of so long a period, had been productive of no bad consequences, was now revoked by Lewis XIV. who persecuted these unhappy religionists with such rigour and severity, that above half a million of the most useful and industrious subjects deserted France, and carried with them, besides an immense sum of money, those arts and manufactures which had chiefly tended hitherto to enrich that kingdom.

The king, fully sensible of the great popularity the prince of Orange possessed in England, especially amongst the dissenting party; and that the princess his consort was in general revered as the presumptive heir of the crown, was greatly desirous to know their opinion concerning the penal laws and test, not doubting, if he could procure their concurrence to a repeal, it would have great weight with the nation. This matter was at first managed with great secrecy by one Mr. Stuart, who by the king's private direction wrote to Fagel, the pensionary of Amsterdam, to sound the prince and princess on this subject. The answers proved far from agreeable to the court. However, it was confidently given out that the prince and princess had declared their approbation of the repeal. This report reaching the ear of their royal highnesses, Fagel was directed to draw up a letter to the court of England, that might rectify all mistakes, and declare to the world their true opinions. In this letter, dated November 1687, the pensionary declares, that "although their royal highnesses were for a full liberty of conscience, and wished not that any one should be persecuted or punished for differing from the established religion; yet they could by no means consent to the repeal of the test and the other penal laws, which tended to the security of the protestant religion, especially as those laws could not be said to carry in them any severity against the Roman catholics on account of their consciences, being only provisions for qualifying persons for a seat in parliament, or the enjoyment of public offices." The publication of this letter afforded matter of great satisfaction to the nation; but to the king it gave the severest mortification, as it convinced the world how contrary the sentiments of the prince and princess were to those of their father.

Hitherto the protestants had submitted to the violent attacks made upon their civil and religious liberties, from the hope that the king, who was now in his fifty-fifth year, would ere long pay the tribute to nature; and that the princess of Orange, like another Elizabeth, would resettle things on their antient foundation when she should ascend the throne; but their hopes seemed quite extinguished, when a proclamation was published in the Gazette of January 2, 1688, declaring the queen to be with child, and ordering a thanksgiving on that account. The extravagant joy of the papists on this occasion, the sanguine expressions of the jesuits, who gave out that this conception was miraculous, and the effect of a pilgrimage made by her majesty's mother (the duchess of Modena) to the chapel of our Lady of Loretto, and that their queen would certainly have a prince, made the generality of the protestants, whose all was now at stake, entertain suspicions of this pregnancy, as a scheme of the papists to establish their religion in England, by imposing an heir on the kingdom. From this time the protestants seem to have banished their forbearing principles, and to have taken up a resolution to oppose the baleful designs of the king and his ministry; nor is it improbable that they now turned their eyes on the prince of Orange, as the only person to whom they could apply to head them in the stand they proposed to make in defence of their liberties and religion.

However this might be, the king was so elevated with this prospect of male issue, that he seemed to set the prince of Orange at defiance, endeavoured by every slight and insult to provoke the Dutch into a war, and at length went so far as to publish a proclamation, recalling all his majesty's subjects that were in the service of the States-General. The prince of Orange, on his side, offered passports to such English or Scottish officers as desired to quit the service, and by this expedient purged the troops of those individuals, of whose attachment and fidelity he was doubtful.

James, still burning with frantic zeal, and a thirst for confirming his despotic power, seemed determined no longer to keep any measures with his subjects. On the twenty-seventh of April, 1688, came out a second declaration for liberty of conscience, almost in the same terms with the former; and an order from the king was subjoined, commanding the clergy, immediately after divine service, to read it in their churches. This was such an insult upon the pastors of the established religion, as could be meant only to drive them to extremities, and then to take advantage of their non-compliance with the royal mandate. Some few of the court-clergy and bishops obeyed, but the far greater number of prelates and ministers unanimously refused obedience. Six bishops, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Bristol, assembled privately at the archbishop of Canterbury's (Sancroft) palace, and drew up a petition to the king, and, with the primate, went to present it to him on their knees*.

James,

* The petition was couched in the following terms: "To the king's most excellent majesty; the humble petition of William archbishop of Canterbury, and divers of the suffragan bishops of that province now present with him, in behalf of themselves, and others of their absent brethren, and of the inferior clergy of their respective dioceses, humbly sheweth,

"That the great averseness they find in themselves to the distributing and publishing in all their churches your majesty's declaration for liberty of conscience, proceeds neither from want of duty and obedience to your majesty (our holy mother the church of England being both in her principles and constant practice unquestionably loyal, and having to her great honour been more than once publicly acknowledged to be so by your gracious majesty) nor yet from any want of tenderness to dissenters; in relation to whom we are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when the matter shall be considered and settled in parliament and convocation: but, among many other considerations, from this especially, because that declaration is founded upon such a dispensing power as hath been often declared illegal in parliament, particularly in the years 1662 and 1672, and in the beginning of your majesty's reign; and is a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole nation, both in church and state, that your petitioners cannot in prudence, honour, or conscience,

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James, impatient of controul, and diſtinguiſhed for obſtinacy, which court-ſycophants are ever ready to dignify with the name of conſtancy, reſented this oppoſition to his will in the higheſt manner: he diſmiſſed the biſhops from his preſence with a ſharp reprimand, telling them, that if they had forgotten he was the ſupreme head of the church, he knew how to make himſelf acknowledged as ſuch. Soon after the delivery of the petition, the biſhops were ſummoned before the council: the paper they had delivered was ſhown to them, and they were required to declare whether or not they were inclinable to own it. This queſtion, which appeared to be intended as a ſnare, at firſt ſtartled the biſhops: they were ſilent for a ſhort time; at length the archbiſhop of Canterbury acknowleged that it had been written by him, and the reſt declared they had ſigned it. The lord-chancellor Jefferies inſulted the reverend fathers with his uſual brutality: he repreſented their petition as an attempt to demoliſh the king's authority, and to diſturb the peace of the kingdom; concluding with aſking them, if they would give bail to appear in the court of King's-Bench, and anſwer to the charge which ſhould be brought againſt them for this libel. The biſhops knew too well their own dignity to be thus entrapped: they replied, that their privilege as peers exempted them from the neceſſity of giving ſecurity, on being charged with a miſdemeanor; and that they were bound by oath to maintain the rights of the peerage, as well as the rights of the church. Jefferies in a fury told them, that unleſs they inſtantly retracted their aſſertions, and withdrew their petition, he would ſend them to the Tower. They anſwered, "That they ſubmitted to his majeſty's pleaſure, whatever it ſhould be; that their own conſciences told them they had acted nothing but what was agreeable to the laws, and the ſacred character with which they were inveſted; and that they depended on the King of kings to be their protector:" whereupon a warrant was iſſued for their commitment to the Tower, the charge againſt them being, "For contriving, making, and publiſhing a ſeditious libel againſt his majeſty and his government."

No pen can deſcribe the conſternation that ſeized on all ranks of people, when they found theſe fathers of the church, theſe noble oppoſers of tyranny and oppreſſion, were to be dragged away to confinement. The court was aware of the diſagreeable conſequences ſuch a ſight might produce on the part of the populace, and had taken the precaution of ordering the prelates to be conveyed to the Tower from Whitehall by water, in a private manner; but the alarm was gone abroad, and the ſhore was lined with innumerable ſpectators, who with one voice deplored their fate, and on their knees intreated their bleſſing. The good biſhops on this occaſion increaſed by their conduct the love their ſufferings had begotten; they checked the tranſports of the multitude; they charged them to continue to fear God, to honour the king, and by no raſh act to impeach their loyalty. In this manner they were conveyed to the place of their confinement, where even the ſoldiers who were appointed to guard them, moved by the ſympathy of example, fell on their knees to aſk their benediction, and expreſſed themſelves in the bitterſt terms of reſentment againſt their perſecutors. The king hearing of this, ordered ſome other companies to march into the Tower, in whom he had more confidence.

On the tenth of June, two days after the commitment of the biſhops, the queen was ſaid to be delivered of a prince, who was baptized by the name of James, and who was very lately alive at Rome, under the name of the Chevalier de St. George, but beſt known in England by the name of the Pretender. This event, the moſt joyous that could happen for the catholic party, was notified by public proclamation, and a thankſgiving ordered to be obſerved throughout the kingdom. However, the people in general were prepoſſeſſed with a notion that this was only a trick of the papiſts to cut off the princeſs of Orange from the ſucceſſion; and they were the rather confirmed in this opinion by certain myſterious circumſtances, both in reſpect to the pregnancy and the lying-in; and the management of the court was ſuch as tended rather to increaſe than remove theſe ſuppoſitions. At the time of the queen's delivery, the princeſs Anne of Denmark was at Bath, whither ſhe had gone ſome few weeks before, at the earneſt intreaty, if not command, of her father; the archbiſhop of Canterbury was in the Tower; and the Dutch ambaſſador, who ſhould have been preſent as a witneſs in behalf of the prince and princeſs of Orange, was not called to the labour. In ſhort, the birth of this child, which, according to the common rule of things, ought to have proved the bond of union between the king and his people, had the very contrary effect. Both parties, proteſtants and catholics, laboured under ſuch violent prejudices at this time, as could not fail to influence their judgments. No wonder, therefore, if we ſtill find the one ſtrenuouſly aſſerting the legitimacy of this child, the other aſſerting the whole affair to be an impoſture. Dr. Burnet tells us, that he had it from the mouth of one of the queen's phyſicians, that ſhe had miſcarried in the month of April preceding; and though he does not abſolutely aſſert that this delivery was a trick, yet he talks of it in ſuch a manner, as leaves us very little room to doubt that he thought ſo, as indeed many others then did, and ſtill continue to do; though this has been carried ſo far as to pretend, that there were three ſuppoſititious children palmed upon the public, one after another, the two former having died in a very few days after each other. The only method to account for this proceeding is, to ſuppoſe that ſeveral big-bellied women had been brought together, who were each of them alike near their time, in order to have a ſufficient ſupply of children to carry on the impoſture. I acknowlege myſelf wholly at a loſs to account for this affair, and therefore ſhall only obſerve, that circumſtances which at any other time would be

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o far make themſelves parties to it, as the diſtribution of it all over the nation, and the ſolemn publication of it once and again, even in God's houſe, and in the time of his divine ſervice, muſt amount to in common and reaſonable conſtruction: your petitioners therefore moſt humbly beſeech your majeſty, that you will be pleaſed not to inſiſt upon this diſtribution and reading of your majeſty's ſaid declaration: And your petitioners, as in duty bound, ſhall ever pray, &c." Rapin. Echard.

thought to have little or nothing in them, in caſe of a general ſuſpicion, are uſually applied to confirm that ſuſpicion: but indeed this queſtion is now become a matter of mere curioſity. Beſides, allowing the prince of Wales, as he was called, to have been the real and genuine ſon of the king and queen, yet the ſolemn excluſion of his father, for his attachment to the catholic religion, and his own education in thoſe principles, have as effectually diſqualified him from any claim upon the crown of theſe kingdoms, as if his illegitimacy had been ever ſo clearly proved. But to return:

The ſeven impriſoned biſhops, after about a week's confinement, demanded the benefit of the Habeas Corpus act, which the court either could not, or did not chuſe to deny them. They were releaſed from the Tower on the ſeventeenth of June, being bailed in their own recognizances, the archbiſhop in two hundred pounds, and the other biſhops in one hundred pounds each. Their trial came on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month, when an infinite croud of people of all ranks attended at Weſtminſter-hall: the cauſe continued ten hours. Two of the judges, Wright and Allebone, gave their opinion that the petition was a libel; and the two others, Holloway and Powel, that it was not. The jury ſtaid ſo long out, that the court was adjourned, and the foreman brought in the verdict next morning, that the defendants were Not Guilty: at which words the whole hall reſounded with ſhouts of joy: the news flew inſtantly through all quarters of the city: bells were rung all day; and the night began and ended with bonfires and illuminations, as if the nation had gained ſome great and ſignal victory: a glorious one indeed it was for the proteſtant religion and the church of England, whoſe biſhops now enjoyed a greater triumph than they had known ſince the Reformation. The nation ſeemed deſirous to make them amends for the cruel inſults it had offered them, when, ſeduced by the artifices of Cromwell and his party, not quite fifty years before, it had driven them from all rank and dignity in the ſtate, and loaded them with the moſt bitter contumely, for having obſerved the ſame conduct as they did on this occaſion.

The rejoicings for the delivery of the perſecuted prelates were not confined to the metropolis alone; they reached the camp on Hounſlow-heath. The ſoldiers no ſooner received the news of the verdict given by the jury, than, without paying any regard to the preſence of the king, who was then dining with lord Feverſham in his tent, they burſt forth into the moſt extravagant marks of tumultuous joy. When the king was made acquainted with the reaſon, he could not conceal his diſpleaſure: he had hitherto fixed his chief dependence on the ſubmiſſion of his army to his will. This incident awakened in his mind ſeveral uneaſy ſuſpicions: he reſolved to be fully ſatisfied, by putting their attachment to an infallible teſt; but here he received the greateſt mortification of all: for beginning with the lord Litchfield's regiment, which he ordered to be drawn up in his preſence, he commanded ſuch officers and ſoldiers as would not contribute to the repeal of the teſt and penal laws, to ground their arms; when, to the king's great ſurprize, the whole regiment, except two captains, and ſome few popiſh ſoldiers, laid down their firelocks; at which he was ſo aſtoniſhed, that he ſtood ſpeechleſs for ſome minutes; then bidding them take up their arms, he told them with a ſullen air, "That for the future he would not do them the honour to aſk their advice." He ſaw now that it would only be expoſing himſelf to contempt to try the reſt of his forces, and therefore had recourſe to another method, ſuch as he thought would effectually anſwer his end: this was, to diſcard the greateſt part of the officers and ſoldiers who were proteſtants, and ſubſtitute catholics in their place; a ſcheme which, to the unſpeakable happineſs of this nation, he had not time to accompliſh, though he began it in part, by new-modelling the regiment commanded by his own natural ſon the duke of Berwick; but this only ſerved to diſguſt the army the more. The navy ſhewed itſelf as little diſpoſed to favour the views of the king as the military had done: for vice-admiral Strickland having ordered maſs to be ſaid on board his ſhip in the Downs, the ſailors were enraged to ſuch a degree, that it was with great difficulty they could be hindered from ſeizing the prieſts, and throwing them overboard. James, however, ſtill continued obſtinate in his purpoſe; and as he ſaw that his deſign of new-modelling the army would be liable to conſiderable obſtructions and delays, he ſent for ſix regiments over from Ireland, the greateſt part of them compoſed of papiſts in whom he could entirely confide, and ordered three thouſand men to advance out of Scotland.

Such was the ſituation of affairs, when the nation, now fully convinced of the king's deſigns to ſubvert the conſtitution both in church and ſtate, began in earneſt to think of means for preſerving their religion and liberties from being utterly deſtroyed; and many perſons of eminence and intereſt in the kingdom, as well clergy as laity, who had gone very great lengths in ſupport of the kingly authority, thought it was better to retract their doctrine of non-reſiſtance and paſſive obedience, than bring their country to the brink of ruin by an obſtinate adherence to it; and entered into a ſtrict union with the non-conformiſts for their mutual ſecurity, and to take meaſures for inviting over the prince of Orange, in order to put him at the head of the party againſt the king. The prince no ſooner received an intimation of this diſpoſition in the Engliſh to ſhake off the yoke of his father-in-law's government, than he adroitly ſet himſelf to work to make his own advantage of it. He had ſent over Zuyleſtein, one of his gentlemen of the bed-chamber, to congratulate James on the birth of his ſon. This miniſter had orders to ſound ſome of the principal perſons of the kingdom on this great ſubject. Zuyleſtein ſoon informed him that the conjuncture was entirely favourable to his views; that the whole nation were ready to riſe, and only wanted a chief to head them. Several of the nobility and gentry going abroad on various pretences *, waited on the prince at the Hague, and con-

* Thoſe who went over to Holland, and there promoted this enterprize, among many others, were the following; Mr. Sidney, brother to colonel Algernon Sidney (beheaded in the late reign); ſir Robert Peyton; ſir Rowland Gwyn; Dr.

confirmed this intelligence. As a frequent correſpondence paſſed between England and Holland, the prince of Orange and the Engliſh proteſtants kept up a mutual intercourſe, and by letters and meſſages concerted that plan, which at length was maturated, to the happy deliverance of this nation from a papal yoke.

The ſituation of affairs in Europe at this time contributed not a little to the ſucceſs of this deſign. The manifeſt partiality of James in favour of the ambitious views of Lewis XIV. had alarmed not only the proteſtants, but the Roman catholic powers likewiſe, and they dreaded nothing ſo much as a firm coalition between the two courts of England and France: they ſaw no hopes of ſafety for themſelves but in a revolution in this kingdom. Innocent XI. who was known by the name of the Proteſtant Pope, only on account of the wiſe diſregard he had ſhewn to the mad attempts of James to introduce popery into England, was, if we may believe contemporary hiſtorians, far from being averſe to the intended reformation in our government. The deſign, however, was managed with great ſecrecy at firſt, both at London and at the Hague; but when it came to be known, was approved by the whole nation, nay indeed by all Europe, France only excepted. The prince of Orange, however, would not engage in this matter till he had received a formal invitation from ſuch perſons whom he knew to have every thing to riſque in caſe of their enterprize miſcarrying. This invitation was brought over by Zuyleſtein on his return from his embaſſy, and then the prince readily accepted of the proffer made him, to undertake the defence of the nation againſt the machinations of their ſovereign. Would it be a treſpaſs on the regard we owe to William III. to ſay, that perhaps ſelf-intereſt, and the deſire of reigning over ſo great a kingdom, contributed as much as his love for liberty and the proteſtant religion, to induce him to accept of the proffered chieftainſhip over the diſcontented Engliſh?

It is certain that he could not have choſen a more fortunate time for his enterprize, as the people were then extremely incenſed by the impriſonment of the biſhops, which was juſtly conſidered as a glaring inſult, not only to the church, but even to all the proteſtants in the kingdom.

The leading men who had joined in the invitation of the prince of Orange, diſperſed themſelves in their different counties, in order to gain the populace in their party, and ripen them into a diſpoſition for a general revolt. All this time, neither the king nor his council ſeem to have had the leaſt ſuſpicion of what was tranſacting. William, on his ſide, conducted the neceſſary preparations with admirable prudence and policy. Under pretext of interfering in the diſpute then on foot between prince Clement of Bavaria, and the cardinal of Furſtemberg, about the election of an archbiſhop of Cologne, he formed an army of nine thouſand men, which was encamped near Nimeguen; a fleet of fifty men of war, and a ſufficient number of tranſports, were by degrees aſſembled in the Dutch harbours, and waited only for orders to take on board the troops deſigned for the landing in England. All this was tranſacted with a circumſpection and addreſs, that ſufficiently evidence the great capacity and abilities of the prince of Orange, who could conceal theſe public preparations under ſuch pretences, that no one could as yet diſcover his intentions. Doubtleſs he was greatly indebted to the complaiſance of the States, who on this occaſion heartily concurred with him in all his meaſures. The prince, after he had determined to put himſelf at the head of the malecontent party in England, had deſired the Engliſh lords at the Hague to demand aſſiſtance of the States in the name of all England. Their High Mightineſſes did not want much perſuaſion to yield to a requeſt of this kind: they were equally concerned in the affair with the Engliſh themſelves, as the ruin of Holland would doubtleſs have ſoon followed the ſlavery of England, conſidering the deſigns of Lewis XIV. and his cloſe union with James. Nor was it from his own countrymen only that the prince of Orange received countenance and aſſiſtance in this enterprize; many of the neighbouring princes, the electors of Brandenbourg and Saxony, the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, and the whole houſe of Lunenburg, agreed to aſſemble their forces, and protect the United Provinces, during the abſence of their Stadtholder.

It was a conſiderable time before king James would believe that his ſon-in-law had conceived any deſign againſt him, or that the forces the prince was aſſembling were deſtined to invade England. Lewis, however, having received intelligence from the count d'Avaux, his ambaſſador at the Hague, of what was likely to be the event of theſe great preparations, tranſmitted the information to James, and at the ſame time made him an offer of any number of troops he ſhould think proper for his defence; or that he would immediately ſend over fifteen thouſand men, if the king of England would put Portſmouth into their hands, in order to preſerve to them a free communication with France. Theſe affairs were laid before the council; but the earl of Sunderland, who was prime miniſter, and is, not without reaſon, ſuppoſed to have already entered into a correſpondence with the prince of Orange, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the accepting them. He alleged in ſupport of his opinion, that a ſmall body of foreign troops would do more hurt than good, as they would be ſufficient to excite the murmurs of the people, but not to keep them in ſubjection. The Engliſh ſoldiers, he ſaid, naturally averſe to be commanded by, or even act in concert with, foreigners, would take every opportunity to deſert: that, on the other hand, it would require no leſs than forty thouſand men to prevent or quell the oppoſition of the diſcontented part of the nation: that ſuch an army would naturally receive all its orders from the court of France; and while it kept

Dr. Burnet; lord Wharton; colonel Sidney, uncle to the earl of Sunderland; lord Dunblain, ſon to the earl of Danby; the earls of Shrewſbury and Macclesfield; admiral Herbert; his couſin Mr. Herbert; Mr. Ruſſel; Major Wildman; the lords Mordaunt and Pawlet; and the earl of Wiltſhire. The principal perſons with whom they correſponded in England were, the earls of Danby, Devonſhire, and Dorſetſhire; the lords Loveland and Delamere; the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Halifax, the marquis of Wincheſter, the lord Willoughby, Mr. Leiceſter, Mr. Hambden, Mr. Powle, and others; with ſeveral eminent citizens of London. Burnet. Rapin. Echard.

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the Engliſh under awe, would reduce the king himſelf to little better than a viceroy to Lewis XIV. Theſe arguments, though dictated by perfidy, carried with them an appearance of ſound reaſoning: the council ſubſcribed to the miniſter's opinion, and James refuſed, though with many expreſſions of gratitude, this important offer.

Still Lewis was loth to forſake his friend and ally, in whoſe welfare he conſidered himſelf as deeply intereſted. He ſent orders to d'Avaux to remonſtrate to the States in his name, againſt the preparations which they ſeemed to be making for a deſcent upon England. The ſtrict friendſhip and alliance, ſaid the French miniſter, which ſubſiſts between the two monarchs, will make Lewis conſider every attempt againſt his ally as an act of hoſtility againſt himſelf. This remonſtrance, far from intimidating, ſerved only to incenſe the States. They demanded, with great vehemence, What was the purport of the late alliance between France and England, which had been ſo ſecretly concluded? Whether it was of the ſame nature with the former; intended for the deſtruction of the proteſtant religion? If it was, it then behoved them inſtantly to provide for their ſafety, and to defeat thoſe projects which were formed againſt them *. James himſelf was vexed with Lewis for taking this raſh ſtep; and finding that he had been adviſed to it by Skelton, the Engliſh envoy at the Hague, he ſent for that miniſter home, and committed him to the Tower, at the ſame time publicly diſclaiming all alliance with France, and his having any knowlege of the memorial. Whatever truth there might be in this aſſertion, neither the States nor his own ſubjects gave credit to it: the Engliſh in particular were more incenſed than ever againſt their ſovereign, whom they firmly believed to have entered into a plan with the French king for reducing them to entire ſlavery.

While the unhappy James, diſtracted by a thouſand uneaſy apprehenſions, was conſidering how beſt he might retrieve his affairs, he received, towards the end of September, certain advice of the prince of Orange's deſign, and that he might ſoon expect to ſee the Dutch fleet upon his coaſts, with a land army on board, accompanied by ſeveral Engliſh noblemen and gentlemen of diſtinction, who had hitherto concealed themſelves there. James was perfectly thunderſtruck at receiving this news: neither himſelf nor his council could propoſe any poſſible means of reſiſting the invaſion. The proteſtants, who compoſed the bulk of the nation, he knew, looked upon themſelves as victims devoted to ruin, and would therefore naturally join the prince in their own defence: nay, it was more than probable he was coming over upon their expreſs invitation. Both the fleet and land forces had ſufficiently diſcovered their little inclination to ſupport the king in the execution of his deſigns, or rather their reſolution to oppoſe him to the utmoſt. What then was to be done? There was little time for deliberation: the ſtorm was driving ſwiftly on, and it behoved him to have immediate recourſe to ſome ſhelter againſt its fury. James then reſolved to throw himſelf upon the church of England, and by revoking ſeveral of his late unpopular acts, endeavour to retrieve the good will and affection of his ſubjects. With this view he conſulted immediately with the biſhops then in London, aboliſhed the commiſſion for eccleſiaſtical affairs, took off the biſhop of London's ſuſpenſion, reſtored the city to its charter, removed popiſh magiſtrates and put proteſtants in their room, and took ſome other ſteps towards the redreſs of grievances. Theſe however had not the deſired effect: they came too late, and were generally looked upon as the reſult of fear, rather than of inclination or a real change of ſentiments. James ſeems to have been at ſome pains to confirm his people in this opinion; for notwithſtanding the preſent tickliſh ſituation of his affairs, he had the madneſs to name the pope to be one of the godfathers to his new-born ſon.

Meanwhile the prince of Orange laboured inceſſantly at the compleating of his armament; and when all things were in readineſs, he publiſhed a manifeſto, explaining the true motives of his undertaking. Copies of this paper were ſent over here, and diſtributed all over the kingdom. In this declaration the prince ſolemnly diſclaimed all thoughts of conqueſt, or of diſturbing the king, his father in-law, in the enjoyment of his ſovereignty, declaring that his deſign was only to maintain the proteſtant laws and liberties of theſe kingdoms, which had been ſo openly violated, and to procure the aſſembling of a free and lawful parliament, that might at once ſettle all the rights of the ſubject, and the prerogatives of the crown, on a firm and unalterable baſis; and to this, he ſaid, he had been invited "by a great many lords, both ſpiritual and temporal, and by many gentlemen, and other ſubjects of all ranks."

At the ſame time, the States-General publiſhed a paper, containing the reaſons which had induced them to lend their ſhips and men to the prince of Orange. Theſe were, the invitations his highneſs had received from the nobility, gentry, and clergy of England, and the apprehenſions that king James, after he ſhould have ſubjected his own kingdom to his arbitrary will, would join with the French monarch in reducing the United Provinces to ſlavery, and totally extirpating the proteſtant religion.

On the twenty-firſt of October, the prince of Orange ſet ſail for England with the Dutch fleet, conſiſting of about fifty men of war of the line, twenty-five frigates, as many fire-ſhips, and between three and four hundred victuallers and tranſports, having on board four thouſand horſe and nine thouſand foot, and accompanied by the Engliſh nobility and gentry already mentioned, and others; with count Naſſau, general of the horſe; count Solmes, colonel of the foot-guards; count Stirum; Mynheer Bentinck; Mynheer Overquerque; and Mynheer Zuyleſtein: as alſo the famous marſhal Schomberg, and a great number of French officers, who had left their native country, and taken refuge in Holland on account of religion. Admiral Herbert, who had gone over to the prince from England, led the van of the fleet: the prince commanded in the center, with a flag flying at his main-maſt-head, on which were diſplayed his own arms, and thoſe of his conſort, ſurrounded with this motto, THE PROTESTANT RELIGION, AND THE LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND: underneath, the words JE MAINTIENDRAI, the device of the houſe of Naſſau. This fleet had ſailed but a few leagues when the wind

* Hume.

came

came about to the weſt, and blew ſo violent a ſtorm, that in a very few hours there were not four ſhips to be ſeen together. The ſcattered veſſels made ſome for one port, ſome for another. Happily not one was loſt; but upon the news of this diſaſter arriving here, the court party immediately ſet their hirelings to work, to repreſent the fleet as ſo miſerably diſabled, that it could not poſſibly be in a condition to put to ſea again till the latter end of the ſpring. On this occaſion James acted as if he had really believed the fiction of his own raiſing; for he inſtantly began to recal ſome of his late popular acts, and thereby diſcovered what was to be expected from him, if once he ſhould find himſelf freed from the preſent danger. Much about this time the king appears to have diſcovered that the earl of Sunderland had played him falſe, by holding a correſpondence with the prince of Orange; for in this month of October that nobleman was diſmiſſed from his two employments of ſecretary of ſtate and preſident of the council. The earl thought proper, ſome time afterwards, to publiſh an apology for his conduct.

James had been not a little alarmed at that expreſſion in the prince's manifeſto, where he ſays, "He was earneſtly invited over by ſeveral of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and by many gentlemen, and others:" and thereupon ſending for the archbiſhop, and as many of the prelates as could be aſſembled, he demanded of them, If that part of the prince's declaration was true? The biſhops were a little confounded: however, they replied by many general profeſſions of duty and affection to his majeſty. The king then aſked them, if they would ſign an abhorrence of the intended invaſion? adding, that this would be the moſt convincing proof they could give him of their loyalty, and of eminent ſervice to him in the preſent poſture of affairs, by the effect it would have on the minds of his enemies, both within and without doors. A declaration againſt the prince of Orange, he ſaid, was then in the preſs, and nothing retarded the publication but waiting for their paper of abhorrence to be annexed to it. He then diſmiſſed them from his preſence, after having aſſigned them a ſhort day for giving in their anſwer. On the day appointed the biſhops again waited on the king at Whitehall, when, upon their entering the preſence, "Well, my lords, aſked his majeſty with ſome impatience, Where is your paper?" "We humbly beg of your majeſty, replied they, to hold us excuſed from writing any thing of the nature your majeſty was pleaſed to mention to us, or for making a particular defence to a general accuſation, leſt we ſhould thereby give the firſt precedent of that kind againſt the privilege of peers: moreover, we humbly conceive, that our profeſſion being to promote peace, it belongeth not to us to declare war, eſpecially againſt a prince ſo nearly allied to the crown." This anſwer threw the king into a violent tranſport of rage; and finding that the prelates continued firm to their reſolution, in ſpite of menaces or ſoothings, he ordered them to withdraw, not without ſenſible marks of his diſpleaſure. But to return to the prince of Orange.

The damage the ſcattered fleet ſuſtained was ſo ſmall, that the prince was ſoon in a condition to put to ſea again, which he did on November 1, and ſtood to the northward, intending to land in ſome part of Yorkſhire, near the mouth of the Humber; but the wind blowing ſtrong at eaſt, they put before it, and made to the weſtward; and on the third of November the fleet entered the Channel, and lay by between Calais and Dover: the king's fleet, under the earl of Dartmouth, lay at anchor at the Gunfleet; but the wind blew ſo hard, that they could not get under way to aſſail the enemy. Indeed, it is more than probable that the admiral, knowing the diſpoſition of the ſeamen in general to be averſe to the court and its meaſures, was apprehenſive of putting all upon a ſtake by a precipitate engagement. Be that as it may, the prince, making ſail again, came off the Iſle of Wight in the evening; and orders were given not to over-run Dartmouth in the night. The next morning, however, to their great mortification, they found the wind and current, for which they had not made proper allowances, had carried them paſt both Dartmouth and Torbay. They gave all over now for loſt, as they ſaw nothing left but to winter at Plymouth, or ſome of the more weſterly ports, which would give the king time to provide for his defence in ſuch a manner as might overturn all their projects. In the midſt of theſe diſagreeable reflections, the wind, on a ſudden flew about to the ſouth, and carried the whole fleet in leſs than four hours into Torbay. The infantry was landed that evening; and their debarkation was hardly completed, when the wind, ſhifting again, blew a ſtorm from the weſt, which prevented the Lord Dartmouth's purſuing them. The Dutch fleet lay ſo land-locked, that the gale had no effect upon it: the Engliſh, on the contrary, unable to keep the ſea, were obliged to run into harbour for ſafety. This is the ſubſtance of Dr. Burnet's account of this expedition, who was on board the fleet in quality of prince's chaplain *.

The prince, having refreſhed his troops, put them in march, and advanced to Exeter, which city he entered on the 8th of November. He remained there till the 15th, without being joined by any perſon of condition, inſomuch that his ſpirit again began to flag; and it was actually debated in the council, whether they ſhould not reimbark, and return to Holland. But at length Sir Edward Seymour, Major Barrington, and ſeveral other gentlemen of the county of Devon and Somerſet, made their appearance at his highneſs's quarters with tenders of their aſſiſtance. The prince received them with the greateſt politeneſs and cordiality. Soon after he had the ſatisfaction of finding himſelf joined by the earl of Abington, the Lord Ruſſel (ſon to the earl of Wharton), Mr. Godfrey, and Mr. Howe; and to hear, that the Lord Delamere had taken arms for him in Cheſhire; that the earl of Danby had ſecured York, and with the earl of

* This right reverend father tells us, that going to the prince's quarters after landing, his highneſs took him by the hand, and aſked him, if he did not believe in predeſtination? To which the doctor replied, "He could never forget that providence which had appeared ſo ſignally for them." Burnet.

This circumſtance of the ſame wind being favourable to the Dutch, and unfavourale to the king's fleet, gave occaſion to apply the two famous lines of Claudian to the prince of Orange:

"O! nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther,
"Et conjurati veniunt ad claſſica venti."

Which may be thus rendered:

O youth! high favour'd of indulgent heaven,
To whom the winds for miniſters are given!

Bath, governor of that city, had declared in his favour. The earl of Devonshire did the same in Derby. In fine, every day furnished fresh instances of the attachment of the nation to a prince whom they now looked upon as their deliverer from popery and arbitrary power. Sir Edward Seymour, upon his first coming in, had drawn up an association, in the name of himself and friends, to stand by the prince and one another in the cause they had engaged in, which was afterwards signed by great numbers of all ranks throughout the kingdom.

Upon the first news of the prince's landing, the two archbishops, with five other prelates; the dukes of Grafton and Ormond; the earls of Dorset, Clare, Clarendon, Rochester, Burlington, and Anglesey; the lords Newport, Paget, Chandois, and Ossulston, all of them then residing in London, drew up a petition to his Majesty; "intreating him to call with all speed a free parliament, and to take some measures for satisfying the prince of Orange, and for preventing the effusion of Christian blood." This petition was presented on the 17th of November by the two archbishops and the bishops of Ely and Rochester. The king returned an answer, in which he assured them, that there was nothing he more passionately desired than to have a free parliament; and that, as soon as the prince of Orange should have quitted the realm, he would convoke such an one; but could not think of doing it while an enemy was in the heart of the kingdom, and could command so many returns.

The same day the king set out for Salisbury, where his army had its head-quarters, with a view to oppose the prince. On his arrival in the camp, he had the mortification to hear, that the Lord Cornbury, son to the earl of Clarendon, and colonel of the dragoons, had carried with him his own regiment and three others to the prince at Exeter. The other principal officers of the army gave his majesty to understand by their general, the earl of Feversham, that though they were ready to stand by his majesty to the last drop of their blood on any other occasion, they could not answer to their consciences to fight against a prince who was come over to secure to them the enjoyment of their religion and properties. Soon after the duke of Grafton, and several other officers of distinction, went over to the prince; and James finding that there was no relying upon his troops, and probably apprehensive that they might deliver him up to his son-in-law, set out for London, after having published a proclamation, promising pardon to all his subjects who had taken up arms, if they would return to their duty. On his way back to his capital, he was deserted by the prince of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, and, what was still more extraordinary, by the Lord Churchill, who had owed his whole fortune to the king's bounty, by whom he had been raised from the rank of a page to an high command in the army, and had afterwards been created a peer. This ingratitude was deeply felt by James, but a more severe blow awaited him; for when he arrived at Whitehall, he understood that his daughter, Anne princess of Denmark, had left the town the night before, and, with the bishop of London, was gone to join the prince. The wretched king was no way prepared for so astonishing an event. He burst into tears when he received the affecting news; and, in the distress of his heart, he exclaimed, "God help me! my own children have forsaken me."

The prince of Orange, having received advice of the king's return to London, advanced with his army to Sherborn, and from thence to Salisbury, where he made a triumphant entry, the king's forces having before retired to Reading. In this distress the king assembled all the Protestant peers about town, and desired their advice*, who proposed the calling a free parliament, and to send commissioners to treat with the prince. This the king readily complied with; the lord chancellor was directed to issue out writs accordingly; Papists were removed from the posts and offices they held about the court; Sir Edward Hales, lieutenant of the Tower, who was one of that communion, was displaced, and succeeded by Sir Bevil Skelton; and father Peters, the king's confessor, seeing the storm rise so high, wisely consulted his safety by an escape into France.

The marquis of Halifax, the earl of Northampton, and the Lord Godolphin, were sent to treat with the prince, who delivered to them a paper containing certain proposals, the substance whereof was, that a free parliament should be called; that all Papists should be disarmed, and dispossessed of all employments they enjoyed; that all proclamations against himself should be recalled; that the command of the Tower should be put into the hands of the lord-mayor; that if the king should think proper to reside in London during the time of the session of parliament, the prince should likewise reside in the same place with an equal number of guards, or that the king and he should reside at an equal distance from London; that each army should be removed thirty miles from the city, and that no new forces should be brought into the kingdom; that Tilbury-fort should be put into the hands of the city magistrates; that, until the parliament should meet, part of the revenue should be assigned for the maintenance of the prince's army; and that, in order to prevent an invasion from abroad, Portsmouth should be committed to the charge of some person equally agreeable to the king and the prince.

When these proposals were presented to James, he affected to think them as moderate, or even more so than he could have expected in the present posture of his affairs; but in all probability his real sentiments were otherwise, and that finding himself attacked and pursued by one of his sons-in-law, abandoned by the other, deserted by his own daughters and bosom friends, and hated by his subjects, he looked upon his fortune as desperate, and therefore resolved upon flight, the last resource of a vanquished prince. It is said he was chiefly instigated to this resolution by his popish counsellors, who dreaded nothing so much as the

* We are told, that on this occasion the king, addressing himself to the earl of Bedford, "My lord, said he, you are a good man, have great influence, and can do me signal service." "Alas! replied the earl, I am a feeble old man, very incapable of performing any considerable service; but I had a son, he added with a sigh, who, if now alive, could serve your majesty in a more effectual manner." He alluded to Lord Russel, who, towards the end of the late reign, had fallen a sacrifice to the king's (then duke of York's) vengeance. James was so thunderstruck with this answer, that he remained for some time speechless. Burnet. Hume.

meeting of a parliament, where they were conſcious they ſhould be rendered incapable of ever having any ſhare in the adminiſtration again, and perhaps puniſhed for their attempts to ſubvert the government and the eſtabliſhed religion.

By whatever motives James was actuated, it is certain, that while every thing ſeemed to tend to an accommodation, and that the nobility were ordered to aſſemble to agree upon meaſures for re-eſtabliſhing the peace of the kingdom; the king, having ſent away the queen and the prince privately to Graveſend, from whence they took ſhipping, and paſſed over to France, on the eleventh of December diſappeared himſelf in the night-time, accompanied only by Sir Edward Hales, Mr. Sheldon, and Mr. Labadie. He left a letter behind him for his general, the earl of Feverſham, wherein he ſays, "if he could have relied upon all his troops, he ſhould not have been driven to this extremity, and would at leaſt have hazarded one battle for the maintenance of his crown and dignity; but as matters ſtood with the army, he thought it madneſs to venture himſelf at their head againſt the prince of Orange: he thanked the general and all the officers that had been true to him; deſired them not to hazard their lives and fortunes by an unavailing oppoſition; only cautioning them not to enter into an aſſociation againſt him."

Nothing could equal the ſurprize which ſeized the city, the court, and the kingdom, upon the diſcovery of the king's flight. The more effectually to increaſe the confuſion which James knew muſt be the natural conſequence of his taking ſuch a ſtep, he named not any one who ſhould in his abſence conduct the affairs of the public: he threw the great ſeal into the river; he burned all the writs which had been made out for the election of a new parliament; and cauſed a caveat to be entered againſt making uſe of thoſe that were actually iſſued. Feverſham was no ſooner informed of his majeſty's retreat, than he diſbanded the troops which were in the neighbourhood; and, without either paying or diſarming them, let them looſe to pillage and plunder at pleaſure. The London mob now drew together, and pulled down the maſs-houſes; and the houſes of ſome foreign ambaſſadors did not eſcape their fury, from a notion that many rich Catholics had depoſited their moſt valuable effects there. Jefferies, the chancellor, who had hid himſelf in diſguiſe at a houſe in Wapping, waiting for a ſhip to carry him over to France, was diſcovered and ſeized by them, and treated ſo ſeverely, that the lord-mayor ſent him to the Tower to prevent his being pulled in pieces. There he died ſhortly after of the bruiſes he had received, and ſo eſcaped the exemplary puniſhment he had ſo notoriouſly deſerved. What ſtill increaſed the confuſion, was a report that prevailed, at one and the ſame inſtant, all over England, on the 12th of December, that the diſbanded Iriſh ſoldiers of Feverſham's army were burning of towns and cutting of throats every-where, and that nothing leſs than a general maſſacre of the Proteſtants was expected: the people were at their wits end; the city was illuminated, that the enemy might not take the advantage of the darkneſs to ſurprize it; and every man was in arms, to defend his family from the inſults of the cruel Iriſh. But the next day diſcovering the falſity of the report, the people recovered from their conſternation. It is generally ſuppoſed this was a ſtratagem made uſe of to create in the people a dread of popery and of King James's adminiſtration. If ſo, it certainly anſwered all the ends of the contrivers; and did more towards preventing that king's reſtoration, than the prince of Orange's troops.

In this public exigency the lords, both ſpiritual and temporal, then in London, together with ſome perſons of diſtinction, held a conſultation in Guild-hall with the lord-mayor and aldermen. They reſolved to adhere to the prince of Orange, and ſent deputies to him with this reſolution, ſubſcribed by all the members of the aſſembly. They then took the keys of the Tower from Skelton, and appointed the Lord Lucas governor of that fortreſs till the prince's pleaſure ſhould be known. They alſo publiſhed a proclamation, as did likewiſe the prince of Orange, requiring the officers of the army to re-aſſemble the diſbanded troops, and wait in quarters for further orders; the day after which, viz. on the 14th of December, his royal highneſs the prince arrived at Windſor in his way to London to ſettle with the lords, by whom he was expected, the affairs of the nation, on a ſuppoſition that the king had gone over to the continent, and entirely reſigned the reins of government; but to the no ſmall ſurprize and indeed mortification of the prince of Orange, news ſuddenly arrived, that his majeſty had been diſcovered at Feverſham, in Kent, on board a ſhip in which he was waiting for a fair wind to carry him over to France; and that after ſuffering ſeveral indignities from the populace of the place, who, not knowing his perſon, had miſtaken him for ſome Papiſt of quality making his eſcape, he was brought on ſhore, and lodged in the town. The peers, hearing his majeſty was ſtill in his dominions, ſent down four of their number, viz. the earls of Middleton, Ayleſbury, Yarmouth, and Feverſham, with a detachment of the guards, to attend his majeſty to London, whither he returned on the 16th of December. The populace, touched with compaſſion for his unhappy fate, received him with ſhouts and acclamations of joy. An expreſs was immediately diſpatched to the prince of Orange, to acquaint him with the return of his majeſty to his capital. How little agreeable this intelligence was to his highneſs, may be gathered from his actually ſending Mynheer Zuyleſtein to deſire the king would approach no nearer than Rocheſter; but the meſſage arrived too late. Indeed, Dr. Burnet ſcruples not to aſſure us, "That the prince of Orange had much rather his father-in-law had met with no interruption in his intended voyage."

The king, being come to Whitehall, began to reſume his former authority; and the ſame night cauſed an order of council to be publiſhed for ſuppreſſing tumults, and preventing the demoliſhing and plundering of houſes, and other kinds of outrages. The next day he ſent an invitation to the prince by the earl of Feverſham to come to St. James's Palace with what number of guards he ſhould think proper, that they might confer together for the redreſs of the grievances complained of. The only anſwer his highneſs returned to this meſſage, was the detaining the bearer, the earl of Feverſham, priſoner. The Dutch guards were ordered to take poſſeſſion of Whitehall, and to turn out all the Engliſh; the lords Halifax, Shrewſbury, and Delamere, were ſent, in the prince's name,

name, at midnight, requeſting him to remove early in the morning to Ham, a ſeat of the ducheſs of Lauderdale's. The wretched James had by this time loſt all remains of ſpirit or reſolution: he patiently ſubmitted to the ignominious treatment offered him (for ſuch it certainly was, however partial prejudice may have varniſhed it over), and contented himſelf with requeſting that he might be allowed to remove to Rocheſter inſtead of Ham. This was readily granted: it was indeed the very thing the ruling powers deſigned to bring about: they had readily foreſeen, that by convincing him he was no longer regarded as a ſovereign, and even alarming him with fears for his perſonal ſafety, they urged him into that meaſure which was moſt ſuitable for anſwering their purpoſes, a ſecond flight. It is plain that the ſtratagem ſucceeded; for the king, after loitering a few days at Rocheſter under the protection of a Dutch guard, and ſeeing no likelihood of being invited to keep poſſeſſion of the throne, privately embarked, on the 23d of December, on board a frigate in the river, which, after a ſhort paſſage, landed him ſafely at Ambleteuſe in Picardy, from whence he repaired to St. Germains, where he was received by the French monarch with the greateſt marks of friendſhip and eſteem.

King James left a paper behind him, containing his reaſons for withdrawing a ſecond time; wherein he ſays, "The world could not wonder at his conduct, after the prince of Orange had made the earl of Feverſham priſoner, whom he ſent to treat in a friendly manner with him, and commanding his own guards to take poſſeſſion of Whitehall at eleven at night, without acquainting him with it; and even ſending him an order at midnight, when he was a-bed, to be gone. After this, he had little to hope for from one who had invaded his kingdom, and called the legitimacy of his ſon in queſtion, appealing to all that knew him, and even to the prince himſelf, if they could believe him guilty of ſo unnatural a villainy. He ſaid he was born free, and deſired to remain ſo; and for that reaſon had withdrawn himſelf again, but ſo as to be within call, whenever the nation's eyes ſhould be open, to ſee how they had been abuſed and impoſed upon by the ſpecious pretences of religion and property *."

Such was the farewel which James II. took of his ſubjects, after having governed them three years, nine months, and eleven days; and here we may properly fix the period of this unfortunate monarch's reign, which might have been as happy as any of his predeceſſors, had not his miſtaken notions of prerogative, his exceſſive bigotry to the religion of Rome, and an inflexible ſeverity of temper, hurried him into meaſures which rendered his government intolerable to a free and generous people, who could no longer ſubmit to a prince, whom they ſaw altogether guided by the violent counſels of a popiſh jeſuitical faction, and blindly adopting their enſlaving ſuperſtition.

Of fourteen children this king had by his two wives, Anne Hyde, daughter to the earl of Clarendon, and Maria d'Eſte, daughter to the duke of Modena, three only ſurvived him, viz.

Mary, his eldeſt daughter, born the thirtieth of April, 1662, and married to William-Henry of Naſſau, prince of Orange, afterwards king of England.

Anne, his ſecond daughter, both by his firſt wife, born the ſixth day of February, 1664, and married to his royal highneſs George prince of Denmark, ſecond ſon to Frederick III. king of Denmark, afterwards queen of England.

By his ſecond queen he had one ſon;

James Francis Edward (whoſe birth was diſputed) known commonly by the title of the Chevalier de St. George, and in England by the name of the Pretender, who fixed his reſidence at Rome, where he died in the month of February of this preſent year 1766, aged ſeventy-eight.

King James the Second's natural iſſue was as follows:

By Mrs. Arabella Churchill, ſiſter of John duke of Marlborough, afterwards married to colonel Godfrey, he had, 1. James Fitz-James, grandee of Spain, mareſchal of France, knight of the Golden Fleece, commonly called duke of Berwick, outlawed in 1695.

2. Henry Fitz-James, commonly called the Grand Prior, born 1673, outlawed in 1695; lieutenant-general and admiral of the French gallies. He died in France, December 7, 1702.

3. Henrietta, born 1670, who married Henry lord Waldegrave, 1683.

By Mrs. Catherine Sedley, daughter of ſir Charles Sedley, baronet, created baroneſs of Darlington, and counteſs of Dorcheſter, afterwards married to Collier, earl of Portmore, he had Catherine Darnley, born 1681. She married, firſt, James Anneſley, earl of Angleſey, in October 1699; and after his death, ſecondly, John Sheffield duke of Buckinghamſhire and Normandy, March 1, 1705; by whom ſhe had Edmund duke of Buckingham, born January 11, 1716, who died in 1742.

* Rapin. Burnet.

INTERREGNUM, or rather the Prince of ORANGE's ADMINISTRATION.

AS ſoon as king James had thus left the kingdom, the lords took upon themſelves the government, and meeting in their houſe, choſe lord Halifax their ſpeaker. On the twenty-fifth of December, they agreed to addreſs the prince of Orange to take upon him the adminiſtration of all public affairs till a convention ſhould meet; for which they deſired him to iſſue out letters to the ſeveral counties, cities, or boroughs, directing them to chuſe ſuch a number of perſons to repreſent them as were of right to be ſent to parliament. They alſo iſſued an order for all papiſts to depart ten miles from the city of London, and not to remove above five miles from their habitations in the country. In order to give the greater weight to the proceedings of the lords, the prince of Orange publiſhed an order, deſiring all ſuch perſons as had been members in any of king Charles II's parliaments, and alſo the lord-mayor and aldermen, with fifty of the common-council of the city of London, to meet him at St. James's on the twenty-ſixth of December, which they accordingly did (there being about one hundred and ſixty of the old members) and repairing to the commons houſe, his highneſs made a ſpeech to them, deſiring their advice likewiſe as to the calling a free parliament, and the ſettlement of the nation. Whereupon this aſſembly reſolved upon the like addreſſes for calling a convention, and requeſting the prince to take upon him the adminiſtration of the government, as the lords had done. The prince returned an anſwer ſeverally to the lords and commons, ſignifying his compliance with their requeſt; and then the executive power was lodged in the hands of his highneſs, by the unanimous conſent of the great aſſembly of the nation.

His firſt acts of authority were, the iſſuing a declaration for the better collecting the public revenue, for withdrawing the Dutch troops out of their reſpective quarters to have the elections free, and another order, prohibiting all ſoldiers quartering in private houſes, without the owners conſent. He ſent orders to Mr. Barillon, the French ambaſſador, to depart the kingdom in twenty-four hours; and on the thirty-firſt of December publiſhed a proclamation, authorizing all juſtices of the peace, and other officers (not being papiſts) to act in their reſpective places till the meeting of the convention, or orders to the contrary. He borrowed 200,000 l. of the city of London to pay the forces that had been diſbanded by the earl of Feverſham, and re-aſſembled again; and he ſummoned the Scottiſh gentry and nobility about town to attend at St. James's the ſeventh of January, which they did, to the number of one hundred and ten, and joined in the like addreſs to his highneſs, with regard to the adminiſtration of all public affairs in Scotland, as the nobility and gentry of England had done with reſpect to their country; at the ſame time requeſting that his highneſs would be pleaſed to ſummon a general meeting of the ſtates for the fourteenth of March next enſuing. The prince returned them an anſwer, as he had done to the Engliſh: and at the ſame time, in compliance with one part of the addreſs of the lords and commons, he directed his attention towards the ſtate of affairs in Ireland, and ſent a ſummons to the earl of Tyrconnel, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, to ſubmit to the preſent adminiſtration; but that nobleman, preferring his fidelity to his lawful ſovereign to all other conſiderations, paid no regard to this citation.

In the mean time, the elections for members to compoſe the enſuing convention, went on rapidly in favour of the prince of Orange's party, though it muſt be allowed that the general diſpoſition of the nation operated wholly in this choice, there not being the leaſt ſhadow of reſtraint uſed for that purpoſe; and on the twenty-ſecond of January, 1689, that aſſembly met. The lords again choſe the marquis of Halifax for their ſpeaker, and the commons put Mr. Powle into their chair. To the two houſes thus aſſembled, the prince of Orange ſent ſeverally the following letter:

My lords and gentlemen,

"I have endeavoured to the utmoſt of my power to perform what was deſired from me, in order to the public peace and ſafety, and I do not know that any thing hath been omitted ſince the adminiſtration of affairs was put into my hands: it now lieth upon you to lay a foundation for the firm ſecurity of your religion, your laws, and your liberties. I do not doubt that by ſuch a full and free repreſentative of the nation as is now met, the ends of my declaration will be attained; and ſince it hath pleaſed God hitherto to bleſs my good intentions with ſo great ſucceſs, I truſt in him that he will compleat his whole work, by ſending a ſpirit of peace and union to influence our councils, that no interruption may be given to a happy and laſting ſettlement.

"The dangerous condition of the proteſtants in Ireland requiring a large and ſpeedy ſuccour, and the preſent ſtate of things abroad, oblige me to tell you, that next to the danger of unſeaſonable diviſions among yourſelves, nothing can be ſo fatal as too great a delay in your conſultations. The States, by whom I have been enabled to ſecure this nation, may ſuddenly feel the ill effects of it, both by being too long deprived of the ſervice of their troops which are now here, and of your early aſſiſtance againſt a powerful enemy, who hath declared a war againſt them. And as England is by treaty already engaged to help them upon ſuch exigences, ſo I am confident that their chearful concurrence to preſerve this kingdom, with ſo much hazard to themſelves, will meet with all the returns of friendſhip and aſſiſtance which may be expected from you as proteſtants and Engliſhmen, whenever their condition will require it.

Given at St. James's, the twenty-ſecond day of January, 1689." *

This letter being read, both houſes joined in an addreſs to the prince, acknowleging him, under God, the deliverer of the nation, approving of his taking the adminiſtration of the government, and

* Burnet. Rapin.

praying him to continue it. They then appointed a general thankſgiving, for the late happy deliverance from popery and ſlavery, and ordered a particular prayer to be inſerted therein for the prince of Orange.

In the mean time, the fugitive king, who with his queen and ſon were moſt generouſly treated by Lewis XIV. behaved in ſuch a manner as rendered him the object of contempt to all Europe. He kept no company but with jeſuits: he made them daily viſits at their college in St. Anthony's-ſtreet in Paris: he told them that he was one of their fraternity, and as ſuch deſired their prayers; and, what is ſtill more extraordinary, he ſaid the truth. He had got himſelf admitted into this order with certain ceremonies, by four Engliſh jeſuits, when duke of York. This weakneſs of mind in a prince, joined to the manner in which he had, or at leaſt was likely to loſe his crown, rendered him ſo deſpicable, that the French courtiers diverted themſelves with making ſongs and lampoons on him; nor did his being a Catholic, and having ſacrificed his all for that faith, gain him the more eſteem. The archbiſhop of Rheims, brother of Louvois the miniſter, ſaid openly in James's anti-chamber at St. Germain's, "Is not this a pious man to give up three kingdoms for a maſs*?"

In the midſt of theſe humiliations, Lewis endeavoured to buoy up his ſpirits by his immenſe liberality, and the noble preparations which he made for reſtoring him to his throne. James, ſomewhat rouſed from his lethargy by this generous and ſpirited conduct of his old friend and ally, or perhaps ſenſible of the prejudice his flight had done him, endeavoured to prevent the conſequences, and, if poſſible, recal his ſubjects to a ſenſe of their duty, and of the royal character he ſtill bore, by writing two letters to the houſes of the convention, nearly to the purport of that he had left behind him at Rocheſter, only adding a promiſe, on the word of a king, that he would, on his return to England, call a free parliament: he required their advice "what was fit to be done by him towards his returning;" and concluded with aſſurances of a pardon and act of oblivion to all his ſubjects who had departed from their allegiance, ſome few only excepted. Theſe letters, however, were returned unopened by each of the houſes. Whether or not theſe propoſals from a king, who, great as might be his demerits, had not as yet been legally depoſed, deſerved ſome degree of notice from his ſubjects, I leave others to determine. A doubt of James's ſincerity, and their fears for the Proteſtant religion, probably got the better of all regard to decorum on this occaſion, as the reſolutions they ſoon after came to ſeem to evince.

The commons having for ſome days diſcontinued their ſitting, met not again till the 28th of January, to give time to ſome of the members, then on the road, to come up to London. On that day Mr. Dolben made a long ſpeech to prove the vacancy of the throne by the voluntary deſertion of king James, when, after a debate of four or five hours, the houſe paſſed this memorable vote:

"That king James II. having endeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of Jeſuits and other wicked perſons, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the kingdom, hath abdicated the government; and that the throne is thereby become vacant."

The next day the commons farther voted, "That it hath been found by experience to be inconſiſtent with this proteſtant kingdom to be governed by a popiſh prince."

In the upper houſe, however, things did not go on quite ſo ſmoothly. There was a ſtrong party for a regency, among whom the earl of Nottingham was the chief. After great debates, it was carried to put the word "deſerted" in the room of "abdicated," and to leave out the words "and that the throne is thereby become vacant." This occaſioned a moſt memorable conference between the two houſes. After many long and learned arguments on each ſide, a new ſovereign was preferred to a regent, by a majority of two voices only (51 to 49). Twelve biſhops were for a regency, and two only on the other ſide the queſtion; Dr. Compton, biſhop of London, and ſir Jonathan Trelawny, biſhop of Briſtol. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was a timorous man, abſented himſelf from the houſe, that he might not be obliged to give his opinion on the ſubject. In fine, the lords concurred with the votes of the commons, "That king James had abdicated the government, and thereby the throne was become vacant;" and thereupon the convention were determined to declare the princeſs of Orange, the next Proteſtant heireſs, queen. But Dr. Burnet informs us, that "the earl of Danby ſending over to the princeſs, to give her an account of their debates, and to let her know, if ſhe deſired it, he did not doubt they ſhould be able to ſet her *alone* upon the throne; ſhe returned for anſwer, that ſhe was the prince's wife, and would never be other than what ſhe ſhould be in conjunction with him and under him; and ſhould take it very unkindly of any one that ſhould endeavour to ſeparate their intereſts." The doctor adds, "that ſhe ſent the lord Danby's letter and her anſwer to the prince, who, being now aſſured of the conſent of the princeſs under her hand, ſent for the earl of Danby, together with the marquis of Halifax and the earl of Shrewſbury; and gave them to underſtand, that, though ſome were for putting the princeſs on the throne *ſingly*, he would neither think of holding it by apron-ſtrings, nor would he take any ſhare in the government, unleſs it was lodged in his own perſon for term of life; though he would conſent that the iſſue of the princeſs Anne ſhould ſucceed before the iſſue he might have by any other wife but the princeſs."

This reſolution of his highneſs, according to the doctor, put an end to all the debates in the convention; and the two houſes at laſt agreed, and each voted apart, that the prince and princeſs of Orange ſhould reign jointly as king and queen of England; and that the adminiſtration ſhould be in the hands of the prince alone. This vote, according to Dr. Burnet, was not carried without a great oppoſition. Echard ſays it paſſed by twenty voices, ſixty-five againſt forty-five.

On the 12th day of February the princeſs of Orange (who had been ſent for over by her huſband) arrived in London from Holland; and the next day both prince and princeſs, being ſeated on two large chairs under a canopy of ſtate in the

* Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV.

Banquetting-houſe, both houſes of the convention waited on them in a body, when the clerk of the crown read, in the names of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons, aſſembled at Weſtminſter, "a declaration of their rights *," which had been violated by king James; which declaration concluded thus:

"Having therefore an entire confidence that his ſaid highneſs the prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance ſo far advanced by him, and will ſtill preſerve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here aſſerted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons, aſſembled at Weſtminſter, do reſolve, That William and Mary, prince and princeſs of Orange, be, and be declared king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the ſaid kingdoms and dominions to them the ſaid prince and princeſs during their lives, and the life of the ſurvivor of them; and that the ſole and full exerciſe of the royal power be only in, and executed by, the ſaid prince of Orange, in the names of the ſaid prince and princeſs, during their joint lives; and after their deceaſe the ſaid crown and royal dignity of the ſaid kingdom and dominions to be to the heir of the body of the ſaid princeſs; and for default of ſuch iſſue, to the princeſs Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for the default of ſuch iſſue, to the heirs of the body of the ſaid prince of Orange."

This declaration being read, the marquis of Halifax, as ſpeaker of the upper houſe, made a ſolemn tender of the crown to their highneſſes, in the name of the peers and commons of England, which was accepted in a moſt obliging manner by their highneſſes; and the ſame day they were proclaimed by the names of William and Mary, king and queen of England †.

Of the State of Religion, Learning, Laws, Commerce, &c. from the Death of Queen ELIZABETH to the Revolution. Including a Period of Eighty-ſeven Years, viz. from A. D. 1603 to A. D. 1689.

Of RELIGION, and of the CHURCH.

SEVERAL eccleſiaſtical matters having been purpoſely omitted, that the narration of civil affairs might not be interrupted, it will now be requiſite to relate the progreſs of the reformed religion among us from the death of queen Elizabeth, where we laſt reviewed it; and to give ſome ſhort account of the religious differences in the church, from that period to the time when the prince of Orange, at the inſtance of the nobility and people, deſerted by their king, took upon himſelf the government of this realm.

James I. who wiſhed for nothing ſo much as to ſettle the peace of the church, and heal thoſe differences of religion which had occaſioned a ſeparation amongſt the members of the church, ſeveral of whom, the people of the ſame county, of the ſame religion, and of the ſame judgment and doctrine, had parted communion on account of a few habits and ceremonies, did, in the very firſt year of his reign, appoint a conference to be holden at Hampton-Court before himſelf; to which ſeveral eminent prelates and dignified clergy of the

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* The rights of the people herein aſſerted were as follow:

"1. That the pretended power of ſuſpending laws, or execution of laws, by regal authority, without conſent of parliament, is illegal.

"2. That the pretended power of diſpenſing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been aſſumed and exerciſed of late, is illegal.

"3. That the commiſſion for erecting the late court of commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and all other commiſſions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

"4. That levying of money for or to the uſe of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament for longer time, or in any other manner than the ſame is or ſhall be granted, is illegal.

"5. That it is the right of the ſubjects to petition the king, and all commitments and proſecutions for ſuch petitioning is illegal.

"6. That the raiſing or keeping a ſtanding army within the kingdom in time of peace, unleſs it be with the conſent of parliament, is againſt law.

"7. That the ſubjects which are Proteſtants may have arms for their defence ſuitable to their condition, and as allowed by law.

"8. That elections of members of parliament ought to be free.

"9. That the freedom of ſpeech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or queſtioned in any court or place out of parliament.

"10. That exceſſive bail ought not to be required, nor exceſſive fines impoſed, nor cruel nor unuſual puniſhments inflicted.

"11. That jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned; and jurors which paſs upon men in trials of high-treaſon, ought to be freeholders.

"12. That all grants and promiſes of fines and forfeitures of particular perſons before conviction, are illegal and void.

"13. And that for redreſs of all grievances, and for the amending, ſtrengthening, and preſerving of the laws, parliaments ought to be held frequently."

"And they do claim, demand, and inſiſt upon, all and ſingular the premiſes as their undoubted rights and liberties; and no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people, in any of the ſaid premiſes, ought in any-wiſe to be drawn hereafter into conſequence or example." Burnet. Rapin. Echard.

† On this occaſion the former oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were abrogated, and the following ordered to be taken by all perſons, inſtead of them:

"I, A. B. do ſolemnly promiſe and ſwear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majeſties king William and queen Mary. So help me God."

"I, A. B. do ſwear, That I do from my heart abhor, deteſt, and abjure, as impious and heretical, the damnable doctrine and poſition, that princes excommunicated by the pope, or any authority of the ſee of Rome, may be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects, or any other whatſoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, perſon, prelate, potentate, or ſtate, hath, or ought to have, any juriſdiction, power, ſuperiority, pre-eminence, or authority, eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual, within this realm. So help me God."

church

The Clerk of the Crown Reading the Bill of Rights to the Prince & Princess of Orange in the Banquetting House at Whitehall previous to the Offering the Crown.

S. Wale delin. C. Grignion sculp.

To the Rt Hon.ble Fra.s Hastings,
Earl of Huntingdon.
This Plate is most humbly Inscribed

BRITISH
9 JA 65
MUSEUM

church of England were ſummoned on the one ſide, and four of the principal divines of the diſſenters on the other *.

The conferences were opened on the fourteenth day of January 1604, when his majeſty ſignified to the miniſters the cauſe of his calling them together, and deſired the diſſenters to produce their objections againſt the preſent government of the church; whereupon Dr. Reynolds, who was their ſpokeſman, gave in a paper containing the following heads:

1. That the doctrine of the church might be preſerved in purity, according to God's word.
2. That good paſtors might be planted in all churches to preach the ſame.
3. That the church government might be ſincerely adminiſtered, according to the word of God.
4. That the book of Common Prayer might be fitted more to the increaſe of piety.

Out of theſe heads he framed ſeveral points, which he inſiſted on as neceſſary for the furtherance of true religion, and perfecting a laſting union among the members of the proteſtant faith. In the firſt place, he moved, that confirmation might not be confined to biſhops alone; but that any miniſter might confirm in his own pariſh. This was thought to circumſcribe too much the epiſcopal juriſdiction, and to be a ſtep towards bringing in preſbyterian government, which James of all things diſliked; and the biſhop of Wincheſter challenged Dr. Reynolds to produce one inſtance of confirmation having been ever conferred, either in antient or modern times, by any other of the clergy than biſhops.

Dr. Reynolds then made another motion, viz. "That there might be a new tranſlation of the Bible; alledging, that the preſent verſion was very corrupt, and in many places directly contradictory to the ſacred original." Of this he brought many ſtriking examples, which proved ſo ſatisfactory to the whole convocation, that it was generally agreed to have a new tranſlation, which was ſoon after carried into execution under the eye of the king himſelf, and is the ſame that we now uſe.

After ſeveral other points moved by Dr. Reynolds, but not of ſufficient importance to demand a place here, he came at laſt to ſubſcription; requeſting that it might not be exacted as heretofore; many good men, he ſaid, not being able to comply with it for certain reaſons; the principal of which was, becauſe the apocryphal books are appointed to be read by the Common-prayer book, notwithſtanding that in ſome of them are manifeſt errors, and ſuch as are directly repugnant to the Scriptures, which are the word of faith. To this the king himſelf anſwered, That as he would not wiſh all canonical books to be read in the church, unleſs there was ſome learned perſon to interpret their true ſenſe and meaning to the hearers, ſo he was not for enforcing the lecture of any apocryphal ones, in which there was any notorious error; but, at the ſame time, he declared, that as there were ſome of them that were clear and correſpondent to the Scriptures, and ſerved to illuſtrate ſeveral paſſages only ſlightly touched upon by the inſpired writers, he thought it proper to admit them; but under ſuch reſtrictions as the biſhop or clergyman ſhould, at the time of reading, think proper to point out to the people.

Another ſcruple brought by Dr. Reynolds was concerning the ſign of the croſs in baptiſm. The doctor acknowledged the ſign of the croſs in baptiſm to have been conſtantly in uſe, ſince the apoſtles time, at entering and going out of the church, and at prayers and benedictions; but doubted of the antient uſe of it in baptiſm. To this objection the biſhop of Wincheſter replied, that in Conſtantine's time it was uſed in baptiſm; and the dean of Weſtminſter ſhewed out of Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, and others, that in their time it was uſed "in immortali lavacro," which could be nothing but baptiſm. The king declared, that he thought this antiquity ſufficient to warrant the continuance of it ſtill.

At length Mr. Knewſtubbs moved how far an ordinance of the church was to bind them, without impeachment of their Chriſtian liberty. The king was greatly offended with this poſtulatum: he told Mr. Knewſtubbs, that he would not condeſcend to argue that point with him, and wondered how he could preſume to doubt him; for he was bound to obey what the church had once ordained. Dr. Reynolds added, that the ſign of the croſs ought to be laid aſide, if for no other reaſon than the great abuſe that had been made of it in the time of popery, to the raiſing a ſpirit of ſuperſtition in weak minds. He was anſwered by the king, that the very reaſon he alledged for the laying aſide this ceremony, was the ſtrongeſt imaginable in favour of its being retained; for if, added his majeſty, it was, as you ſay, abuſed to the purpoſes of ſuperſtition in the time of popery, this plainly implies that it was rightly uſed in its primitive ordination.

The next thing objected was the wearing of the ſurplice. To this it was anſwered, that as it appears, from the earlieſt authorities of the Chriſtian church, that in the celebration of divine ſervice the miniſters wore, by way of diſtinction, a different habit than at other times; and that this habit was of white linen; there was no reaſon, were it only for the ſake of decency and order, that it might not be continued. The managers for the diſſenters, however, continued to enforce their objections; and requeſted, that, in regard of ſome tender conſciences, the ſurplice and the croſs in baptiſm might not be urged: but the king remained inflexible on that head; telling them, that he was afraid their refuſal proceeded rather from obſtinacy than tenderneſs of conſcience; and therefore, if they continued refractory, they muſt take the conſequences.

Many other points were handled, as about predeſtination, abſolution, and remiſſion of ſins; baptiſing by women; about the words in marriage, "with my body I thee worſhip;" the oath "ex officio;" the high commiſſion, and others; in all which the king's deciſion went clearly againſt the diſſenters, who, finding they had as little chance in this conference as the proteſtants had in thoſe held by queen Mary, or the papiſts under Elizabeth, retired with an appearance of ſubmiſſion.

James, to ſecure their obedience, did ſoon after, in concert with his convocation, eſtabliſh the canons of the Engliſh church. Theſe canons decreed,

* For their names, ſee page 483 of this volume.

that all perſons ſhould ſtand, "ipſo facto," excommunicated who ſhould affirm the church of England not to be a true or apoſtolical church, or the liturgy corrupt, or the rites and ceremonies thereof to be anti-chriſtian; as alſo any ſuch perſon who ſhould ſeparate from the church, or ſhould pretend that any ſect of miniſters and lay-perſons may make rules, orders, and conſtitutions, without the king's authority. This was a moſt ſevere blow upon all recuſants and diſſenters from the eſtabliſhed church, many of whom ſuffered the greateſt hardſhips, rather than comply with the injunctions laid on them, or ſubſcribe to terms which in their conſciences they thought erroneous. Two perſons were burnt for hereſy in king James's reign; one was Bartholomew Legat, an Arian, with whom the king himſelf, and ſome biſhops, held a conference, but without being able to convince him of his errors; whereupon he was declared an obdurate heretic, and delivered over to the ſecular power, who ſentenced him to the flames; and he was burnt in Smithfield on the 18th of March, 1613. The next month one Edward Wightman, of Burton upon Trent, was convicted of hereſy, and ſuffered death at the ſtake with great reſolution. In 1622 one John Traſk was condemned to the like puniſhment; but the conſtancy of the two former ſufferers had made ſuch an impreſſion on the ſpectators, that it was thought not adviſable to repeat executions of that horrible kind; and the poor wretch, by a mercy that had more of policy than humanity in it, was permitted to linger out a miſerable life in the cells of Newgate *.

Towards the latter end of this reign, the Arminian or Remonſtrant tenets began to ſpead in England. As Arminianiſm, by its doctrine, tended to exalt the prerogative above law, no wonder that the court eſpouſed its cauſe; but all thoſe who adhered to the cauſe of liberty powerfully oppoſed it; whereupon all ſuch, though ever ſo good churchmen, were branded by the court with the name of Puritans. Hence the diſtinction of State or Doctrinal Puritans, and Diſcipline Puritans or Diſciplinarians. By this means the Puritans acquired great ſtrength for the bulk of the people, and the clergy were at once confounded with them. At the head of the Arminians was Laud; the chief of the Doctrinal Puritans was archbiſhop Abbot.

In the firſt year of the reign of Charles I. the church was exalted to the higheſt degree of ſplendor. Epiſcopacy was declared to be of apoſtolical, and conſequently of divine, inſtitution; and the preſbyterian government, though challenging the title of Chriſt's kingdom and ordinance, was declared to have no foundation in ſcripture, nor in the practice of the church, for one thouſand five hundred years. The clergy were all obliged, on pain of deprivation, to ſwear, that "they approved the doctrine and diſcipline of the church, and would never conſent to alter the government of it by archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, and archdeacons, &c." This oath was framed and enjoined in a convocation in this king's thirteenth year, 1637, which was authoriſed by the great ſeal of England, to ſit as a ſynod, a month after the parliament was diſſolved. The proceedings of this ynod were generally condemned as illegally paſſed, to the prejudice of the fundamental liberty of the ſubject; but againſt the oath many exceptions were made, ſome of which we ſhall inſert.

Firſt, Becauſe the &c. left the oath too looſe, inſomuch that neither the makers nor the takers rightly underſtood the ſame.

Secondly, The words "*we* will never conſent to alter the government of the church," were diſliked, as if the ſame tended to abridge the liberty of the king and ſtate in future parliaments and convocations. Goodman, biſhop of Glouceſter, the day before the ending of the ſynod, went to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and acquainted him, that he could not in his conſcience ſubſcribe the canons enacted by the convocation, while all of them tended to exalt the royal prerogative beyond the juſt limits; upon which he was committed for ſome time priſoner to the Gate-houſe.

Archbiſhop Laud, inſtead of indulging the puritans, widened the breach between them and the church, by introducing many new and pompous ceremonies into the public worſhip; the churches were adorned with paintings, images, altar-pieces, &c. and inſtead of communion-tables, altars were ſet up, and bowings to them and the ſacramental elements enjoined, and the doctrines of Arminianiſm were encouraged and propagated. Theſe innovations were loudly complained of by the Puritans, who taxed the authors of them with a deſign to introduce popery. Their oppoſition, however, only brought perſecution upon them: an implicit conformity was enforced with all the terrors of the High-commmiſſion court, to the ruin of many families, and the raiſing dangerous diſturbances in ſeveral parts of the kingdom. Upon theſe proceedings, great numbers tranſplanted themſelves and families into America, and gave birth to a ſecond colony in New-England, that of Maſſachuſet's Bay.

According to Bates and Dugdale, there were eight ſail of ſhips at once in the river of Thames filled with Puritan families leaving England, among whom were the famous Oliver Cromwell, afterwards protector; John Hampden, eſq. the celebrated oppoſer of the ſhip-money tax; and Mr. Arthur Haſelrig: but the ſhip was ſtopped by an order of council, and a proclamation iſſued, prohibiting all maſters and owners of ſhips to carry any paſſengers to New-England, without a ſpecial licence from the privy-council: but the more ſeverely the diſſenters were uſed, the more they increaſed, both in number and oppoſition, till the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640, when the affairs of religion took a new turn.

We muſt not forget, that in the early part of this king's reign, the controverſy about keeping the Sabbath was revived by one Theophilus Bradbone, a miniſter of Suffolk, who aſſerted, "That the commandment of ſanctifying every ſeventh day, as in the Moſaical decalogue, is moral and perpetual; and that no kind of work, buſineſs, employment, or recreation, even of the moſt innocent kind, was to be allowed on that day, nor ſo much as any diſcourſe or mention to be made or held of pleaſures, or any worldly matter." This doctrine was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the High-church party, as tending to gall men's necks with a Jewiſh yoke, againſt the liberty of Chriſtians, and giving the emiſſaries of the church of Rome an handle to

* Fuller, b. x. 63, 64.

pervert people to popery, by perſuading them that the proteſtant religion was ſo rigorous, that no lawful liberty was allowed therein: and further, it was urged that Chriſt, as lord of the Sabbath, had mitigated the rigor thereof, and allowed the indulging in decent and lawful recreations; and that this ſtrict obſervance was ſet up merely from a principle of diſſenſion, and in order to brand with the character of Libertines all who did not comply therewith. The books written on this ſubject were all called in; and Bradbone being cited before the High commiſſion-court, thought proper to retract his opinions. Soon after, the king following the example of his father, as related in the civil hiſtory of that reign, iſſued a declaration, allowing his ſubjects, eſpecially the common people, to have ſports on the Lord's day, at ſuch times as they were not exerciſed in their public devotion at church.

We have in the foregoing part of this hiſtory taken notice of the ſending over the Liturgy, or Book of Common Prayer, to the church of Scotland, and the commotion it occaſioned there. Charles about this time thought it neceſſary, in order to quell the diſturbances in that kingdom, to raiſe an army, to reduce his rebellious ſubjects to obedience, which gave riſe to all the calamities which enſued in church and ſtate, in the few remaining years of this unhappy reign. The liturgy, and ſhortly after epiſcopacy itſelf, were both abrogated by thoſe who uſurped the government of the kingdom; and it is with concern we find that many miniſters of the goſpel here in England, who were reputed learned and pious men, and had conformed to the doctrine and diſcipline of the church, did, to the great ſcandal of religion, join with thoſe that oppoſed the king's juſt authority, and the laws of their country; and by their preachings and writings excited the people to an unlawful and unnatural war, on pretence of reformation of religion.

The diſcipline of the church being ſet aſide, no other was created in its room till ſeveral years afterwards. In this interval, the clergy were permitted to read more or leſs of the Liturgy, as they pleaſed, and to govern their pariſhes according to their diſcipline. The veſtments were left indifferent. As ſoon as the preſbyterians got the upper hand, they peremptorily refuſed that indulgence to others which they themſelves had ſo warmly pleaded for during the time of epiſcopacy: and ſo rigid were they in point of uniformity, that in the treaty of the Iſle of Wight, they would not indulge the king with the liberty of having a Common-prayer book to read privately in his family; and when they had deſtroyed the hierarchy, and got all the beſt livings in their own hands, yet they were ſtill diſſatisfied, for want of church power to cruſh the ſectaries, as they termed all who diſſented from them. Of theſe the independents were the chief, whoſe opinion it was, that every congregation had power to chuſe and ordain their paſtor, and jointly with him to manage their religious concerns, without claſſical or ſynodical aſſemblies, and conſequently were for univerſal toleration. This the preſbyterians would by no means allow them: not content with having their form of church government made the natural eſtabliſhment, they were continually ſolliciting the parliament for a coercive power, in order to proſecute all thoſe who differed from them in opinion. Upon which the army, which conſiſted chiefly of independents, by Cromwell's new-modelling of it, and whoſe favourite point was liberty of conſcience, became violently incenſed againſt them, and betook itſelf to the deſperate meaſures of aſſuming the ſovereign power, bringing the king to juſtice, ſetting aſide the covenant, and erecting a commonwealth, and at laſt became ſo far maſters, as to hold the preſbyterians in a ſort of ſubjection.

The preſbyterians finding the tables thus turned upon them, and that they had no longer any thing more than the ſhadow of authority in the ſtate, began to think of reſtoring Charles II. In this ſentiment they were greatly confirmed by that prince's declaration from Breda, in which he granted liberty to tender conſciences, and promiſed that no man ſhould be diſquieted or called in queſtion for difference of opinion, which did not diſturb the peace of the kingdom. Upon this declaration, they heartily joined the epiſcopalians in effecting the reſtoration of the royal family, which was accompliſhed in the year 1660, in the manner related in its place.

With monarchy, the antient church government was alſo reſtored, and the preſbyterians ſoon found themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of pleading for that indulgence they had denied to others. After ſeveral fruitleſs tentatives to get themſelves admitted to a ſhare of church government and civil employs, without being obliged to ſubmit to thoſe terms of union exacted by our canons, they were finally cruſhed by the epiſcopal act of uniformity in the year 1662; by which all who did not conform to the Liturgy by a certain day, were deprived of all eccleſiaſtical benefits, without the king's having any diſcretional power to mitigate the execution of this rigorous law, or any proviſion being made for the maintenance of the deprived. All who had not epiſcopal ordination, were made incapable of holding any benefice, and the next year the conventicle act was paſſed, as was that called the Five Mile Act, in 1665.

After ſtruggling many years under theſe difficulties, the diſſenters had a little reſpite, by the king's declaration in 1672, for ſuſpending the execution of the penal laws, as well againſt nonconformiſts as papiſts: but this indulgence did not laſt long; the parliament conſidering it as an alarming ſtep in favour of popery, annulled this declaration, and paſſed the famous Teſt Act; by which it was enacted, that no man ſhould bear any office or place who did not take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and receive the ſacrament according to the uſage of the church of England. Preſbyterianiſm was now humbled in the duſt, and continued to be ſo all the reſt of the reign of Charles II.

The ſteps taken by James II. to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed religion of this nation, and introduce popery in its ſtead, have been ſo fully related in the hiſtory of that reign of errors, that it would be equally needleſs as tedious to recapitulate the particulars here. Suffice it to obſerve, that the church party, perceiving the king's intentions, and that their all was at ſtake, thought proper to lay aſide their reſentment, and join the diſſenters in promoting the Revolution; and theſe latter once more entertained the hopes of coming into play. King William indeed exerted his utmoſt endeavours to obtain a comprehenſion for them, by a removal of

the ſacramental teſt; but in this he was vigorouſly oppoſed by his parliament, and all that the diſſenters could obtain was the Act of Indulgence, whereby they were excuſed from all penalties for their not coming to church, and for going to ſeparate meetings. This however was a valuable privilege, and to this act they are indebted for that happy liberty of conſcience which they enjoy at this day.

The ſtate of learning, arts, and ſciences, during the government of the Stuarts, we have occaſionally touched upon at the end of each reign; and have alſo given ſome account of the moſt celebrated perſons in arts, arms, or literature, who flouriſhed during that period. Little then remains for us to add in this article: we ſhall therefore, agreeable to our plan, proceed to give an account of the moſt remarkable ſtatutes (and ſuch only) that were enacted by the ſeveral parliaments from the acceſſion of James I. to the Revolution, with the taxes or ſubſidies granted to them for the ſupport of government; a ſhort ſketch of the public revenues before and at the Revolution; and, by way of concluſion, ſhall add ſome remarks on the ſtate of commerce during that æra.

LAWS.

JAMES I.

THE ſtatutes of the greateſt importance that paſſed in this reign were,

1 Jacob. I. An act diſabling biſhops from alienating or transferring crown lands and revenues to the crown.

An act, depriving criminals of their clergy, who are guilty of ſtabbing.

An act, making it felony in a perſon to marry a ſecond huſband or wife, the firſt being alive, unleſs when the huſband or wife remains ſeven years beyond ſea, or are abſent in the king's dominions, the one not knowing the other to be living.

An act, making witchcraft (the notion of which prevailed greatly in thoſe days) felony, without benefit of clergy: and if any perſon ſhall take upon them to tell or declare by witchcraft, charm, or ſorcery, where any treaſure of gold or ſilver may be found, or goods loſt be recovered, they are to ſuffer one year's impriſonment, and be ſet in the pillory every three months during that year.

3 Jac. I. An act to prevent dangers which may happen from popiſh recuſants, wherein ſuch perſons are diſabled to execute any office in the government, and are diſabled to ſue, &c. as perſons excommunicated. A recuſant forfeits one hundred pounds who ſends his child beyond ſea; and ſuch child remaining a recuſant after eighteen years of age, is rendered incapable of inheriting or enjoying lands or goods transferred, or deſcending to him; and the diſpoſal of livings in his gift is given to the univerſities.

An act for cutting the New River, and bringing its water to London.

7 Jac. I. An act for the founding Chelſea-college, which recites, That whereas his majeſty, for the refuting of errors and hereſies, had founded a college at Chelſea, and therein placed certain divines, incorporated by the name of The Provoſt and Fellows of the College of King James in Chelſea, near London: that it ſhould be lawful for the ſaid provoſt and fellows to cut a trench or channel, for bringing water from the river Lee in Hackney-Marſh to the city of London, for the perpetual maintenance of the ſaid provoſt and fellows, and their ſucceſſors, by the rent to be made of the ſaid waters.

21 Jac. I. An act, declaring all unlawful monopolies and diſpenſations with penal laws void; as alſo all compoſitions for the forfeitures on the breach of any penal ſtatute before judgment.

An act, called the Statute of Limitation, where by actions perſonal are to be brought within a certain limited time.

An act againſt prophane ſwearing and curſing.

An act, making it murder to conceal a dead baſtard child.

An act for making the river Thames navigable from Oxford.

TAXES of JAMES I.

In the firſt year of this king, the houſe of commons granted him for life, a ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage for the guard of the ſeas. Tonnage duty was three ſhillings for every ton of wine, and one ſhilling for an aum of Rhenith wine. The poundage was one ſhilling for every twenty ſhillings value of goods exported and imported, woollen cloths exported excepted; as alſo fiſh exported, taken by Engliſh ſubjects.

In his ſecond year he ſent privy-ſeals to the wealthieſt of the citizens of London, to borrow money of them; and ſoon after the cuſtoms of merchandizes, both outward and inward, were raiſed, and let out to farm.

In a parliament holden at Weſtminſter, the third year of his reign, there were given him three entire ſubſidies, and ſix fifteenths by the temporality, and by the clergy four entire ſubſidies.

In his ſeventh year he had aid throughout England for making his eldeſt ſon prince Henry knight, which brought in great ſums of money.

In his eighteenth year the temporality gave him two ſubſidies, and the clergy three; and in the year 1623, the temporality gave him three ſubſidies and three fifteenths, and the clergy four ſubſidies. Beſides theſe ſubſidies, he iſſued many great privy-ſeals, and had alſo a benevolence throughout the realm.

CHARLES I.

THE ſtatutes of any moment that paſſed in this reign, were the following:

1 Car. I. An act forbidding all unlawful ſports on Sundays, ſuch as bear and bull-baitings, interludes, common plays, and other paſtimes, on pain of three ſhillings and four-pence, to be paid by the aggreſſor, or to ſuffer the puniſhment of the ſtocks.

In the ſtatute-book, before the acts made in the third of Charles I. we meet with the petition containing a declaration of the rights and privileges of the people, preſented by both houſes of parliament

ment to the king; to which he gave the royal aſſent.

3 Car. I. An act prohibiting the going or ſending any perſon to a popiſh ſeminary: it is alſo enacted, That any one who contributes to the maintenance of any convent or ſeminary, ſhall forfeit all his goods and his lands for life, and be diſabled to proſecute any ſuit to receive a gift or legacy, &c. as a perſon excommunicated; provided that if any one ſo educated conforms to the church of England within ſix months after his return, he ſhall not incur the penalties in this act.

17 Car. I. An act providing, That whereas Michaelmas Term till then began in the octaves of St. Michael, or a week after Michaelmas-day, it ſhould not for the future begin till three weeks after Michaelmas.

An act for making the parliament perpetual, enacting, That the parliament then aſſembled ſhould not be diſſolved, prorogued, or adjourned, but by act of parliament, which contributed as much as any thing to the ruin of king Charles and the conſtitution; and therefore by the act of the 12 Car. II. which was made in the year 1660, immediately after the reſtoration, that parliament is declared and enacted to be diſſolved and determined.

An act diſſolving the court of Star-chamber, and enacting, That a writ of habeas corpus ſhall be allowed on commitments by the council.

An act repealing the act for eſtabliſhing the High-commiſſion Court. By the ſame ſtatute it is enacted, That the eccleſiaſtical courts ſhall inflict no penalty on offenders.

An act declaring the tax of ſhip-money illegal, and aboliſhing the ſame, with all the judgments and proceedings conſequent thereupon.

An act for reſtraining the incroachments and oppreſſions of the ſtannary courts.

An act aſcertaining the metes and bounds of foreſts, and appointing commiſſioners to ſettle the ſame.

An act for regulating weights and meaſures, and the office of the clerk of the market; whereby it is enacted, That there ſhall be but one weight and meaſure throughout the kingdom; and that whoever uſes any other, ſhall forfeit five ſhillings for every offence.

Taxes of Charles I.

King James at his death left his ſon a large dominion but a poor exchequer, which was the occaſion that his taxations were more frequent than in his father's reign.

In the firſt year the parliament, at their firſt ſeſſion, granted him two ſubſidies from proteſtants and four from popiſh recuſants, and from the clergy three; and till the parliament provided other means, he continued to levy, as in his father's time, tonnage, poundage, and other ſums, by way of impoſt, upon merchandiſe imported and exported.

In his ſecond year he raiſed near 200,000l. by way of loan, for the war with France, and the relief of Rochelle.

In his third year the parliament gave him five ſubſidies. In the ſixth year he revived an antient cuſtom or uſage *, by which all that were qualified by the law for knighthood were to take upon them that order, or to make fine for reſpite of the ſame, whereby 100,000l. was brought into the Exchequer.

In his ninth year he iſſued writs, under the great ſeal of England, for the charging of the ports, towns, cities, boroughs, and counties of this realm reſpectively, with providing and furniſhing ſhips for the defence of the king and kingdom; whereby great ſums were raiſed. This tax was commonly known by the name of ſhip-money, and was the principal cauſe of all the troubles that afterwards befel this unfortunate prince, and ended but with the ſacrifice of his life.

In a parliament holden in Ireland the ſame year, the deputy or lord-lieutenant obtained ſome ſubſidies for the payment of the army of that realm, and the over-rate of his majeſty's revenue there.

In his ſixteenth year the earl of Strafford, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, obtained of the Iriſh parliament the grant of four ſubſidies; and the convocation of biſhops in England gave him an ample benevolence of four ſhillings in the pound for ſix years, to be aſſeſſed on all the clergy in England, towards the carrying on of the war then begun with Scotland.

And in the ſame year the Engliſh parliament, then aſſembled, granted him four entire ſubſidies for the relief of the army then raiſed againſt the Scots, and for relief of the northern parts of the kingdom, then much burthened by an army of Scots quartering in thoſe parts, who impoſed great taxes on the inhabitants for their maintenance.

In his ſeventeenth year the ſame parliament granted two ſubſidies for the further relief of his majeſty's army, and the northern parts of the kingdom; and likewiſe a ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage, and other ſums of money payable upon merchandiſe exported and imported, from the 25th of May to the 15th of July following; and when that act was on the point of expiring, they granted another for the ſame duties, from the 15th of July, to the 10th of Auguſt following; and by five other ſubſequent acts, the parliament granted the like ſubſidy and impoſt upon merchandiſe to the 3d of May, 1642.

And in the ſaid 17th year ſeveral ſums of money were by act of parliament charged upon perſons according to their ranks, dignities, offices, callings, eſtates, and quality, by way of poll, for the ſpeedy diſbanding two armies then in the bowels of the kingdom.

This year alſo a contribution, or loan, was granted for the relief of Ireland, where a bloody rebellion had broken forth the preceding year.

And in his 18th year an act paſſed for raiſing and levying of monies for the neceſſary defence, and great affairs of the kingdoms of England and Ireland; and for the payment of debts undertaken by the parliament.

Theſe were all the taxations, either by loan or otherwiſe, raiſed by royal authority during this reign: but the war which the parliament raiſed, without his authority, and againſt it, was ſupported and maintained, by prodigious ſums of money illegally levied on the ſubject, by contribution, aſſeſſment, and exciſe, which cannot be properly inſerted here; and it is to be wiſhed the memory of ſuch unjuſt proceedings might be for ever effaced.

* See Coke's ſecond book of Inſtitutes, fol. 593. ſtatute De Militibus.

CHARLES

CHARLES II.

THE ſtatutes of moſt conſequence that paſſed in this reign were,

An act of the 12th (that is, the firſt from the Reſtoration) Car. II. for diſſolving the Long Parliament, and making the convention a parliament.

An act for reducing the intereſt of money from eight to ſix per cent.

An act appointing the twenty-ninth of May to be publicly kept as a day of thankſgiving.

An act for reſtoring the clergy to their rights.

An act for the encouragement of navigation, prohibiting the importation of any goods from Aſia, Africa, or America, but in Engliſh ſhips; and that no goods ſhall be imported in Engliſh ſhips, but from the places of their growth or manufacture; and three-fourths of the ſeamen are to be Engliſh.

Ships loading in the plantations to give ſecurity to bring their cargoes to England, or to ſome Britiſh plantation, and not to carry them to any foreign country.

No goods of the growth of Muſcovy ſhall be imported but in Engliſh ſhips, navigated as aforeſaid.

Nor any goods from the Turkiſh empire, unleſs in veſſels belonging to the port or place from which ſuch goods come.

No wines of the growth of France or Germany ſhall be imported in any but in Engliſh veſſels; and all maſts, and other naval ſtores, raiſins, figs, prunes, olive oils, corn, grain, ſugar, pot-aſhes, brandy, or ſpirits; wines of the growth of Spain, the Canaries, Portugal, the Madeiras; all goods of the growth of Ruſſia, currants, and Turkiſh commodities, imported in any Engliſh ſhipping, navigated as above, ſhall be deemed aliens goods. See an additional act, 15 Car. II. cap. 7. for encouragement of trade.

In this ſame twelfth year of Charles II. was paſſed the firſt legal act for laying an exciſe upon beer, ale, and other liquors. This act was firſt ſet on foot during the protectorſhip of Cromwell.

An act for taking away court of wards, knights ſervice, &c. and ſettling a revenue on the crown in lieu thereof.

An act for appointing the thirtieth of January to be obſerved annually as a faſt.

13 Car. II. An act declaring the command of the militia by ſea and land to be ſolely in the king, and that neither both, or either of the houſes of parliament, have any pretence to the ſame, nor can lawfully levy any war, offenſive or defenſive, againſt the crown.

An act, containing articles for the better government of the royal navy and ſhips of war.

An act, reſtoring eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction to the biſhops and ſpiritual courts.

An act (called the Corporation Act) for the better governing of corporations, whereby all officers are obliged to declare, "That it is not lawful, on any pretence whatſoever, to take up arms againſt the king, &c. to renounce the ſolemn league and covenant, &c.

14 Car. II. An act, decreeing that quakers, and others, refuſing to take an oath before a magiſtrate when required, or perſuading others not to take ſuch oath, and quakers aſſembling in conventicles, to forfeit five pounds for the firſt offence, ten pounds for the ſecond, and for the third offence to abjure or quit the realm.

An act to eſtabliſh the uniformity of public prayer, and the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, and of conſecrating biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, after the manner of the church of England.

An act prohibiting the printing of impious, heretical, ſeditious, or ſchiſmatical books. By this act all books are prohibited to be printed that are not entered in Stationers-Hall, and duly licenſed; and the printing-preſſes are regulated, and three copies are reſerved for the king's library, and the two univerſities.

15 Car. II. An act for the encouragement of trade, navigation, the plantation, and Fiſheries. See 12 Car. II. cap. 18.

An act, called the Conventicle Act, of which we have given an account in the hiſtory of this reign.

An act condemning ſeamen who refuſe to fight and defend merchant ſhips againſt pirates, to loſe their pay; and if they do fight, and ſave the ſhip, declaring them entitled to be rewarded out of the cargo, and at a rate not exceeding two per cent.

16 Car. II. Perſons cheating at play to forfeit treble the value of what they win; and all ſecurities for money won at play, exceeding one hundred pounds at any one time, to be void.

19 Car. II. An act to redreſs inconveniencies for want of proof of perſons deaths beyond ſeas, or abſenting themſelves, upon whoſe lives eſtates depend.

22 Car. II. An act allowing the exportation of corn, oxen, horſes, &c.

22 and 23 Car. II. An act againſt maiming, &c. commonly called the Coventry Act, making it felony, without benefit of clergy, maliciouſly to cut out or diſable the tongue, put out an eye, ſlit the noſe, cut off the noſe or lip, or diſable any limb or member of any of his majeſty's ſubjects.

An act againſt maliciouſly burning ricks or ſtacks of corn, hay, &c. killing of cattle, or maiming them, or deſtroying trees or fences in the night.

An act enacting how inteſtates eſtates ſhall be adminiſtered and diſtributed. By this act, ordinaries, &c. upon granting adminiſtrations are required to take bonds, with two ſureties for the due adminiſtration of the inteſtate's goods; and the ſurpluſage, after debts and funeral charges paid, ſhall be diſtributed in the manner following, viz. one third to the wife of the inteſtate, and the reſidue among his children, and ſuch as legally repreſent them, other than ſuch children (not heirs at law) who ſhall have any eſtate by ſettlement of the inteſtate in his life-time, equal to the other ſhares. And where any ſuch children ſhall have been advanced by ſettlements or portions not equal to the other ſhares, he or they ſhall have ſo much of the ſurpluſage as ſhall make the eſtate of all to be equal; but the heir at law ſhall have an equal part in the diſtribution with the other children, without any conſideration of what he hath by deſcent, or otherwiſe, from the inteſtate.

If there be no children nor legal repreſentatives of them, one moiety, or half, ſhall be allotted to

the wife, and the reſidue agreeably to the next of kindred to the inteſtate, in equal degrees, and to thoſe who repreſent them.

No repreſentatives to be admitted among collaterals, after brothers and ſiſters children. If there be no wife, all ſhall be diſtributed among the children; and if no child, to the next of kin to the inteſtate in equal degree, and their repreſentatives. No ſuch diſtribution ſhall be made till one year after the inteſtate's death; and every one who has a ſhare in it ſhall give bond, with ſureties, that if debts afterwards appear, he ſhall return a rateable part.

An act to regulate the weights and meaſures of corn and ſalt.

By an act of the ſame year, none may keep dogs, nets, guns, or any other engine or inſtrument for taking or deſtroying the game, but he who hath lands of inheritance of one hundred pounds per annum, or for life, in his own or his wife's right, or a leaſe of ninety-nine years of one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, unleſs the heir of an eſquire, or other perſon of higher degree: and perſons fiſhing in any private waters or rivers, ſhall pay treble damages to the party aggrieved, and a ſum not exceeding ten ſhillings, to the poor. N. B. By this act none are deemed eſquires under the degree of knights ſons.

29 Car. II. An act to prevent frauds and perjuries, &c. By this act it is declared, That all leaſes, eſtates, intereſts of freehold, or term of years, or any uncertain intereſts in lands, &c. not put in writing, and ſigned by the contracting parties, ſhall have no greater effect than eſtates at will, except leaſes not exceeding three years, whereof the rent ſhall be two-thirds of the value.

No action ſhall be brought to charge a defendant, upon any promiſe to anſwer for the debt or miſcarriage of another, or upon any agreement in conſideration of marriage, or upon any contract or ſale of lands, &c. or any intereſt concerning them, or on any agreement not to be performed within a year, unleſs ſuch agreement, or a note thereof, be in writing, and ſigned by the party to be charged, or ſome other authorized by him.

All deviſes of lands or tenements ſhall be in writing, and ſigned by the teſtator, or ſome other, in his preſence, and by his direction, and ſubſcribed in his preſence by three or four witneſſes, or elſe they ſhall be void.

No writ of execution ſhall bind the property of goods but from the time of its delivery to the ſheriff.

No contract for the ſale of goods, of the value of ten pounds or upwards, ſhall be good, unleſs the buyer receive part of them, or give ſomething in earneſt, or ſome note thereof in writing, to be ſigned by the parties to be charged, or their agents.

No nuncupative (or verbal) will ſhall be good, where the eſtate bequeathed exceeds thirty pounds, unleſs it be proved by three witneſſes preſent at the making thereof, nor unleſs the teſtator bid them bear witneſs that ſuch is his will, nor unleſs it be made in the laſt ſickneſs of the deceaſed, in his dwelling-houſe, unleſs he be ſurprized, and die before his return; and after ſix months, no teſtimony ſhall be received of ſuch nuncupative will, unleſs the ſaid teſtimony were put into writing within ſix days after making ſuch will.

No will in writing of any perſonal eſtate ſhall be repealed by words only, except the ſame be in the life-time of the teſtator committed to writing, read to him, appointed by him, and this atteſted by three witneſſes.

An act aboliſhing the writ De Heretico Comburendo, or for burning heretics; with all proceedings therein, and all puniſhments by death, in conſequence of eccleſiaſtical cenſures.

31 Car. II. was paſſed the famous HABEAS CORPUS act. It is enacted by this ſtatute, That upon the ſervice of the Habeas Corpus on a jailor or his ſervants, or upon any other perſon having a priſoner in his cuſtody, the priſoner, within three days after, upon paying or tendering twelve pence per mile for the removal of him, ſhall be brought up, and the writ returned, and the cauſe of his impriſonment certified: and officers refuſing to make their returns, or bring the priſoner up, &c. as aforeſaid, ſhall forfeit one hundred pounds for the firſt offence, and two hundred pounds for the ſecond.

If any perſon committed to priſon for treaſon or felony, expreſſed in the warrant, ſhall, the firſt week of the term or day of the ſeſſions of Oyer and Terminer, pray to be brought to his trial, if he be not indicted the next term of Oyer and Terminer: after ſuch commitment he ſhall upon motion, the laſt day of ſuch term or ſeſſions, be admitted to bail.

Priſoners may obtain their Habeas Corpus from any judge, or out of the Chancery: and if the lord-chancellor, keeper, or any other judge, ſhall deny ſuch Habeas Corpus, he ſhall forfeit five hundred pounds to the party aggrieved.

We muſt here repeat an obſervation we have elſewhere made, that few of our Engliſh monarchs ever paſſed a greater number of acts of parliament for the benefit of the ſubject than this king.

TAXES of CHARLES II.

Immediately after his reſtoration (called the twelfth year of his reign) the parliament preſented a bill "for a ſpeedy proviſion of money to pay off and diſband all the forces of this kingdom, both by ſea and land. This was to be done by poll, and was a very great tax, becauſe many orders of men were included in it, which had never been mentioned in any former act of the like kind. The reader perhaps will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the aſſeſſments of the ſeveral degrees, as they are rated in the ſaid act.

"1. Every duke of England, Scotland, and Ireland, inhabiting and reſiding in this kingdom, was to pay one hundred pounds; every marquis, eighty pounds; every earl, ſixty pounds; a viſcount, fifty pounds; a baronet, forty pounds; the eldeſt ſon of a duke of twenty-one years of age, ſixty pounds; of a marquis, fifty pounds; of an earl, forty pounds; of a viſcount, thirty-five pounds; of a baron, thirty pounds; a baronet of any of the three kingdoms, or Nova Scotia, thirty pounds; a knight of the Bath, thirty pounds; a knight bachelor, twenty pounds; a

ſerjeant at law, twenty pounds; an eſquire, ten pounds; and every widow, according to her huſband's degree, a third part what her huſband was to pay.

2. "Every parſon or vicar poſſeſſed of a parſonage or vicarage, or other eſtate of one hundred pounds, forty ſhillings; every doctor of the civil or common-law, five pounds; every advocate, five pounds; a judge or commiſſioner in the Court of Admiralty, twenty pounds; a prætor, five pounds; a doctor of phyſic, ten pounds.

3. "The lord-mayor of London, forty pounds; every ſheriff, alderman, or who hath fined for alderman, twenty pounds; every deputy-alderman, ten pounds; the town-clerk of London, twenty pounds; every common councilman, five pounds; every maſter of the firſt twelve companies, ten pounds; every warden thereof, ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings and four-pence; every liveryman of thoſe companies, five pounds; every one who had been maſter of any of the companies of dyers, brewers, leatherſellers, girdlers, ſtationers, woodmongers, upholſterers, apothecaries, pewterers, tallow-chandlers, armourers, or ſadlers, ſix pounds; every warden of any of thoſe companies, five pounds; every liveryman of them, three pounds; every of the yeomanry, one pound; every maſter of the company of barber-chirurgeons, white-bakers, wax-chandlers, cutlers, butchers, carpenters, painters, cordwainers, coopers, ſcriveners, brown-bakers, turners, or innholders, three pounds; every one who had been warden of any of thoſe companies, two pounds; every liveryman thereof, one pound; every perſon who had been maſter of the company of founders, cutlers, maſons, bricklayers, joiners, plaiſterers, weavers, fruiterers, marblers, embroiderers, poulterers, cooks, or plummers, one pound; every warden of thoſe companies, fifteen ſhillings; and every one of the livery, ten ſhillings; every perſon who hath been of the livery of either company of bowyers, fletchers, blackſmiths, bottle makers, wool-packers, farriers, paviers, loreiners *, glaſiers, clerks, or watermen, five ſhillings; every freeman of any company within the city of London, twelve-pence; every keeper of one or more hackney-coaches and two horſes, ten ſhillings; every merchant-ſtranger, if a knight, forty pounds; if below that degree, and trading to ſea, ten pounds; if trading within the land, five pounds: every alien uſing trade within any city or corporation, if a houſe-keeper, ten ſhillings; every Engliſh merchant in or about London, not a freeman, ten pounds; every factor in the city, two pounds; every perſon that hath been alderman in any city within the kingdom, under the degree of a knight or eſquire, five pounds.

4. "The prothonotary of the King's-Bench, one hundred pounds; clerk of the Crown of the ſame, twenty pounds; Cuſtos Brevium of the ſame, forty pounds; marſhal of the ſame, fifty ſhillings; maſter of the Rolls, ſixty pounds; clerk of the Crown in Chancery, forty pounds; clerk of the Rules and in the King's Bench, ten pounds; maſter of the Subpœna Office, forty pounds; warden of the Fleet, fifty pounds; clerk of the hanaper, fifty pounds; clerk of the Inrolment, each ten pounds; each of the ſix clerks in Chancery, forty pounds; every curſitor of the ſame, ten pounds; uſher of the ſame, ten pounds; every clerk of the pettybagg, five pounds; every examiner, ten pounds; chief regiſter of the ſame, twenty pounds; every under regiſter, ten pounds; every clerk in the office of the Six Clerks in Chancery, eight pounds; each of the clerks of the Chapel of the Rolls, three pounds; every prothonotary of the Common-Pleas, fifty pounds; Cuſtos Brevium of the ſame, eighty pounds; every philazer of the ſame, ten pounds; clerk of the Outlawries, twenty pounds; clerk of the Statutes, twenty pounds; clerk of the Treaſury, ten pounds; exigenter of London, forty pounds; every other exigenter, five pounds; the king's remembrancer of the Exchequer, forty pounds; every teller of the ſame court, twenty pounds; the treaſurer's remembrancer, ten pounds; every attorney of the office of the king's remembrancer, ten pounds; every attorney of the office of Pleas, ten pounds; the remembrancer of the Firſt-fruits, twenty pounds; clerk of the Eſtreats, twenty pounds; clerk of the Pleas, thirty pounds; the auditor of the receipts in the Exchequer, forty pounds; clerk of the Pel in the Receipt, thirty pounds; uſher of the Court of Exchequer, twenty pounds; every attorney in the Office of Pleas there, ten pounds; every auditor of the ſame, ten pounds; every clerk of the court of the Duchy of Lancaſter, ten pounds; every auditor of the ſame, ten pounds; every clerk of the Privy-ſeal, ten pounds; every clerk of the Signet, ten pounds; every attorney in any of the courts at Weſtminſter, or within the courts of Law or Equity, or in the counties palatine of Cheſter, Lancaſter, Durham, and the marches of Wales, three pounds; every perſon in any office or place under the king (except his houſhold ſervants in ordinary) ten pounds; the lieutenant of the Tower of London, fifty pounds; every one that could ſpend in lands, leaſes, monies, or ſtock, one hundred pounds per annum, forty ſhillings; and ſo for a greater or leſſer eſtate: every ſingle perſon above the age of ſixteen years, twelve-pence; every ſingle perſon not rated nor receiving alms, above ſixteen years of age, ſix-pence."

In his ſaid firſt year the parliament alſo granted him a ſubſidy on tonnage and poundage, and other ſums of money payable upon merchandize exported and imported. The duties of exciſe on malt liquors, cyder, perry, mead, ſpirits or ſtrong waters, coffee, tea, ſherbet, and chocolate, were alſo ſettled on him during life, by way of additional revenue to the tonnage and poundage. This was granted by way of recompenſing the crown for the emoluments it loſt by the taking away the courts of ward, and liveries and tenures in capite or by knights-ſervice. By this means the royal revenues were raiſed to twelve hundred thouſand pounds per annum, which was more than any king of England ever enjoyed, except Henry VIII.

The following year the commons granted the king a ſupply of one million two hundred thouſand pounds for his preſent occaſions, to be levied

* Or lorimers (from lormiers, an old French word) a company of artificers in London, who make bits for bridles, ſpurs, and ſuch-like iron ware for horſes.

BRITISH
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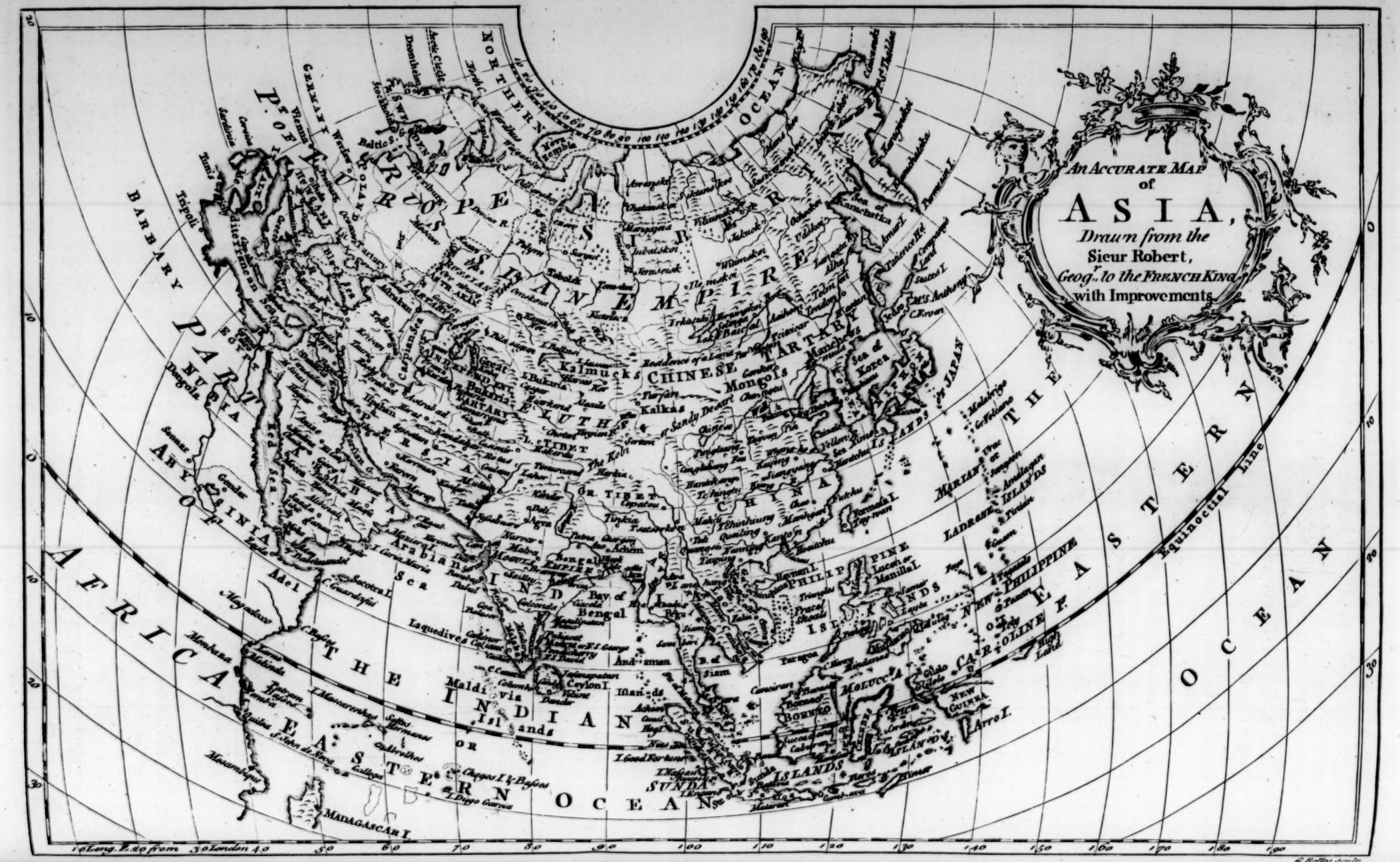
MUSEUM


An Accurate Map
of
ASIA,
Drawn from the
Sieur Robert,
Geogr. to the French King,
with Improvements.
NORTHERN OCEAN
EUROPEAN RUSSIA
SIBERIA
TARTARY
CHINESE EMPIRE
INDIA
PERSIA
ARABIA
AFRICA
THE INDIAN OCEAN
THE EASTERN OCEAN
Equinoctial Line
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
MOLUCCA ISLANDS
SUNDA ISLANDS
JAPAN
BARBARY
MADAGASCAR I.
Arctic Circle
Tropic of Cancer
Baltic S.
Caspian Sea
Red Sea
Persian Gulf
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Ceylon I.
Borneo
New Guinea
Arro I.
Philippine
Celebes
Java
Sumatra
Moluccas
Manilla
Formosa
Corea
Kamtschatka
Japan
Nova Zembla
Lapland
Sweden
Norway
Muscovy
Poland
Germany
Hungary
Turkey
Tartary
Persia
Arabia
Egypt
Abyssinia
Nubia
Barbary
Tripoli
Algiers
Tunis
Fez
Morocco
Guinea
Angola
Congo
Monomotapa
Mozambique
Natolia
Georgia
Circassia
Mingrelia
Armenia
Curdistan
Mesopotamia
Babylon
Bagdad
Aleppo
Damascus
Jerusalem
Mecca
Medina
Aden
Muscat
Ormus
Candahar
Cabul
Samarcand
Bucharia
Kalmucks
Mongols
Tibet
Great Mogul
Delhi
Agra
Golconda
Visapour
Malabar
Coromandel
Pegu
Siam
Cochinchina
Tonquin
Canton
Nanking
Pekin
Japan
Formosa
Philippine Islands
Moluccas
Borneo
Java
Sumatra
New Guinea
Madagascar I.
Maldivia Islands
Laquedives
Andamans
Mauritius
Bourbon
Comoro Islands
Cape of Good Hope
Cape Verd
Canaries
Azores
Madeira
Ladrone Islands
Marian Islands
Philippine Islands
Caroline Islands
Pelew Islands
Solomon Islands
New Britain
New Ireland
Arctic Circle
Tropic of Cancer
Equinoctial Line
Tropic of Capricorn
Antarctic Circle
10 Long. E. 20 from 30 London 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 160 170 180 190

by a monthly tax of ſeventy thouſand pounds for eighteen months; a perpetual and annual tax of two ſhillings on every chimney-hearth in each houſe, alms-houſes excepted, was alſo laid on by the commons, who at the ſame time impowered his majeſty to levy the ſeventy thouſand pounds per month for three years.

In the year 1663, the commons granted him four entire ſubſidies; and the clergy in convocation, following their example, did the like. This was the laſt aid the ſpirituality gave; for it was reſolved on hereafter to tax the church benefits as temporal eſtates were taxed.

The following year the parliament granted the king a ſupply of two millions and an half towards the maintenance of a war againſt the Dutch.

In 1665 the commons voted the king a new ſupply of one million two hundred thouſand pounds to continue the war, and one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds to the duke of York, for the great ſervices he had done to the nation; and purſuing this their prodigious liberality, they voted in the following year a further ſupply of one million eight hundred thouſand pounds.

In 1668 they granted the ſum of three hundred and ten thouſand pounds, by an impoſition on wines and other liquors.

For the other taxes impoſed in this king's reign, as alſo for thoſe in the following one of his brother James II. we refer the reader to the hiſtory of thoſe reigns, where he will find them noticed as they occurred.

JAMES II.

THERE being but one parliament in this reign, which did not ſit much above two months, very few laws were made. The principal of them were,

An act prohibiting the importation of gun-powder, arms, ammunition, or utenſils of war, without licence, on pain of forfeiture.

An act appropriating a duty laid upon coals, to the finiſhing the cathedral of St. Paul's.

An act concerning adminiſtrators and inteſtates perſonal eſtate. This enacts, That no adminiſtrator ſhall be cited to render an account of the perſonal eſtate of his inteſtate, otherwiſe than by inventory thereof, unleſs at the inſtance of ſome perſon in behalf of a minor, or of one having a demand out of ſuch eſtate as a creditor, or next of kin.

If after the death of a father any of his children ſhall die inteſtate, without wife, or iſſue, in the life-time of the mother, every brother and ſiſter, and their repreſentatives, ſhall have an equal ſhare with her.

COMMERCE.

THE late Mr. Anderſon, in his excellent Treatiſe on the Origin of Commerce *, obſerves, that the ſeventeenth century may be truly ſaid, from its very commencement, to approach to a reſemblance of modern times, whether conſidered in a commercial or a political light. Navigation, the arts, mechanical, mathematical, manufactural, and nautical; agriculture, architecture, and plantations, were amazingly improved; almoſt all the commercial, banking, and metallic companies of Europe, eſtabliſhed nearly as at preſent ſubſiſting; the great and principal increaſe of the commerce of England and Holland effected, who alſo got into their hands the trade of the famous Hanſe-Towns, now on their decline. Many new inventions and projects were ſet on foot; the great increaſe of trade begot the enlargement and embelliſhment of the city of London and its ſuburbs. Many excellent new productions were introduced among us, and here naturalized. New Engliſh plantations were formed in America, and the old ones greatly improved. In a word, commercial liberty was legally and firmly eſtabliſhed in England. In general, it will be ſeen, that towards the cloſe of this century, commerce gradually advanced to almoſt its very growth of perfection; and almoſt every part of Chriſtendom endeavoured to puſh into trade and manufacture, whilſt at the ſame time England's commerce and ſhipping continued viſibly to proſper and increaſe.

We ſhall from the above-named author briefly point out ſome of the principal ſteps in this happy progreſs, at leaſt ſo far as relates to the period at preſent under our conſideration.

King James I. having, at his acceſſion to the crown of England, called in all his own ſhips of war, as well as our then numerous privateers, which, though they had greatly annoyed the enemy, had done infinite damage to the commerce of the nation; he thereby put an end to the warlike expeditions he had been engaged in, and declared himſelf to be at peace with all the world. This pacific diſpoſition in the king, ſo often (and in great meaſure with juſtice) termed puſillanimous, did however give a breathing-time to our mercantile and coloniſing adventurers to plant, and gradually improve the colonies of Virginia, New-England, Bermudas, and Newfoundland; as alſo to make a conſiderable progreſs in the Eaſt India trade. At the opening of his firſt parliament, James ſpoke ſtrongly againſt monopolies, but he afterwards gave great encouragement to them. Our own woollen manufacture being now become ſo very conſiderable, and ſo much of it ſent abroad as to work up all, or near all, our own wool at home, it was thought high time to prohibit the exportation of it, which James did by proclamation in the year 1604, the ſecond of his reign.

By a ſtatute of this ſame year, when wheat is not above one pound ſix ſhillings and eight pence per quarter; rye, peaſe, and beans, fifteen ſhillings; and barley and meal fourteen ſhillings per

* Anderſon's Origin of Commerce, vol. I. p. 451. et alibi.

quarter;

quarter; they may be exported in Engliſh ſhips, paying cuſtom, two ſhillings per quarter for wheat, and one ſhilling and four-pence for the other kinds.

The Engliſh Eaſt-India company ſent out their ſecond voyage thither in the ſame year 1604, with four ſhips under ſir Henry Middleton; two of which he loaded with pepper at Bantam, and ſent the other two to the iſles of Banda, famous for the trade of nutmegs and mace. At Antigua he laded a good quantity of cloves, with which that place abounded, and returned in 1606, having the misfortune to loſe one of his ſhips at ſea. In the year 1605, the preſent Levant, or Fiſhery Company, was erected, by the deſignation of The Merchants of England trading to the Levant Seas. Thus a moſt profitable trade to England was eſtabliſhed in perpetuity, whereby great quantities of our woollen manufactures, and of later times much other merchandize, as watches, jewels, &c. have been annually exported thither: beſides, the immenſe quantities of raw ſilks brought from thence, have been the means of raiſing our ſilk manufacture to its preſent height, and of greatly advancing many other ſorts of manufactures.

In the year 1607, James granted an excluſive charter or licence to Richard Pinkwell, eſq. and his colleagues, for the ſole diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage to China, Cathay, the Moluccas, and other parts of the Eaſt-Indies, incorporating them by the peculiar name of The Colleagues of the Fellowſhip for the Diſcovery of the North-Weſt Paſſage: but this, like moſt of the former attempts of this kind, came to nothing. Captain Henry Hudſon, however, ſailed this ſame year as far north as eighty degrees and a half in queſt of the ſaid paſſage; and he made the like attempt the following year, 1608, to as little purpoſe, after having in vain tried a north-eaſt paſſage by Nova Zembla. The ſame year, however, he diſcovered and gave his name to the vaſt bay called, after him, Hudſon's Bay.

The Engliſh Eaſt-India Company now ſent out their third voyage with three ſhips thither: it would however afford the reader as little inſtruction as pleaſure, to relate particulars that are to be found in ſo many works. It will therefore be ſufficient to obſerve, that the ſuperior induſtry of the Dutch in India had already been beforehand with us in the ſpice iſlands, of which they ſoon after this made themſelves ſovereigns, and ſuch remain to this day.

The manufacture of allum was this year, 1608, firſt invented, and ſucceſsfully practiſed in England, being encouraged and carried on in Yorkſhire by the lord Sheffield, ſir John Bourchier, and other landed gentlemen of that county, to the very great benefit of this nation in general, and to the ſingular emolument of the proprietors thereof, to this preſent time.

King James endeavoured to effect the propagation of ſilk in England, and for that purpoſe enjoined and encouraged the planters of mulberry-trees; but experience has ſhewn that ſilk is not to be propagated in any degree north of the river Loire, in the ſouth of France.

In 1609 the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company made their fifth voyage thither, but with one ſhip only, which they ſent to Bantam, and thence to the iſles of Banda, &c. but the Hollanders being abſolute lords there, refuſed them admittance to traffic. Although the fifteen years excluſive trade granted by queen Elizabeth's charter to the Eaſt-India Company, was not to expire till 1615, yet king James, on the thirty-firſt of May, in the year 1610, was prevailed on to grant the company a renewal of their charter, and to render the company perpetual, with the uſual power of making by-laws, of having a common ſeal, and the other powers in the former charter. The merchants engaged in this trade were ſo encouraged by this grant, that they now built the largeſt merchant ſhip that England ever had, being upwards of one thouſand tons burthen, named The Trade's Increaſe, and with three others made their ſixth voyage to India. The king alſo at this time built the fineſt ſhip that had been ever conſtructed in this country: ſhe was of the burden of one thouſand four hundred tons, carried ſixty-four cannons, and was named The Prince. By theſe gradual ſteps did the Navy-Royal of England arrive at its preſent magnitude and grandeur.

In this ſame year, 1610, the ſpirit of adventuring on new plantations ſtill prevailing, king James made a grant to a certain number of merchants of Briſtol, of part of Newfoundland, lying between Cape Bonaviſta and Cape St. Mary's; and a colony was accordingly ſent thither: but they have never been able to this day to make a more cultivable and uſeful plantation there than is neceſſary for the famous fiſhery on its banks, its ſituation in reſpect to our continent colonies, and to the French North-American dominions, and for ſhelter and relief of our own ſhipping. About this time the London adventurers to Virginia were made a corporation; and the next year the Ruſſian Company for the firſt time ſent two ſhips to Greenland, for the killing of whales, carrying with them ſix Biſcayners expert in that fiſhery; but they loſt both their ſhips.

In the year 1612, the cluſter of ſmall and very rocky iſlands, ſituate between Europe and America, named the Bermuda's, or Somers's Iſles, in thirty-two degrees and an half north latitude, five hundred miles eaſt from Carolina, was firſt planted by the Engliſh. They had been diſcovered almoſt an hundred years before, by one Bermuda, a Spaniard, but were never planted by any before this time. Sir George Somers and ſir Thomas Yates, in their voyage to Virginia, anno 1609, were ſhipwrecked there, and lived nine months on theſe iſlands; in which time they built a ſhip of the cedar-wood growing there, and ſailed in her to Virginia, leaving two men behind them in the largeſt of the iſlands, who were found alive in 1612, when the colony was firſt planted. From ſir George Somers, theſe iſlands got the name of Somer's Iſles, now corrupted to Summer Iſlands, though the juſt name of Bermudas is moſtly uſed. Sir George Somers was, it ſeems, a ſecond time drove on thoſe iſlands, and died there; but thoſe who were with him, on their arrival in England, made ſo favourable a report of the beauty and fertility of them, that the Virginia Company, who, as firſt diſcoverers, claimed the property, ſold them to about one hundred and twenty perſons, to whom king James granted a charter; and in 1612 they planted, with one hundred and ſixty perſons, one of the largeſt of

THE
EAST INDIES;
distinguishing the
EMPIRES and KINGDOMS
on the Continent commonly call'd
INDIA:
By the Sr. Robert
with Improvements.
PERSIA
DESERT
CABOUL
CANDAHAR
ANONKEK MOUNTAINS
BUCKOR
DELLI
AGRA
VZARAT
PATNA
ASSEM
MALVA
GUZERAT
BERAR
KING. OF BENGAL
DECAN
GOLCONDA
VISAPOUR
BIJANAGAR
CANARA
MALABAR
CONCAN
CORAMANDEL
KING. OF TIBET
CHINA
KING. OF SIAM
COCHINCHINA
CAMBOJA
GULF OF SIAM
BAY OF BENGAL
INDIAN OCEAN
COBY or Sandy Desert
CEYLAN I.
Laccadiva Is.
Maldiva Is.
These Islands are divided into thirteen Governments, called Attols.
Maldiva Residence of the King.
Hainan I.
Pracel
Ceicir I.
Natuna Is.
Borneo
Biayos
EQUATOR
Degrees of Longitude East from London.

BRITISH
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them, named St. George's Iſle, and ſent afterwards five hundred people more thither anno 1619; whereupon they inſtituted an aſſembly, with a governor and council. Some have reckoned theſe iſlands four hundred in number, but moſt of them too ſmall to have any name, they being all circumſcribed within the compaſs of little more than forty-ſeven leagues. St. George's, the largeſt, is naturally fortified almoſt quite round with rocks; and where there is any landing-place, they have forts and batteries; and the harbour, there being only one, extremely well fortified. Theſe iſlands produce very few ſtaple commodities fit for exportation, excepting their cedar ſloops, with which they trade, and ſell them at the Weſt Indies, and ſome proviſions; with the gain of which trade they are enabled to pay England for all the neceſſaries they are conſtantly ſupplied with. This colony was afterwards, like Virginia, made a regal government, and ſo it ſtill continues. The Bermudians have two misfortunes attending them; a want of freſh water, and frequent attacks of furious winds, thunder, lightnings, &c. At their principal iſland of St. George, large ſhips may ſafely enter and be ſecure, under ſhelter of the fortifications, from any attacks of an enemy; and this is probably the reaſon why we ſtill keep thoſe otherwiſe unprofitable iſlands, there being no productions there but what may be had in our other plantations. They grow ſome tobacco, but it is not equal in goodneſs to that of Virginia *.

In the year 1613, the Engliſh Ruſſia Company procured an excluſive charter for their whale-fiſhery; and they obliged certain French ſhips which they had permitted to fiſh there, to pay them a tribute of eight whales. In the ſame year captain Saris, in our Eaſt-India Company's ſervice, arrived the firſt of any of our nation at the port of Firando, in the iſle of Bungo or Ximo, a part of the empire of Japan. Our Company continued ſome years to trade there, but were afterwards excluded all reſort thither, with all other Europeans, the Dutch only excepted.

Edward Miſſelden, eſq. an eminent merchant, in his treatiſe, entitled The Circle of Commerce, gives us the following ſtate of the exports and imports of all England in this year 16 3.

	l.	s.	d.
1. Exported to all the world between Chriſtmas 1612, and Chriſtmas 1613, to the value of	2,090,640	11	8
2. The cuſtoms on theſe goods	86,794	16	2
3 Impoſt paid outwards on woollen goods, tin, lead, and pewter	10,000	0	0
4. The merchants gains, freight, and other petty charges	300,000	0	0
Total exports l.	2,487,435	7	10
Imported during that time in ſilks, Venice gold and ſilver ſtuffs, Spaniſh wines, linen, and other merchandize, with all the cuſtoms thereon	2,141,151	10	0
Balance gained this year to the nation	346,283	17	10

On which Mr. Anderſon very pertinently and juſtly obſerves, that tho' this balance ſeems larger than that exhibited under the year 1354 (the twenty-eighth of Edward III.) yet the ſilver money of that balance being thrice the weight or quantity of our's, amounted to no leſs than 765,644 l. 1s. of our money: and he remarks further, that the total of the imports then was not one-ſeventh part of the exports.

The ingenious gentleman firſt mentioned has likewiſe given us the total amount of the cuſtoms of England for this year 1613, viz.

		l.	s.	d.
At the port of London—outwards,		61,322	16	7
inwards,		48,250	1	9
Total cuſtom of the port of London		109,572	18	4
At all the out-ports -	outw. 25,471 19 7 / inw. 13,030 9 9	38,502	9	4
Total account of the cuſtoms of Engl.		148,075	7	8

By this account it appears that London, in 1613, paid then very near thrice as much for cuſtoms as all the reſt of England together.

The year 1614 produced the diſcovery of a new ſpecies of woollen manufacture in England, namely, the making of mixtures dyed in the wool. This has ever ſince got the appellation of *Medley Cloth*, all woollen cloth before this time being only of one ſingle colour dyed in the cloth.

In this year alſo the fine iſland of Barbadoes in the Weſt-Indies is ſaid to have been diſcovered and ſettled on by ſome Engliſh people. It is the mother of all our Weſt-India ſugar-iſlands, and the chief of the Caribbees. It has proved of the greateſt advantage to this nation, by its excellent productions. The Eaſt India Company now began to trade on the joint ſtock account, no voyages being from henceforth allowed on ſeparate ſtocks. The following is a liſt of the Engliſh company's factories at the time we are now ſpeaking of in India, viz. Bantam, Jacatra (ſince called Batavia), Surat, Amadavar, Agra, Aſmere, Brampore, Calcutta (from whence the cloth called Calico took its name) Maſulipatam, Siam, Benjar, Soccadania, Macaſſar, Acheen, Jambi, Tecoo, Bandar, and at Firando in Japan: from many of which places our Company have withdrawn their factories, and from ſome others the Dutch have not long ſince wormed us out. In the year 1616, one Le Maire, a merchant of Amſterdam, diſcovered a paſſage to India by the ſouth-weſt round Cape Horn, through a new ſtreight ſouth of the Magellanic Streights, to which he gave his name, which it ſtill retains: it is much ſafer of navigation than the other. About this time one of our ſhips ſailed to Mocha in the Red Sea, and ſettled a factory there for the firſt time, by the permiſſion of the Turkiſh aga.

In the following year we find, for the firſt time, mention of fins of whales being brought home with the blubber of oil; but the very next year our Engliſh adventurers having met with great loſſes and diſcouragements, relinquiſhed that fiſhery; and ſo it remained till the reign of Charles II. King James now granted new charters of powers to the Eaſt-India Company.

* Anderſon, vol. I. p. 486, 487.

The colony of Virginia went on increaſing, and had by this time conſiderable quantities of tobacco planted there, which now began to be well taken off at home. Sir Samuel Argall, the then governor, finding this colony in a thriving way, began to have his eye on the French, who had croſſed the river St. Lawrence, and had a ſettlement in the colony then named Acadia (a part of that province called Nova Scotia) and alſo farther ſouthward, a part of what is now called New England. But he drove the French from Port-Royal, ſince named Annapolis-Royal; ſome of whom went home to France, and others of them ſailing up the river St. Lawrence, ſettled in Canada. "We are here to obſerve (ſays Mr. Anderſon *) that the Engliſh, from their very firſt ſettling on the continent of America, had ever deemed Nova Scotia to be a part of North-Virginia; for at this time all the country north of Cape Henry was known by the ſole name of Virginia, which, being the mother Engliſh colony on that continent, and its patent extending to the northernmoſt parts in America, all the country north of what was at this time planted in Virginia, had the appellation of North-Virginia." It is a juſtice due to the managers of the Virginia Company to obſerve, that even ſo early as the year 1618, they had formed a deſign to erect a college, for the converſion of the Indians to Chriſtianity, altho' it proved afterwards abortive. In this ſame year, 1618, the firſt Engliſh African Company was erected by charter, but ſoon after diſſolved, on not anſwering the expectations either of the adventurers or of the government.

In the year 1620, the Engliſh Company trading to the Eaſt-Indies obtained leave of the king of Golconda to ſettle at Madras-Patan, on the coaſt of Coromandel, where they were permitted to build the fort called St. George; which place has ever ſince been the Company's general factory for their trade in that country.

In the ſame year our people firſt planted the country ſince called New-England. Captain John Smith having ſurveyed the inland country, and preſented a map of it to Charles prince of Wales, (afterwards king Charles I.) that prince gave it the name of New-England, which was afterwards further peopled, and conſiderably improved by the emigration of numbers of puritans from the mother-country, on account of the perſecution raiſed againſt them here for their religious tenets. The colony is at this day the nobleſt of all our North-American continent provinces: they take off from Great-Britain to the value of three hundred thouſand pounds and upwards annually, in Britiſh products and manufactures.

According to Mr. Miſſelden, in his Circle of Commerce, p. 121. the general balance of our foreign trade for the year 1622, was as follows:

	l.	s.	d.
The total amount of exportations	2,320,436	12	10
The total imports - -	2,619,315	0	0
Balance loſt to England this year by her foreign commerce	298,878	7	2

The ſame accurate author gives us the total amount of the cuſtoms of England, both outward and inward, for the ſaid year 1622, viz. 168,222 l. 15 s. 11 d.

In this ſame year, 1662, ſir William Alexander, afterwards earl of Sterling, having obtained a patent ſome time before from king James, as king of Scotland, for ſettling that country called by him Nova Scotia; and having got ſundry noblemen and gentlemen of Scotland to be ſharers with him in it, ſent a colony of Scots thither, who named the peninſula on the eaſt ſide of the Bay of Fundy, Nova Caledonia, and the other part on the north ſide Nova Alexandria †: and for the better enabling him to ſettle that plantation, king James granted him a Scots patent for advancing a number of perſons to the hereditary dignity of baronets of Nova Scotia: yet, after conſiderable pains, and labour and expence, this colony came to nothing.

As the making of rivers navigable is of great benefit to commerce, we cannot paſs by unnoticed, an act of parliament paſſed in the twenty-firſt year of king James I's reign (1624) for making the river Thames navigable for barges, lighters, and boats, from London to Oxford.

In the year 1625, the firſt of Charles I. we find a navy-board for England appointed to be managed by twelve commiſſioners. Theſe ſeem to have been moſtly ſtationed as at preſent, into diſtinct branches, ſuch as a comptroller, a ſurveyor, a clerk of the navy, &c. This board alſo, as at preſent, was to be ſubordinate to the lord high-admiral, or the admiralty-board, from whom the ſaid commiſſioners were to receive directions and orders of maritime affairs ‡.

In the ſame year the Virginia Company was diſſolved, and that valuable colony ſettled as at preſent, under regal government. It will not be amiſs to inſert here the ſtate of our Newfoundland fiſhery, as it ſtood about this time. It appears then that the ports of Devonſhire annually employed one hundred and fifty ſhips, and carried their fiſh to Spain and Italy. This fiſhery maintained eight thouſand perſons for ſix months in Newfoundland, and ſupported many thouſands of families at home in preparing nets, caſks, proviſions, &c. and repairing the ſhips for the voyage §.

About this time alſo the ſugar-trade of England had its riſe in the firſt ſettlement of the iſland of Barbadoes, the mother of all the ſugar colonies, which was diſcovered by ſir William Courteen, ſome time before the death of James I. In the year 1627, king Charles granted Barbadoes and the other Caribbee iſles to James Ley, earl of Marlborough, and lord-treaſurer; but at the reſtoration of king Charles II. it was determined by the king and council, that out of the revenue of Barbadoes, then greatly improved, three hundred pounds a year for his life ſhould be granted to the earl of Marlborough, who had diſpoſed of his patent for that ſum to the earl of Carliſle; and that the earl of Kinnoul, who claimed under the earl of Carliſle, ſhould be paid one thouſand pounds on ſurrendering lord Carliſle's Charter: and thus Barbadoes and all the other Caribbee iſles came under the immediate government of the Crown, and ſo have remained ever ſince.

In year 1628, ſir David Kirk and his aſſociates poſſeſſed themſelves of Canada, which then only conſiſted of the country on the north ſide of the

* Vol. I. p. 499. † Heylin's Coſmograph. p. 1024.
‡ Rymer's Fœd. tom. xviii. fol. 13. et ſeq.
§ See a treatiſe of commerce, printed in a ſmall quarto in the year 1626, entitled, The Golden Fleece.

great

great river of St. Lawrence, together with the caſtle of Quebec, of which the ſaid ſir David's ſon was appointed governor. The French hereupon agreed to recognize our king's property in all Nova Scotia, and to pay ſir David Kirk fifty thouſand pounds for his quitting the forts which he had poſſeſſed himſelf of in Canada; which ſum however was never paid.

King Charles I. in the fourth year of his reign, incorporated that beſt planted, and moſt populous province of New-England, called the Maſſachuſets Bay, of which Boſton is the capital town. In this ſame year Carolana, now called Carolina, was firſt planted by ſir Robert Heath, the king's attorney-general, in virtue of a patent granted by Charles to him and his heirs for that purpoſe. Sir Robert afterwards conveyed this province to the earl of Arundel, who was at the expence of planting ſundry parts of it; but the ſubſequent civil war in England prevented that nobleman's farther progreſs therein. The Five Nations of the Indian Iroquois, ſo long the voluntary vaſſals of the Engliſh crown, made a ſurrender and ſale of all their conqueſts in that country, which reached as far as the Miſſiſſippi, to the governor of New-York, in king James II's reign *. The Iſle of Providence, the chief of all the Bahama Iſles, was alſo firſt planted by the Engliſh in this year, who likewiſe claimed the reſt of thoſe iſlands as the firſt occupiers.

In the Fœdera (vol. xix. fol. 335.) we find a proclamation of king Charles relating to the trade of the Eaſt-India Company, in which is the following catalogue of the wares and merchandizes licenſed to be *exported* to India, and to be *imported* from thence, viz.

Goods allowed to be exported to India, perpetuana's and drapery, pewter, ſaffron, woollen ſtockings, ſilk ſtockings and garters, ribband roſes edged with gold lace, beaver-hats with gold and ſilver bands, felt hats, ſtrong waters, knives, Spaniſh leather ſhoes, iron, and looking-glaſſes.

Goods which might be imported from India; long pepper, white pepper, white powder, ſugar, preſerved nutmegs and ginger, preſerved mirabolans, bezoar ſtones, drugs of all ſorts, agate heads, blood ſtones, muſk, aloes ſuccotrina, ambergris, rich Perſian carpets, quilts of ſatin, taffaty, painted callicoes, damaſks, ſatins and taffaties of China, quilts of China embroidered with gold, ſugar-canes, china diſhes and puſlanes (that is, porcelane) of all ſorts.

By this catalogue (greatly differing from our modern India cargoes) we may learn, ſays Mr. Anderſon, that many rich and uſeful commodities were then imported from India, and that china-ware or porcelain was come into uſe in Europe, altho' this is the firſt authentic mention thereof we meet with; but neither tea nor coffee were as yet brought home by our India ſhips. The Eaſt-India Company, however, ſeem as yet to have made but very little profit to their adventurers there, whoſe gains amounting in fifteen years time to no more than twelve and a half per cent.

The year 1632 gave birth to the fine and now proſperous colony of Maryland, being a part of what was then reckoned Virginia. Sir George Calvert, ſecretary to king James I. firſt diſcovered this tract of land; and finding its commodiouſneſs for trade, obtained a promiſe of the king's grant of the ſaid unplanted country; but he dying before the grant was made out, his ſon Cæcilius, created lord Baltimore in Ireland, took it out in his own name on the twentieth of June, 1632. The iſle of Montſerrat, in the Weſt-Indies, was alſo planted by the Engliſh this year, who likewiſe ſettled on the iſle of Antigua, but ſoon abandoned it, on account of its having no freſh-water brooks, or ſcarce any other but rain water.

In the year 1637, king Charles erected a ſeparate Eaſt-India Company for a trade to China and Japan. The ſcheme of this new Eaſt-India Company was, as Mr. Anderſon very juſtly obſerves, an iniquitous one againſt the old Company, whoſe charter was, doubtleſs, entirely excluſive of all others, and the king was probably put upon it by his miniſters, on the plauſible pretext of great profit to himſelf.

Towards the cloſe of the year 1642, the war between king Charles and his parliament commenced, to the no ſmall interruption of commerce and manufactures: the trade of the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company in particular ſeems to have been at this time almoſt quite ſunk, or at leaſt greatly decayed. The Dutch Eaſt-India Company, however, abandoning the ſettlement they had on the iſland of St. Helena, in 1651, our Company took poſſeſſion of that iſle. It is ſituated in the Atlantic Ocean: it conſiſts of one ſteep and lofty rock, reſembling a caſtle, in the ſea, and acceſſible only in one place, defended now by a platform of forty guns, beyond which is a fort where the governor reſides. This iſland is twenty-ſeven miles in circuit, and the rock has only a foot of vegetable ſoil, producing grapes, fruits, and garden-ſtuffs of all kinds, but no corn comes to perfection. The Eaſt India ſhips always touch here on their return home.

In the year 1652, one Mr. Edwards, an Engliſh Turky merchant, brought home with him a Greek ſervant, who firſt introduced the roaſting and making of coffee, till then unknown in England. This ſervant was the firſt who ſold coffee, and kept a houſe for that purpoſe in Holland.

Cromwell, in 1654, concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with John IV. king of Portugal, wherein were ſundry articles advantageous to the trade of England, both with reſpect to our ſubjects freely trading to Braſil, &c. much more than ſince; as alſo for the ſecurity of the goods of the Engliſh dying in Portugal. Theſe articles were in part confirmed by ſubſequent and more legal treaties.

In the following year, 1655, Cromwell diſſolved the Eaſt-India company, and laid that trade open for three years; but the infinite damage accruing to our commerce from that ſtep, obliged the protector to reinſtate the Company at the expiration of that time. Having nothing further to add of the times preceding the reſtoration of Charles II. we muſt do the Rump Parliament and Cromwell, with all their faults, the juſtice to remark, that they made ſundry and very good regulations and laws for the improvement of our commerce and ſhipping, moſt of which were adopted, and legally enacted by the parliament, immediately after the conſtitution reverted to its true form of government.

* See Cox's Deſcription of Carolina, p. 109, 113, 116, &c.

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The firſt matter relating to the ſubject of commerce after the return of Charles II. to the throne of his anceſtors, is the famous act (of navigation ſo called) paſſed for the encouragement and increaſe of ſhipping and navigation, "wherein (ſaith the preamble to that act) under the good providence and protection of God, the wealth, ſafety, and ſtrength of this kingdom, are ſo much concerned." Having already given the principal enacting clauſes of this ſtatute, whereby not only the trade to and from our American plantations was ſecured to ourſelves alone, but likewiſe our mercantile ſhipping was conſiderably increaſed, as alſo the number of our ſailors, and all trades depending on ſea affairs, we ſhall not enlarge any farther thereupon, but only obſerve, that by the means of this act, the moſt important in commerce that ever was enacted in this or any other nation, we are at length become, in great meaſure, what the Dutch once were, the great carriers of Europe, eſpecially within the Mediterranean ſea.

In this ſame year, 1660 (the twelfth of Charles II's reign, reckoning from his father's murder and the firſt of his own reſtoration) ſir Thomas Modyford, an eminent planter in the iſland of Barbadoes, having acquired a prodigious fortune there, choſe to remove and ſettle in Jamaica, where he inſtructed the young Engliſh planters who went over in Cromwell's time, to cultivate the ſugar canes; for which, and his other improvements, he was afterwards appointed governor of that iſland. We muſt not forget, that in this year an act of parliament paſſed in favour of the Dutch or Flemings at Colcheſter in Eſſex, who had firſt brought into England the manufacture of baize.

After the reſtoration of king Charles II. the Engliſh Eaſt India Company being ſuppoſed, notwithſtanding the diſorders in it of late years, ſtill to exiſt as eſtabliſhed by queen Elizabeth, king James I. and king Charles I. obtained of his majeſty a new excluſive charter, dated the third of April, 1661, by the old name of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the Eaſt-Indies.

About this time the worſted manufacture eſtabliſhed in Norwich and Norfolk was prodigiouſly increaſed, and the ſilk manufacture in London had made vaſt progreſs, inſomuch as to employ above forty thouſand men, women and children. After this time we find divers acts of parliament, in this and ſucceeding reigns, for regulating the ſilk manufacture at home, and the importation of raw and thrown ſilk from foreign parts. At this time Charles II. ſhamefully delivered up to France the country of Nova Scotia, and ſuch part of Canada as was held by our people.

The town, port, and iſland of Bombay, being part of the portion which Charles had with his wife the princeſs Catherine, daughter to Alphonſo VI. king of Portugal, in 1661, was by him granted, in 1688, in full property for ever to our Eaſt-India Company, to hold it in free common ſoccage of his imperial crown, under an annual rent of ten pounds in gold, to be paid on September 30 yearly at the cuſtom-houſe in London. It has been ſince greatly improved both in ſtrength and commerce.

In the year 1662 the Engliſh, from their colonies on the north continent of America, firſt began to cut down the logwood-trees, growing in infinite quantities on the uninhabited coaſts of the province of Jucatan, and more eſpecially in the Bay of Campeachy, where they firſt made a ſettlement for that end, as it was not near any Spaniſh ſettlement or inhabitants. In proceſs of time, however, the Spaniards became ſo uneaſy at that ſettlement, and our logwood-cutting, that they actually made prize of all Engliſh veſſels they met with in the American ſeas which had logwood in them. This gave riſe to many warm diſputes between that nation and us, and it is to be feared will ſtill occaſion much altercation.

Connecticut in New-England, and Carolina, were about this time firſt made royal colonies.

By a report of ſir Charles D'Avenant, inſpector-general of the cuſtoms in the reigns of king William and queen Anne, it appears that our imports in the year 1662 amounted to 4,016,019 l. and our exports to 2,022,812 l. conſequently the balance againſt us was no leſs than 1,993,207 l.

In 1664 king Charles, on making war with the Dutch, undertook to drive that people out of New-Nedderland (ſince named New-York) where, as alſo in the country ſince called New-Jerſey (by the Dutch Nova Belgia) they had got footing, and greatly improved.

In the year 1666 the iſland of Antigua (or Antego) was finally ſettled by the Engliſh, who had deſerted it after a former attempt in 1632. This is now the beſt Engliſh colony of the Caribbees, after Barbadoes and St. Chriſtophers. It is noted for the beſt harbours in all theſe iſlands: it is much troubled with hurricanes, which do great damage both on ſhore and at ſea. It is now well fortified; and by means of tanks or ciſterns, they make a tolerable ſhift to ſupply themſelves with rain water, when their wells fail. They raiſe and ſend home to Britain great quantities of ſugar, rum, and molaſſes. In the ſaid year, 1666, captain Sayle, of the new colony of Carolina, being driven in a ſtorm on the Iſle of Providence, the chief of the Bahama Iſles, on his return to England made a report of the condition of thoſe iſles; on which Charles II. granted patent to the lords proprietors of Carolina of the ſaid iſles. The iſland of Providence lies on the eaſt ſide of the Gulph of Florida, and two hundred and ſix miles from the continent of that name, in twenty-five degrees fifteen minutes north latitude, and is about twenty-eight miles in length, and eleven in breadth. It came in time to be neglected, and was the reſort only of pirates till the reign of king George I. when captain Woodes Rogers was ſent regal governor there, to whom the pirates for the moſt part ſubmitted, and accepted of the king's pardon: it has ever ſince remained a regal colony. In 1745 two well-deſigned forts were erected there, ſo that the iſland is now in a good poſture of defence againſt an enemy. Beſides this principal iſland of Providence, there are ſeveral Britiſh ſettlements on Harbour Iſland and Eleuthera. The Bahama Iſlands abound with many ſorts of good, and ſome very uncommon timber, and with plenty of ſtones and loam. On Exuma there is excellent ſalt, and they have made ſome trials to rear ſugar-canes. About this time the dying and dreſſing of fine white woollen cloths, which had long been unſucceſsfully attempted, was at length brought to perfection in England.

The general balance of trade of England for the year 1668 was moſt grievouſly to our loſs; for the imports exceeded the exports 2,132,864 l. 18 s. "This great national loſs, ſays an ingenious author,

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in his treatiſe called the Britiſh Merchant, was owing to our having a full or uncircumſcribed trade with France; which trade being afterwards prohibited, the general balance in 1699 was got to be ſo far in our favour as 1,147,660 l. 10 s. 9 d. Total gained by us from having no trade with France, 3,280,525 l. 8 s. 9 d. which balance in the year 1703, was ſo conſiderably increaſed, as to be no leſs than 2,117,523 l. 3 s. 10 ½ d. being a gain from the year 1668 of 4,250,388 l. 1 s. 10 ½ d.

In the year 1670, the wear of muſlins was firſt introduced from India; before which time we made uſe of the more ſubſtantial cambricks, Sileſia lawns, and ſuch kind of fine flaxen linen from Flanders and Germany, in return for our woollen manufactures of various kinds exported to thoſe countries in very conſiderable quantities.

In the ſame year was made the famous treaty of peace between England and Spain, commonly called the American Treaty; by which Charles II. of Spain recognized all our rights to the American dominions we were poſſeſſed of at that time. This year alſo the Hudſon's-Bay Company was eſtabliſhed by charter, dated the ſecond of May 1670. This company have three or four forts in different parts of Hudſon's-Bay, in which they have in all about one hundred and twenty perſons, who for nine months in the year live in a manner ſhut up within theſe forts in low houſes, ſo built as to defend them from the piercing cold, ſnow, and rains. Three or four ſhips are annually ſent from England, laden with coarſe woollen goods, guns, powder and ſhot, ſpirits, edge tools, and ſundry other utenſils. In return for which, the natives ſell them all kinds of furs, gooſe quills, caſtorum, whale fins and oil, bed feathers, &c. and they make a handſome annual dividend to their proprietors.

It was in or about the year 1676 that the printing of callicoes was firſt ſet on foot in London. At the ſame time was alſo brought into uſe from Holland the weavers loom engine, then called the Dutch loom engine.

Mr. Anderſon tells us, that in a manuſcript account of Newfoundland in his poſſeſſion, written anno 1677, it appears, that in the year 1676 there went thither from England one hundred and two ſhips for the cod-fiſhery there, each ſhip having twenty guns, and carrying eighteen boats, and for each boat five men; in the whole one hundred and eighty men. The total value of the fiſh and oil they made there in that year was computed at 386,400 l. a clear proof how great a nurſery this fiſhery muſt be for Engliſh ſailors, and how beneficial for the employment of ſhip-building, &c.

The year 1680 gave riſe to the noble Engliſh colony of Penſylvania in North-America, between forty and forty-three degrees north latitude. Mr. William Penn, an eminent quaker, had it granted him at this time, having purpoſed to make it a retreat for the people of his perſuaſion, who were diſturbed here on account of their religious tenets. He carried over a great number of theſe people with him, who were ſoon afterwards joined by many more from Great Britain and Ireland. At his firſt arrival in the country he found many Engliſh families there, and a conſiderable number of Dutch and Swedes, who all readily ſubmitted to his wiſe and excellent regulations, which, with his gentle and generous conduct, ſoon endeared him to the planters, and ſo widely ſpread his fame, and that of his infant government, that numbers flocked over from all parts of Europe to ſettle in Penſylvania, for ſo he called this colony, after his own own name. Mr. Penn's beautiful and ſuperb plan of his capital city of Philadelphia, ſtill ſtrictly adhered to, and drawing conſtantly nearer to perfection, may ſerve for a pattern to the richeſt country on earth. At that city they build and employ many good ſhips: thoſe of five hundred tons and upwards may lie cloſe to the quay. They trade to our ſugar colonies with their corn, peaſe, flour, biſcuit, beef, pork, fiſh, pipe-ſtaves, peltry or furs, lumber, horſes, &c. in exchange for ſugar, rum, molaſſes, ginger, pimento, and foreign ſilver, as dollars, &c. They alſo employ themſelves in raiſing hemp, flax, and other materials for our Britiſh manufactures, as drugs for dyers, &c. iron, and copper; they even carry their corn, fiſh, pipe-ſtaves, &c. as far as Italy; and going from thence to Britain, they here lade woollen, ſilk, linen, and ſundry other neceſſaries wanted in their colony. They alſo carry on a clandeſtine trade with the Spaniſh main for ſilver, and their logwood trade, which they import into England, helps to pay for the commodities they carry away from hence *. Thus has the ſpirit of intolerance and perſecution, the moſt abſurd of all political meaſures, given exiſtence to the fineſt province of Britiſh America.

The Turkey Company was now in a flouriſhing condition; they exported great quantities of woollen manufactures, and other Engliſh wares, to the great enriching this nation. In or about the year 1681, they exported to the value of half a million ſterling yearly; in return for which they brought home raw ſilks, grogram, yarns, galls, drugs, cotton, &c. all which being manufactured in England, afford bread to the poor of the kingdom.

In the year 1682, our Eaſt India Company loſt Bantam, one of the beſt factories they had ever poſſeſſed in India, occaſioned by a quarrel between the old king of Bantam and his ſon. Our Company ſided with the father; the Dutch aſſiſted the ſon, whoſe arms prevailing, the old king was made priſoner, and ſhut up the reſt of his days; and the young king gave his friends the Dutch the poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Bantam, who ſoon drove out the Engliſh Company's factors and ſervants, and have ever ſince remained in poſſeſſion of the place. Our Company however got poſſeſſion this ſame year of Bencoolen, in the great iſland of Sumatra; by which important ſettlement they have preſerved to England the pepper trade, which otherwiſe would have been loſt to us by their expulſion from Bantam.

The year 1685, the firſt of king James II. was diſtinguiſhed by the famous revocation of what was before deemed the perpetual and irrevocable edict of Nantes; by which edict the proteſtants in France enjoyed the free and public toleration and exerciſe of their religion in France. This revolution, tho' infinitely diſtreſsful to many thouſands of individuals in that kingdom, was productive of much good to almoſt all the proteſtant countries of Europe, but more eſpecially to this nation. That part of the ſuburbs of London called Spitalfields, was peopled entirely with French manufacturers in ſilk; ſome thouſands of other artiſts helped to people

* Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 170, 171.

and increaſe the ſuburbs of Soho and St. Giles's; others of them brought over the art of making chryſtal in perfection, which was thereby loſt for a time in France. Above fifty thouſand of theſe refugees ſettled here, and have proved a great and manifeſt advantage to us, by improving our arts and manufactures, and likewiſe by introducing ſundry new ones; and ſuppoſing, at the loweſt computation, that theſe fifty thouſand people, one with another, coming into Great Britain, brought ſixty pounds each only in money and effects, they muſt have brought three millions ſterling to the wealth of this nation.

In this ſame year king James granted the Eaſt-India Company a new charter, being their ſixth ſince the Reſtoration; wherein he prohibits any of his ſubjects to ſend out ſhips, or trade within the limits of the ſaid Company, as had been done by ſeveral adventurers, to the Company's great damage, and deſtruction of that trade. He certifies all the preceding charters in their favour for ever, and in their fulleſt extent; he inveſts them with the power of exerciſing martial law, to extend as far as the iſland of St. Helena, and to their fort of Peyanian, on the weſt coaſt of Sumatra, as well as to their other limits. He alſo grants full power to the Company to appoint admirals, vice-admirals, and other ſea officers; and to raiſe and muſter ſeamen and ſoldiers, and to equip their ſhips in a warlike manner, for attack and defence againſt any enemy, or any ſhips carrying on an illicit trade within their limits. The Company may alſo coin money in any of their forts, of the ſpecie uſually coined by the princes of thoſe countries only, which money ſhall be current every-where within the Company's limits, &c. &c. *

Having thus gone through the moſt material tranſactions relating to commerce during this period, I ſhall cloſe this article with a ſhort view of the gradual increaſe of our wealth, trade, ſhipping, and revenue, during this period, extracted from the moſt approved writers on this ſubject.

We have an eminent inſtance of the great increaſe of our commerce and ſhipping in only twenty-two years ſpace, from Dr. D'Avenant's diſcoveries on the public revenues and trade of England; and from Comber's Hiſtory of Engliſh naval affairs, we find that the tonnage of the merchant ſhips in England at the Revolution (anno 1688) was near double to the tonnage in 1666.

Alſo that the tonnage of the navy-royal, which in the year 1660, the firſt of the Reſtoration, was only 62,594 tons, was in this year, 1688, increaſed to 101,032 tons.

D'Avenant, who, as inſpector-general of the cuſtoms, muſt have been perfectly maſter of this ſubject, informs us, that "in the year 1666 the farm of the cuſtom of England was but 390,000 l. yearly; yet from Michaelmas 1671, to Michaelmas 1688, being ſeventeen years, the cuſtoms yielded *net* to the Crown 9,447,799 l. which at a medium was 555,752 l. per annum."

The laſt quoted author gives us alſo a view of the gradual increaſe of the general rental of England, occaſioned by the increaſe of our commerce, and the great improvements made in agriculture.

"The general rental of England, ſays he, for land, houſes, or mines, about the year 1600, did not exceed ſix millions per annum; which general rental, ſoon after the Revolution, was reckoned at about fourteen millions The above ſix millions, in 1600, at twelve years purchaſe (the common price of lands at that period) was worth but ſeventy-two millions; but the lands, &c. of England, at the rental of fourteen millions, and worth eighteen years purchaſe, in 1688, amounted to two hundred and fifty two millions." How amazing an alteration in the ſpace of leſs than one century!

* Anderſon, vol. ii. p. 184.

A TABLE

A TABLE of the SUCCESSION of PRINCES in the ſeveral Kingdoms of EUROPE with which ENGLAND hath the greateſt Correſpondence and Connection, from the Acceſſion of the STUART Family, in the Perſon of JAMES I. A. D. 1603, to the REVOLUTION, A. D. 1689; being a Series of Eighty-ſeven Years.

EMPERORS of GERMANY	KINGS of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND.	KINGS of FRANCE.	KINGS of SPAIN.	KINGS of PORTUGAL.	KINGS of DENMARK.	KINGS of SWEDEN.	KINGS of POLAND	CZAR of RUSSIA.	POPES EXALTATION.
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
RODOLPH II. 1576									
							SIGISMUND (king of Sweden) 1586		
					CHRISTIAN IV. 1588				
		HENRY IV. 1589							
									CLEMENT VIII. (Aldobrandino) 1592
	JAMES VI. of Scotland, and I. of England 1603		PHILIP III. 1598	PHILIP III. of Spain 1598		SIGISMUND, and king of Poland 1594			
						CHARLES IX. 1604			
		LEWIS XIII. 1610				GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS 1611			PAUL V. (Borgheſe) 1605 He excommunicated the republic of Venice, built the palace of Borgheſe, and embelliſhed the city of Rome.
MATTHIAS 1612									
FERDINAND II. 1619			PHILIP IV. 1621						GREGORY XV. (Ludoviſco) 1621
									URBAN VIII. (Barberino) 1623
	CHARLES I. 1625					CHRISTINA, q. 1632	ULADISAUS VI. 1632		
FERDINAND III. 1637				JOHN 1640					
		LEWIS XIV. 1643 to 1689 and beyond.							INNOCENT X. (Pamphili) 1644
	Beheaded 1649 Commonwealth ——				FREDERICK III. 1649		JOHN CASIMIR 1647		
				ALPHONSO 1651					
						CHARLES X. 1654			
									ALEXANDER VII. (Chigi) 1655
LEOPOLD 1658 to 1689 and beyond.	CHARLES II. reſtored 1660					CHARLES XI. 1660 to 1689 and beyond.			
			CHARLES II. 1665 to 1689 and beyond.	PETER 1667 to 1689 and beyond.	CHRISTIAN V. 1670 to 1689 and beyond		MICHAEL WIESNOWISKI 1670		CLEMENT IX. (Roſpigliosi) 1667
									CLEMENT X. (Altieri) 1670
							JOHN SOBIESKI 1673 to 1689 and beyond.		
	JAMES II. 1685 Abdicated 1689							PETER the Great 1682 to 1689 and beyond.	INNOCENT XI. (Odeſcalchi) 1676 A great enemy to Lewis XIV. eſpouſed the cauſe of the emperor Leopold. He was called the Proteſtant Pope.
									ALEXANDER VIII. (Ottoboni) 1689 and beyond.

END of the SECOND VOLUME.

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